

**A PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION APPROACH TO MANAGING
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SYSTEM IN THE
GOVERNANCE OF THE STATE: A CASE REVIEW OF NIGERIA AND
SOUTH AFRICA**

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late brother and friend –

ADIEME ERESIA EKE.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis submitted for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at the School of Public Management and Administration, University of Pretoria, is my work and has never been submitted for any other degree at any other university

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ABSTRACT

The research proposes that the management of intergovernmental relations (IGR) in the governance of any state does present opportunities for improving government service delivery. Two countries with different governance systems, namely, Nigeria (a federal state) and South Africa (a unitary state), provided the context of the case study. The study identified and analysed four IGR cases in each country; namely, the Ministries of Steel, Power, Water Resources and Petroleum Resources in Nigeria and the Departments of Housing, Health, Agriculture, Provincial and Local Government in South Africa. In the case analysis, due consideration was given to the historical and socio-political context of the selected countries, the structures, the facilitative role of IGR in development and current delivery imperatives. The research revealed a range of IGR complexities around the management of structures, the inevitability of overlaps, and the need to strike a balance between independence and the alignment of roles amongst government units. From the analysis, the emerging trends were carefully identified and the extent to which they can facilitate or hinder delivery in a particular department/ministry is discussed.

The study revealed that the critical elements needed for successful IGR management in both unitary and federalist systems were largely the same and linked to the principles of Public Administration. These elements were formed into a formula captured as: C+ 3C+ 3P+ L (Commitment plus communication, coordination and capacity, project management, planning and policy management and, finally, leadership). The study also revealed that some of these IGR challenges could have been further complicated by the very nature of IGR in these countries, which may have been weakened owing to

inadequate emphasis on the relationship element, which seemed to have been taken for granted that as long as there are legislative provisions, tiers or spheres of government will work together. On the contrary, government must manage the systemic tensions that exist and which hinder institutional relationships in a proactive manner. IGR may remain problematic without a management model. Hence the study proposes the evolution of a hybrid model of IGR management that is transactional, collaborative and relational in nature. Any single of the above mentioned elements would not suffice but could be strengthened by a comprehensive strategy that considers the peculiarities of the context, in an effort to improve service delivery.

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CLARIFICATION OF ACRONYMS

AG	Action Group
AU	African Union
ANC	African National Congress
DFFRI	Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure
DoA	Department of Agriculture
DoE	Department of Education
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local government
DHLTA:	Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs
DPSA	Department of Public Service and Administration
EC	Eastern Cape
ECN:	Electricity Corporation of Nigeria
ECOMOG:	ECOWAS Community Cease- Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS:	Economic community of West African States
FI:	Functional Integration
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IGR:	Intergovernmental Relations
LGA	Local Government Area
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
MEC	Member of Executive council
MFMA	Municipal Financial Management Act, No. of 56 of 2003
MINMEC	Minster and Member of executive council
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NCNC	National Convention of Nigerian Citizens
NCP	Nigerian People's Congress

NEC	National Electoral Commission
NEPA	National Electric Power Corporation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NDA	Niger Dams Authority
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NDP	Niger Delta Development Plan
NDR	Niger Delta Region
NGO	Non-governmental organizations
NLNG	Nigeria Liquefied National Gas
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OMPADEC	Oil Minerals Producing Area Commissions
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PCC	President's Coordinating Council
PGDP	Provincial Growth and Development Plan
PHC	Primary Health Care
PFMA	Public Financial Management Act, No. 1 of 1999
PHCN	Power Holding Company of Nigeria
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SERVICOM	Service Compact with Nigerians
SCOPA	Standing Committee on Public Accounts
SLGP	State Local Government Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nation's Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE

NATURE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Nigeria and South Africa are viewed as two of the continent's most powerful nations. The reason for this is that both nations have played, and continue to play, prominent roles with regard to pushing the African agenda on international platforms through their committed leadership in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) initiative.

The NEPAD vision (which is a result of the merger of the Omega Plan and the Millennium Partnership for African Recovery Programme) arises from a mandate given to five initiating Heads of States, among them-Nigeria and South Africa. This drive to re-energise the African forums is directly related to the fact that despite Africa's abundant resources (human and natural), it can be argued that the African continent is riddled with governance challenges, which has developmental implications for the peoples of Africa. Although much of the blame could be laid at the doorstep of the coloniser, it is important to emphasize that, the reshaping of the continent's future rests on Africans who must strive to turn policies around for the better. In this regard, new initiatives aimed at ensuring that Africa's dormant potentials are fully actualised have led to debate and dialogue on the most recent platforms dealing with issues and programmes for African renaissance. The African Union (AU) has played and continues to provide vital leadership in recent times as Africans recognise the urgency for Africa to take control of her destiny and claim her place on the world stage. One of the areas that could be turned into a possible opportunity for effectiveness in government

and the deepening of democracy is the management of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in the governance of any given state.

In this study, Public Administrative approaches that underpin the management of intergovernmental relations from an international perspective, with particular insights from the African continent are discussed. Lessons from Nigeria and South Africa will be shared, with a view to deepening understanding with regard to how Public Administration approaches can be efficiently and effectively utilised in the management of intergovernmental relations systems such that it further facilitates the achievement of governmental goals. The research therefore explores the current intergovernmental relations framework in the selected countries, including policies and structural mechanisms with a view to determining the extent to which these have been anchored in Public Administration approaches (as well as the consequences thereof).

Crucial to this research is the national context, which allows the researcher to show and to harness specificities and so avoids what Tshikwatamba (2004: 256) terms dysfunctional claims that could result when a neutral approach is adopted. The reflections in this study highlight issues for consideration in the management of intergovernmental relations in the unitary system as well as in the federal system of government. Nigeria is a federal state while South Africa is largely a unitary state. These two countries have been selected as they provide different governance systems, in terms of the model of state organization adopted. The fundamental difference with regard to the organisation of the state provides ample opportunity for the researcher to engage in issues that may be system specific. And as noted by Ile:

“the very nature of administrative arrangements suggests that the form of centralisation or decentralisation of power to constituent units, regions or states is a fundamental issue for all societies, as this has implications for the machinery of government. The federal system, a devolved form of government with varying

degrees of regional autonomy, suggests that a greater level of co-existence will be achieved but this is not always the case as complexities in the management of various phenomena ... are bound to arise” (2004: 607).

The country specific contexts provide for the analysis of governmental structures, key administrative functions, historical considerations, and emerging trends in the management of intergovernmental relations between spheres and levels of government for administrative optimization. Underlying patterns from the selected countries enable the researcher to gain insights into the opportunities and limitations that may exist; and where possible comparisons are drawn with a view to harnessing alternatives and possibilities.

The histography of the selected countries (Nigeria and South Africa)

The twentieth century states in Africa are an amalgamation of several nations that in specific instances may have been created for purely organizational reasons (such as the Republic of South Africa and Nigeria). These countries were primarily made up of several former ‘kingdoms’ that were distinct, but were put together in a melting pot termed a state. The degree to which they have been able to attain the desired ‘statehood’ has varied from country to country and this has impacted on governance in specific countries. In this section the researcher briefly introduces the countries that make up the major sites for the research. A more in-depth profiling of the selected countries is detailed in Chapter Four as the contextual issues are being engaged.

Nigeria

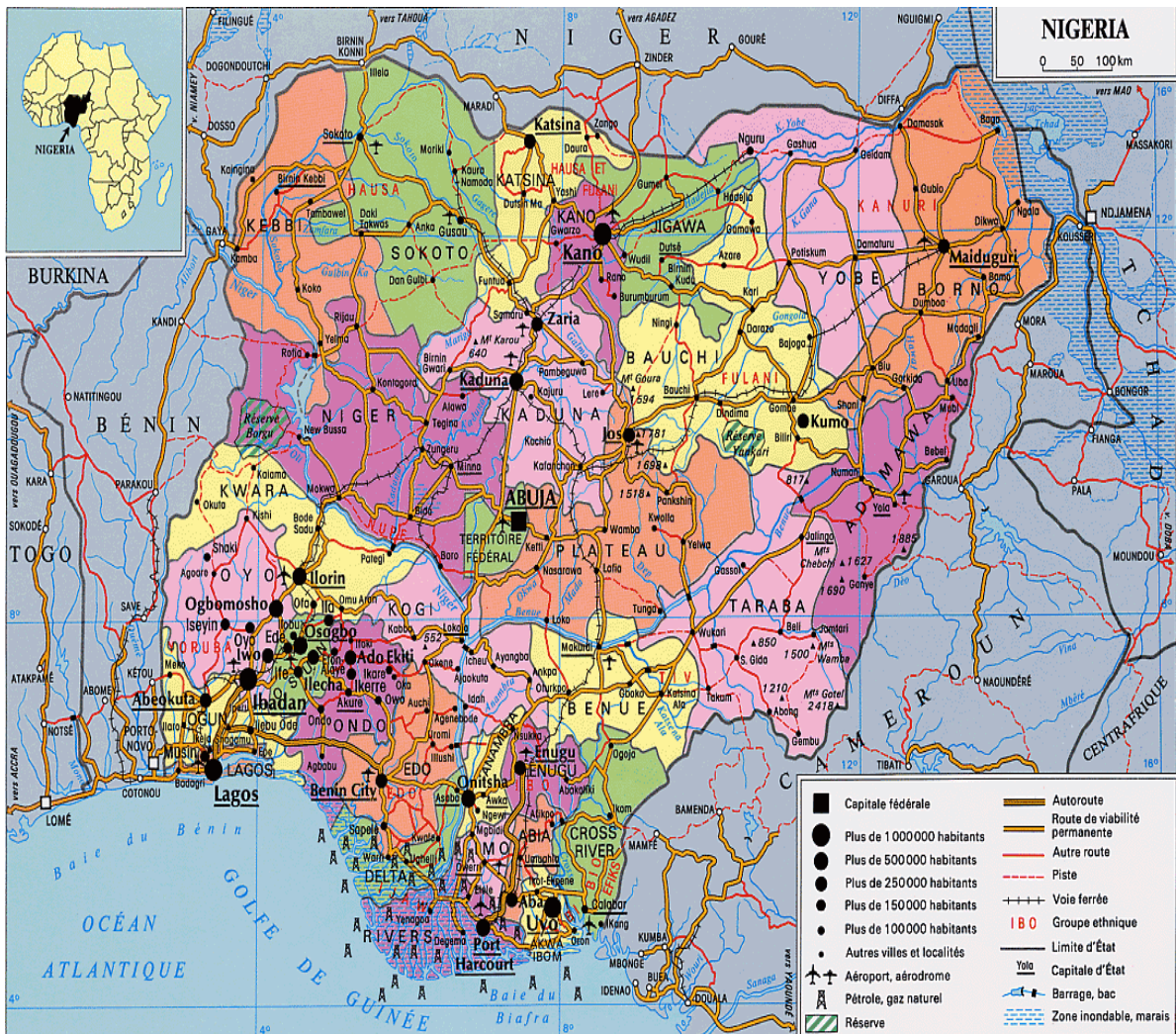
Present day Nigeria consists of three colonial territories namely; the Colony of Lagos, and the Northern and Southern protectorates. In 1906, the Southern Protectorate and Colony of Lagos were amalgamated and subsequently in 1914, all three (Lagos, Southern and Northern Nigeria) were amalgamated to form the Protectorate of Nigeria under one administrator. Although supposedly a political fusion, as Elaigwu (1994: 226) notes, the British, like most

colonial administrations, did not give thought to the form of administration that would best suit the people in the territories. Thus, the former colonies of Northern and Southern Nigeria were administered separately. With the dawn of independence and the scramble for political control, this system promoted interpersonal rivalry, intertribal rivalry, regionalism and ethnicity at the expense of nationhood.

For most Nigerians, the experience of federalism (with several states and each with a government apparatus - see map below) cannot be truly supported as one of choice but rather one that has been imperative for peace. This can be attributable to the incomplete and rushed metamorphosis from a unitary state into a federation. A situation which warranted the strengthening of governance systems (including intergovernmental relations), but which may not have been vigorously pursued, despite this shift towards federalism. The reality tended to promote a stronger ethnic identity and a weaker nation-state identity further suggesting that the management of intergovernmental relations, in Nigeria, is a critical block to success in the governance realm.

Two subsequent attempts at democratic government after the demise of the first republic have been made to contain tensions that have been so deep in all facets of citizen life including the public service. With the role that intergovernmental relations could play as a facilitator of the achievement of governmental goals and objectives, could it be that this will provide the opportunity to manage and contain intergovernmental tensions? In this regard, the question that remains to be answered is: Has enough been done to utilise public administration approaches as strategies for building a stronger Nigerian state?

Map 1.1 Map of Nigeria



Source: www.izf.net/documentation/cartes/pays/supercartes/Nigeria.htm. Accessed: 22 November 2005.

South Africa

South Africa is a country torn by racial divisions as a result of the Apartheid system of government that promoted the interests of a few at the expense of the majority of its people. The South African liberation struggle, like most other liberation struggles, had an underlying class issue although this class struggle was distinctively along racial lines in which the whites were economically stable and the blacks were poor. However, in an attempt to attain complete freedom, an intrinsic part of the struggle was to emancipate previously oppressed groups (with a view to building a new government) in the form of a participatory democracy. One of the aims of the new democracy was to address the class and racial

divides, hence it can be said that the removal of political and economic inequality was primary and overriding in the South African state (Ile, 2000: 16).

With the first democratic government being formed after the 1994 elections and with the establishment of a democratic system of government through a peaceful process, transitional mechanisms were put in place with the drafting of the South African constitution that enabled a truly democratic government. The constitution has been hailed as a masterpiece and seeks to enable the achievement of governmental goals, including cooperative government. In this regard, the constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (Chapter 3) provides for an intergovernmental relations system that seeks to improve coordination and alignment.

The extraordinary success in the evolution of the South African democracy could be as a result of the cohesive and participatory nature of the processes that are based on the African philosophy of “*Ubuntu*”, meaning “a person is a person through other people” (Mbeki, www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/demograhics/ubuntu-260905.thm. Accessed: 2 May 2007). This underpinning philosophy of *Ubuntu* underscores the importance of agreement by consensus. African traditional culture, it seems, has an almost infinite capacity for the pursuit of consensus and reconciliation. Democracy in Africa should not simply be viewed as majority rule but one that operates in the form of discussion or consensus. The challenge, therefore, of building democracy in South Africa twelve years after independence still includes how best to manage institutional interactions within the intergovernmental relations framework and to build a new public service that is community and delivery-oriented by recognising that South Africans must continually seek to build consensus. This emphasises the responsibilities of all to work together in order to achieve desirable societal goals in the vast South African nation state, with nine provinces (see Map below).

Map 1.2 Map of South Africa



Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/safrica_provinces_95jpg Accessed: 22 November 2005.

Rationale of the Research

Nigeria and South Africa provide the context for this research. Nigeria's commitment to peace and development in the West African regions has seen the country invest human and material resources in a forum (ECOWAS), spear-headed by one of Nigeria's previous Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon in 1973. To date, issues around the promotion of good governance, peace and security, and economic integration have remained prominent on the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) agenda. At the dawn of democracy, South Africa became a regional power, and acceded to the SADC (Southern

African Development Community) Treaty on 29th August 1994 and became a member. This provided an opportunity to tackle a wide range of issues, including regional economic growth, collaboration, peace, democracy and good governance (Department of Foreign Affairs, 2004: 1-5). In the South African Development Community, South Africa has played a significant role in shaping the vision especially after the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in 1992. This brought about a renewed energy and the outcome was a reviewed focus of what was previous known as SADCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference) to what is now SADC. Currently, South Africa still continues to play a strong role under the current leadership of President Thabo Mbeki.

Given the important roles that both countries play in their respective regions, the extent to which they are able to deliver services to their people could provide an opportunity for lessons to be learnt about successes as well as challenges. Some of the areas for in-depth inquiry in the field of public administration include power-sharing, decentralization and intergovernmental relations. The United Nations Development Programme (2002: 67-68) notes that in order to bridge the gaps in democratic practice, one solution is to decentralize power to lower levels of government, bringing it closer to the people, but this requires strong structures and state capacities (intergovernmental relations) to control, monitor and evaluate various activities. Despite the important role that intergovernmental relations can play, it has been pointed out that enhancement of institutional and governmental relations has remained a challenge for governance and Public Administration in Africa (New Partnership for Africa's Development, 2004: 7). Various factors may have contributed to the current quagmire and a turn-around strategy will require efforts that include the participation of various stakeholders and institutions, as well as the development and strengthening of administrative systems for mass participation in Africa's current state of affairs.

The research investigation attempts to determine to what extent Public Administration functions are effectively and efficiently deployed in managing intergovernmental relations in the selected countries. The management of intergovernmental relations can either affect policies positively or can lead to further chaos in the management of states in Africa. The fact that governance challenges in Africa cannot be wished away, signals that strategies have to be developed to manage the challenges more effectively. From a Public Administration framework, the research highlights issues that should assist the two governments to manage the intergovernmental relation challenges that they face more effectively. Sound intergovernmental relations insights that seek to build and promote alignment, coordination, cohesion and cooperation may signal the development of the deeper phase of democracy that Africa earnestly seeks.

Furthermore (and within the framework of intergovernmental relations), this research reveals the extent to which the current management of intergovernmental relations hinders or facilitates cooperation among spheres (as is the case in South Africa) or levels of government (as is the case in Nigeria). And further assists in generating appropriate issues for consideration for intergovernmental relations reform. In the South African context, Mathebula (2004: 2) notes that, whilst the administrative reform process of government is underway, there is an equally important need to reform the intergovernmental relation landscape. The researcher argues that further reform is inevitable and should be informed by a deep understanding of the workings of the entire intergovernmental relation framework, the possibilities, and inherent challenges. Emerging insights will thus guide how best to deploy Public Administration functions in dealing with intergovernmental relations.

The purpose of the study

The purpose of the research is to determine whether public administration has facilitated

intergovernmental relations systems in the selected African countries, to what extent the public administration related approaches have been employed in governmental activities and its implications on the current intergovernmental relations system. The research attempts to establish the importance of the public administration functions, especially as they relate to and underpin intergovernmental relations framework in Nigeria and South Africa. The researcher will also reflect on the administrative implications, especially with regard to service delivery in the current system, as this could be comprehensive or limited in terms of the application of public administration principles and the consequences thereof. This is important given the fact that a strong intergovernmental relations system, grounded in public administration principles is better able to ease the tensions that are bound in governmental activities. The ideal is one that embraces critical elements, such as integrated planning, strong coordination, and a context appropriate to indigenous government systems that complements modern trends.

Governments in most Africa countries (given their colonial past) seem to have been founded on uncertain bases in terms of the actual emergence of a strong sense of “nationhood” or “statehood”. This situation further suggests that the effectiveness of intergovernmental relations will be continuously tested as has been the case in several African countries and this may have exacerbated the stunted start that has proved so difficult to stabilize. Although different governmental systems have been adopted in various African countries, this study is located between federal (Nigeria) and unitary (South Africa) governmental systems. It should, however, be noted that the degree of decentralisation in the form of unitarism or federalism varies from country to country as in the case of Nigeria and South Africa. In practice, both governmental systems have remained less than perfect and the experiences of the selected countries reflect this. The challenge is to continually strive to develop a system that works best in given context.

Poor service delivery is seen as a challenge that can be better managed through intergovernmental relations. Ways must be sought to continually promote and sustain liaison with governmental stakeholders, as ultimately all shape public policy in their societies. In the promotion of strong intergovernmental relations, one must move beyond a “cosmetic approach” towards a genuine understanding of various viewpoints, thereby creating opportunities for genuine negotiations and the development of a shared vision. Without an integration of multi-sectoral, cooperation among the spheres of government and creating the right balance, at some point the tensions that are bound to arise will cause administrative and managerial concerns in governing structures.

The objectives of the research

The significant role that public administration is expected to and should play in Nigeria and South Africa remains critical. This suggests organisation of governmental structures particularly in Nigeria and South Africa requires constant review. Principles of Public Administration should be thoroughly examined and continuously analysed so that the lessons learnt from the evaluation of the governance system and its subsystems (including intergovernmental relations) are constantly taken cognizance of and applied in a way that brings about an adaptive developmental intergovernmental relations system.

In an attempt to review the existing management of intergovernmental relations mechanisms and frameworks, this research tries to determine the principles that govern intergovernmental relations from a Public Administration point of view. It also explores how these have been applied in the selected countries, the relationship between the principles, and their effects on service delivery. This is to be done with a view to determining best practice and the extent to which intergovernmental relations challenges (such as policy misfits, policy non-alignment and policy non-implementation) can be successfully tackled

within a particular intergovernmental relations framework. These intergovernmental relations challenges require in-depth study and efficient management. Nnoli (2000: 45) notes that, with regard to policy implementation, these challenges will persist because 'there is the problem of an intricate division of labour which has to be solved'. A developmental approach geared towards the continued strengthening of an effective intergovernmental relations system is likely to bring about a more integrated and coherent system.

The researcher argues that there is still scope for the evolution of an effective and efficient intergovernmental relations system in the two selected countries under discussion. Towards, one that is more integrated, coherent in nature and brings about the desired results. The general objective of the intended research is to examine the comprehensiveness (or lack of it) of the Public Administration approaches in dealing with and managing intergovernmental relations systems, structures and mechanisms in the governance of the Nigerian and South African states.

The following are specific objectives of the research:

- i) Describe the nature and form of Public Administration principles within selected African countries ;
- ii) Evaluate the extent to which Public Administration principles should be considered in the intergovernmental relations framework of the selected countries;
- iii) Reflect on the current intergovernmental relations practice and its implications on service delivery;
- iv) Identify and discuss the administrative implications as well as the challenges that need to be managed within a proactive intergovernmental relations construct ;
and

- v) Suggest guidelines for proactive management of possible administrative tensions within the study of Intergovernmental Relations.

Problem statement

The efficiency and effectiveness of the Public administration environment has a direct bearing on the ability or lack thereof of the Nigerian and South African states to meet governmental objectives as well as their developmental mandates. The current state of intergovernmental relations in the two selected countries (Nigeria and South Africa) suggests that the evolution of an intergovernmental relations system that is deployed to take cognizance of Public Administration principles (and their inherent complex relationships) in these countries (with their unique peculiarities which is context dependent) should be sought as this may lead to an improved intergovernmental relation system with stronger elements of policy alignment, interaction and coordination within and among spheres/levels of government.

Based on the above, the study identifies the pertinent research question which drives the study as follows:

To what extent do Public Administration principles underpin the management of intergovernmental relations in the selected countries (Nigeria and South Africa)?

Given the above proposed areas of investigation, the research reviews, analyses and evaluates the state of intergovernmental relation systems in the selected countries with a view to advancing comprehensive and inclusive public administrative strategies that will contribute to the reform of certain existing practices and contribute towards bring the development of a fully integrated intergovernmental relations system in those countries.

In South Africa, for the achievement of governmental goals including cooperative government as proposed by the 1996 constitution of the Republic of South Africa, there is

provision for an intergovernmental relations system that seeks to improve coordination and alignment. The Nigerian constitution of 1979, (chapter 1, part 1) pronounces the nation as a federation consisting of thirty-six states and a federal capital territory. In the conduct of state affairs (including agencies) Chapter 2, section 14 (3) further notes that governmental interactions should be carried out in such a way that they reflect the “federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty. Thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few state or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies. Therefore, a better understanding of how the coordination of intergovernmental relations systems has developed over the years and the extent to which this has enabled government to achieve its goals would be insightful.

Explanatory overviews of selected concepts

State

Falola (1994:4) notes ‘there are no people without a state if we define a state to mean a sovereign government with defined boundaries No people lived without a recognized authority which protected land, performed rituals, negotiated peace and resolved conflict...’

Chazran, Lewis, Mortimer, Rothchild and Stedman (1999: 39) define the state as ‘a set of associations and agencies claiming control over defined territories and their populations... the precise character and capacity of the state is determined by the pattern of organizations of these institutions at any specific point in time’.

For the purposes of this study, the state is a system of government that does not just claim authority, but is mandated to steer society’s developmental visions for the good of all who live in it. It should therefore not be reduced as a tool for the elite to further their cause, but must work for the majority of the people.

Unitarism

A unitary government is a type of government that seeks to concentrate power at the centre for various reasons. It may de-concentrate power to other subunits of government to enable it achieve its objectives. This means that such governmental subunits are mere extensions of the central government or agencies of the central government.

In reality, however, Adamolekun (1999: 37) notes, most modern states, including unitary states, combine features of both decentralization and centralization. This suggests that the degree to which a unitary government centralises power may vary from country to country, taking into account historical, political and cultural realities.

Federalism

Federalism, according to Watts (1994: 53), is a term that refers to the advocacy of multi-tiered government combining elements of shared-rule and regional self-rule. It is based on the presumed value of achieving both unity and diversity by accommodating, preserving and promoting distinct identities within a larger political union. Basta and Fleiner (1996:2) view federalism as a system that seeks to unite separate political units through the distribution of authority among the units with the degree of autonomy however varying from country to country.

Given the above, it is not surprising that more and more countries have formed states with federal characteristics, combining a shared government for specified common purposes and autonomous action by governments of constituent units for purposes related to maintaining their regional distinctiveness. This delicate balance of elements of federalism and unitarism, allows for some level of distinctness within a collective and the maintenance of peculiarities in the contemporary world. In such a context, the objective of federal political systems is

not to eliminate diversity but rather to accommodate, reconcile and manage social diversities within an overarching polity (Watts, 1994: 56).

For the purposes of this research, federalism is defined as a structure of government, backed by a constitution that allows for the semi-independent national and sub-national arrangements (structures with responsibility) in the form of central, state (or provincial) and local governments. However, the degree of federalism may differ from one country to another; hence some unitary states like South Africa have federal characteristics.

Confederalism

A confederation is a “situation in which two or more polities come together to establish a limited-purpose general government that functions throughout the constituent states, which retain their position as the primary political communities, retaining ultimate sovereignty with the overall polity”. (HSRC, *www.hsrcpress.ac.za*. Accessed 2 May 2007). In this study, the researcher views a confederation as a loosely organized state consisting of several territories but with negotiated authority to make certain decisions on behalf of the various territories or local governments. In a confederation, there is normally no direct contact between the populations of the member states and this overall body.

This state organizational structure is such that the central body can only reach the population (where necessary) through the various regional governments or states. While this may be an appropriate description, for the purposes of this research, the fact that the actions of the confederation are administrative in nature suggests that the coordination role has to be highlighted especially with IGR.

Intergovernmental relations

According to Opeskin (1998:11), the term "intergovernmental relations" is commonly used to refer to relations between central, regional, and local governments (as well as between governments within any one sphere) that facilitate the attainment of common goals through cooperation. Used in this sense, mechanisms for intergovernmental relations may be seen as employing consensual tools for the mutual benefit of the constituent units of the federation.

For Van der Waldt and Du toit (1997: 162) intergovernmental relations refer to the mutual relations and interactions between government institutions at horizontal and vertical levels. This is in line with Thornhill's (2002: 8) definition that 'intergovernmental relations is all the actions and transactions of politicians and officials amongst the national and sub-national units of government and organs of the state'. All of which are in line with Adamolekun's (1999: 53) position that it deals with the relationships between government and sub-national units" hence Ademolekun (1986: 89) defines intergovernmental relations as the interactions that take place among the levels of government within a state.

Crucial to this relation and among others, attention needs to be paid to the statutory bodies (legislative backing) and non-statutory bodies (constituted by government for a specific task) as these can promote intergovernmental relations in the form of committees, boards or a range of other bodies (Kuye, Thornhill & Fourie, 2002: 45).

An intergovernmental relation system consists of facilitative systems and relationships that enable the units of government to participate effectively and to carry out mandates such that governmental goals are achieved. This includes executive mechanisms, coordinating mechanisms, cooperative agreements, judiciary and legislative mechanisms that all facilitate delivery by government machinery. Intergovernmental relations can thus be defined as the

“glue” in the form of interactions, relationships and the conduct of officials between governmental activities that ensure the achievement of common goals through mutual relationships between and across vertical and horizontal governmental arrangements towards alignment and cohesion across all spheres of government. The aim of Intergovernmental relations is to seek synergy for efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of services, to sustain democracy through a number of ways, including the strengthening of capacity across all spheres of government for the common good

Co-operative government

The management of the activities of government in most countries has often resulted in conflict among tiers of government. Ademolekun (1986: 69) suggests that ‘national integration still remains a goal in most if not all African countries’ (including Nigeria and South Africa) making intergovernmental relations an important tool. Chapter 3 of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) emphasizes and ‘actively promotes co-operation between the different levels of government’ (Levy & Tapscott, 2001: 1), especially given South Africa’s divided society pre-1994 elections. This is also against the backdrop of concurrent and exclusive activities that all spheres of government have to engage in as they seek to deliver basic and essential services to the people of South Africa.

Political democracies and social democracies, in the final analysis, must be able to promote both internal and external interests, and to deal in a regular and institutionalized way with the everyday interplay of minority interests through appropriate institutions and structures.

Hence Thornhill in Kuye *et al.*, (2002: 34) emphasise the South African experience with cooperative arrangements where units are interdependent, with clear areas of authority resulting in smoother intergovernmental relations. Important in the understanding of the

South African cooperative model of intergovernmental relations are three important adjectives (distinctive, interdependent and interrelated) are crucial for intergovernmental relations and set the stage for it's understanding.

Distinctive

The 1996 Constitution of Republic of South African, Section 41(1) (e), dictates that there should be respect for the constitutional status of institutions and the powers and functions of government in other spheres of governance. This suggests that each sphere of government has it own status with a clear mandate. Hence Section 41 (f) adds that spheres must 'not assume any power or function except those conferred on them in terms of the Constitution'. Section 41(e) notes that spheres 'must exercise their powers and functions in a manner that does not encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of government in another sphere; and lastly Section 41(g) spells out the manner in which this is to be achieved, which is 'co-operate with one another in mutual trust and good faith...'

Distinctiveness therefore reflects specific or particularities that ensure that roles are best executed at a selected sphere of government. According to Levy (1999: 7), 'Each sphere has distinctive legislative and executive competencies'. While, this is in line with the current understanding of the concept, it is important to add that these have been competencies that have been allocated on the assumption that the particular interest is best served by a particular sphere given their unique characteristics and peculiarities.

Interdependent

The 1996 Constitution of Republic of South African, Section 41(h) stipulates that spheres must cooperate with each other if the goals of the nations are to be achieved. These could be

through communication, consultation, coordination, assisting and supporting each other in a variety of ways. Powell, in Levy & Tapscott (2001: 258) notes that the ‘interdependence of the spheres is the degree to which one sphere depends on another for the proper fulfilment of its constitutional functions’.

The term “interdependent” means that no sphere can operate in isolation. All spheres are inter-reliant, mutually dependent and supportive of each other, especially in terms of capacity support for provincial and local government. They should be closely supervised and monitored to ensure that national objectives are met through effective oversight by the appropriate institutions.

Interrelated

The 1996 Constitution of Republic of South African, Section 49 (a) submits that spheres must ‘preserve the peace, national unity and the indivisibility of the Republic’ through the provision of ‘effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government for the republic as a whole’. This implies that spheres are crucial parts that collectively form the government of the country and if they are parts of a whole then, for the whole to function effectively as required, the parts must relate amicably. This term (interrelated) means that spheres are parts of a holistic system of government and that through these interrelated spheres, a solid and unified government can evolve.

Having discussed the important elements in which cooperative government is embedded, it can be stated that, co-operative government requires mutual respect and the building of relationship among all spheres of government for the good of all. This is achieved by providing other spheres ample opportunities to make input into policy and providing them

with the necessary support to implement those policies by exercising oversight responsibilities.

Spheres of government

Chapter 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Section 40) outlines the structure of government into three distinctive, interdependent and interrelated bodies, or spheres, each with its own areas of operation. They consist of national, provincial and local governments.

In the national government, legislative authority is vested in the National Assembly (Parliament which includes the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces) which could be considered as, ‘...the primary legislative body in South Africa’ (Kuye *et al.*, 2002: 33-38) and executive authority in the Cabinet (Botes, Brynard, Fourie & Roux, 1996: 100-108).

At the provincial government, a total of nine provincial governments were created, with the legislative authority vested in the provincial legislatures. The authority of the provincial legislature is only applicable in the specific territory of each province, (Botes *et al.*, 1996: 189-190). The provincial governments also have executive authority, which is vested in the Premier. The Local Government is made up of municipalities that are the forms of government closest to communities. The local government sphere has to recognize legislation passed by the other two spheres.

Venter (1998: 171-202) explains, each sphere of government in South Africa is autonomous but is interlocked with the other spheres and must operate in unison with them in the delivery of public services. Each sphere is distinctive from the other and although they are interdependent and interrelated, each has relative autonomy to perform its functions and

exercise its powers. This implies some level of parity between and amongst the spheres, as they are equal with regard to their importance in service delivery. However, each some spheres has the responsibility of ensuring that the other spheres performs its functions adequately and constitutionally - the national sphere to the provincial and the provincial to local sphere.

According to Levy and Tapscott (2001: 5), ‘the decision to describe the different levels of government as spheres rather than tiers was a conscious attempt to move away from the notion of a hierarchy with all the connotations of subordination’. The challenge for federalism is to seek cooperation rather than competition. This will ensure that spheres commit to assigned roles, although critics may argue that cooperative federalism can also have a negative side. Excessive emphasis on harmony and cooperation can mean intergovernmental agreements that are the lowest common denominator, or that are too weak to be effective. They can lead to excessive delay as governments work towards agreement.

The challenge then, is for each federal system (or states with federal characteristics) to find their own balance between autonomy and interdependence, competition and consensus. Both sides of the coin are essential to the broad goal of ensuring that governmental systems can respond and adapt to the changing societies in which they are embedded, and which they serve.

Decentralisation

Decentralisation is the transfer of power and functions from central government to provincial government and from provincial to district and local authorities or municipalities,

in such a way that decision-making can be done and action taken at appropriate lower levels within the general policy of the state or central structure. This is important in intergovernmental relations as it does not make the central structures irrelevant, but rather allows institutions a fair degree of autonomy through provincial and local structures that enable meaningful participation in their own affairs through various IGR forums.

The functions and powers of the central authority are divided and entrusted to governmental structures established for this purpose of decentralisation (Hattingh, 1998: 69-71). This is a general form of delegation in the public sector which emerges from the decentralisation of activities within an organisation that has existing structures. Its usefulness lies in the generally accepted fact that it is impossible for the central sphere of government to execute all functions and powers entrusted to it by legislation. Hence, decentralisation is a practical organisational mechanism for efficient and effective government and administration. This is achieved through the division of work or functions by decentralising these. It is therefore, a mechanism for achieving specific administrative objectives.

Adamolekun (1999:49) notes that this term refers to ‘a political arrangement involving the devolution of specific powers and resources by the central government to sub-national level government units (including regional, state, provincial, local governments or municipalities’ all of which must operate within a clear legislative framework usually set out by the constitution of a particular country. The legislative framework may allow for a unitary, federal, confederal or a quasi-federal type of government but regardless of the manner in which the state is organised, decentralisation remains vital. Decentralisation relates to the transfer and streamlining of services in such a way that enables the service to be rendered adequately, effectively decongesting the administrative load through *devolution* or *de-concentration*. It is therefore in line with the principle of subsidiarity as higher levels of

government are not expected to execute roles that the lower units can manage effectively. It may require transfer of policy planning and implementation responsibilities to the lower units because these are closest to the people through devolution. Both types of decentralisation allows for extensive formal directives, which are associated with prescribed procedures (Hattingh, 1998: 71-73).

The issue of devolution of power as against the de-concentration of powers from national to other spheres of government has meant that cooperation should be pursued to minimize unnecessary power games and conflicts among the spheres of governments. This means that the strengthening of intergovernmental relations to be able to deal with the challenges, tensions and conflicts that may arise from the decentralisation model adopted is imperative.

Devolution

Devolution refers to organisational structuring which allows for the decentralisation of powers and functions from a central authority to augment the capacity to govern. Chapter 3 Devolution ultimately involves the reassignment of final responsibility and accountability from the centre to the periphery, namely from the centre to the governmental unit responsible for executing a particular function(s).

If devolution is successfully executed, there is no need for constant recourse to provincial government, except in the initial stages of the process. This does not make the central institution irrelevant but rather allows it to give provincial and local authorities a fair degree of autonomy through intermediate structures, which enable them to participate more meaningfully in their own affairs. This option allows for a sense of custodianship or ownership of a local authority, which helps to boost confidence and participation in development initiatives in a given locality. This enables IGR structures to facilitate the devolution process as against de-concentration where subordinate governmental bodies

perform complementary functions to the central authority, but the ultimate accountability for the actions of all subordinate bodies rests with the central authority. This is a form of delegation relating to the division of labour within an institution, or among several institutions.

De-concentration

This is a situation where the sub-national governments becomes an extension of the central government and can have its function and powers withdrawn at will. Adamolekun (1999:49) describes it as an 'administrative measure including the transfer of management responsibility and resources to agents of the central government located outside the headquarters at one or more levels'. Devolution by contrast, refers to the location of responsibilities and powers to execute them at various levels of government and these are contained in the constitution of the land and cannot be withdrawn at the will of the central government.

With de-concentration, authority and powers are assigned to an independent institution completely executing the authority and powers in its own name. De-concentration can also be defined as shifting power from the central offices to peripheral offices of the same administrative structure. Powers are delegated to the peripheral unit to be semi-autonomous, but the peripheral unit is bound to the centre by a common bureaucracy. The principal organisation regards the subordinate institution as an independent entity. De-concentration allows principal organisations to retain the final authority which may intervene in the functions and powers of the subordinate (not independent) institution (Gildenhuys, 1997: 75-79).

Governance

Kickert, Klijn and Koppenjan (1997: 2) describe governance as ‘directed influence on social processes’. Although this is a workable definition, it could be argued that its limitations concern the fact that indirect influences may not altogether fall outside the scope of governance. Therefore, the above definition concept of governance would be slightly adjusted to include indirect influences. This suggests that a broader meaning of the concept would include deliberate as well as unintended processes that are associated with public policy and public interactions. The implication therefore is that the limits of governance are not clear-cut as it includes several actors. In other words, ‘public management is governance but not all governance is public management’ (Kickert, Klijn & Koppenjan, 1997: 2).

Leadership

Although a lot has been written about the meaning of leadership, it certainly seems to be an inexhaustible concept as it continually evolves and mutates according to a variety of circumstances. In Mazuri (2001: 102-106) an attempt is made to conceptualize specific leadership variations. He argues that political leadership cannot be viewed in terms of father/son relationship but rather in terms of teacher/student relationship by applying mentoring and coaching techniques. What this suggests, is that leadership especially in the political arena should not be patriarchal, prescriptive and authoritarian but must engage of the people being led, in such a mutual way that the leadership over time shows positive results. In the context of public administration therefore, and in terms of this work, leadership is defined as a team of people with legitimate mandate, integrity and clear visions to achieve the extra-ordinary through support mustered in the form of a community vision.

Public Administration Approach

As reflected in the American heritage dictionaries, (<http://www.nordstrom.com>. Accessed

23 April 2007), approaches are methods used in dealing with a particular problem or activity. Adebayo (2000: 13) reflects that it is a set of principles or key functions that are critical in governmental activities including the management of intergovernmental relations. These functions, he captured as in an acronym called POSCORB (which represents the functions of Planning, Organising, Staffing, Directing, Coordination, Reporting and Budgeting.)

These functions, individually and collectively are essential for effective management of the various components that governmental administration relies on (regardless of whether the system of government in a particular state is unitary or federal in nature). For the purposes of this study, the functions identified by Adebayo are imbedded and executed with the framework of acceptable normative values reflect public administration approach and principles. What this suggests is the approach would be vital in all government fields of activities as they guide the normative behaviour that public institutions are expected to reflect. Usually these are values that consistent with societally acceptable behaviour, legally acceptable and emanate from the body politic.

Origin of Intergovernmental Relations

The origin of IGR can be traced from the late 1930s in the United States. The concept of IGR became internationally accepted in the 1950s with the creation of a United States permanent body known as the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in 1959 and the promotion of the Canadian experience of cooperative federalism in the 1950's and 1960's. Admolekun noted,

‘...the federal government’s decision to undertake a large number of programmes of economic and social development had consequences for the state and local governments. This interdependence of the different levels of government called for a certain degree of harmonization and coordination of economic and social policies. This political dimension of IGR was accompanied by an administrative dimension, namely, the need to manage the complex public bureaucracy that resulted from the

implementation of the policies' (1986: 90).

The concept of Intergovernmental Relation has become an avenue for facilitating governmental goals and ensuring alignment across all levels of government. The origins of intergovernmental relations in a particular country must take the contextual issues into account. Although co-operative federalism resulted from this in the USA and Canada in the 1950's, IGR mutated and has increasingly changed its form, such that it has become competitive, in the American state and likewise in Nigeria (colonial and postcolonial) where the tensions among national groups were of an ethnic nature leading to a highly conflictual and competitive federalism.

The origin of IGR in most African states can be traced to the pre-colonial era. The Nigerian colonial state was administered as a unitary state by the British and, for governance reasons (not necessary to the advantage of the Nigerian state), regionalism was a strong feature. Regionalism may have in fact triggered the hurried metamorphosis from a unitary government to a federal system in 1954 with the creation of numerous commissions and *ad hoc* bodies for revenue allocation. As a federation, the powers of the state governments have increasingly declined thereby reflecting unitary characteristics through the continuous disintegration of former strong regions into smaller and weaker states with a greater need for an efficient and effective IGR system. The need for administrative mechanisms was paramount; hence, the number and frequency of meetings and conferences between administrators and politicians across the levels of government have steadily increased with the establishment of state liaison offices at the national capital.

Ademolekun (1986: 101) notes that 'a more significant influence on the use of the term is the overall impact of several provisions in the 1979 Nigerian constitution that relates either

directly or indirectly to IGR'. These provisions in the second Schedule, fourth Schedule, Sections 149 and 150 of the Nigerian 1979 Constitution, include among others aspects, the division of legislative powers amongst levels of government, including local government and the creation of the national council of states.

In the South African IGR context, it would appear that although the IGR system evolved amidst a centralized system that sought only to oversee security and protect the rights of a minority group using various governmental systems, it has since gradually moved towards a decentralized and devolved democratic system. The development of intergovernmental relations in South Africa is invariably linked to development of an interim and consequently a final constitution adopted in 1996.

The "concept of IGR is relatively new to South Africa. It arose under the interim constitution with the creation of three tiers of government at national, provincial and local level. The new constitution creates the condition for intergovernmental relations. Three spheres of government replace the tiers. Powers are allocated within three spheres as either powers exclusive to one sphere or as powers shared concurrently between two or more spheres... on going interactions between the three spheres of government is thus both a constitutional and a practical necessity" (Moosa, 1998)

Mathebula (2004:101) notes that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations led to the adoption of interim constitution that reflected deeply held positions on intergovernmental relations. Further consensus on the interim constitution culminated in the 1996 South African Constitution that pronounces the existence of spheres of government and the need to nurture these relationships in an effort to accomplish governmental objectives. Thus the Chairperson of the NCOP (1998) noted that this will bring about a "culture of consultation and co-operation which was enshrined in the constitution, in the principles of co-operative governance"

Outline of Chapters

A brief summary of the organization of this thesis is given to provide the layout and organization of the entire work.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the subject matter for investigation - A PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION APPROACH TO MANAGING INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SYSTEM IN THE GOVERNANCE OF THE STATE: A CASE REVIEW OF NIGERIA & SOUTH AFRICA. The Introductory chapter provides the parameters for the research undertaken. In addition to the introductory notes, it includes

- ❑ Rationale of the study
- ❑ Problem statement
- ❑ The purpose of the study
- ❑ Objectives of the study
- ❑ Definitions and clarifications of terms
- ❑ Origins of IGR
- ❑ Structure of research dissertation

Chapter 2

Research methodology

This chapter deals primarily with the methodological issues. This is to ensure that all the relevant issues are clarified. The rationale for the preferred research design is explained and ways to augment possible limitations that a particular design might impose are suggested. In addition, the following aspects are addressed:

- ❑ Public Administration and qualitative research

- ❑ Data and information collection tools
- ❑ Ethnical considerations in the research
- ❑ Significance of the study
- ❑ Limitation of the study.

Chapter 3

Review of relevant literature

Perspectives and literature on the management of intergovernmental relations in general but specifically on the selected African countries are profiled and discussed. The argument for making governance work better and bringing about efficient and effective service delivery through better coordinated and aligned sub-national governmental systems, is one that should be earnestly pursued especially in the African continent with debates on good governance being high on the agenda.

An overview of IGR in selected African countries will be attempted, but unlike previous studies which tend to focus only on the historical perspectives, attempts have been made to understand the Public Administrative elements that are paramount in managing these relationships and activities. In addition to understanding the topic, the following issues are addressed:

- ❑ Theoretical framework for the study of IGR
- ❑ The practice of IGR in selected states
- ❑ An overview of Public Administration principles that IGR must take cognisance of in any state (unitary or federal).

Chapter 4

IGR international and continental trends

International trends in the practice of IGR are presented with insights from

- ❑ Switzerland,
- ❑ Canada,
- ❑ Australia

Next, an African continental perspective is presented including constitutional mandates and institutional arrangements in two different countries that are located in separate regional blocks in Africa, namely:

- ❑ Nigeria (in ECOWAS)
- ❑ South Africa (in SADC)

An indepth contextual profile is presented and selected cases profiled. Where possible, comparisons (including the legislative provisions and existing structures of intergovernmental relations from a coordinating point of view) have been outlined with a view to harnessing the lessons that are contained herein with regard to the management of intergovernmental relations and presenting practices or administrative mechanisms that aid or hinder efficient and effective service delivery .

Chapter 5

Analysis of case studies

Intergovernmental relations is a critical transversal element that allows for political and administrative interface. This therefore makes the public institutions important structures in the quest for a total turn around strategy for societal change, in terms of responding adequately to delivery imperatives. In this research, the emphasis with regard to administrative implications focuses on planning, policy process, the organisational and

coordination mechanisms that hinder or facilitate intergovernmental relations. Other issues to be dealt with in this chapter include:

- ❑ A detailed analysis of IGR cases from selected countries
- ❑ A periodic analysis of the nature of IGR in the selected countries
- ❑ Cross country analysis of emerging trends
- ❑ An evaluation of the extent to which Public Administration principles underpin the intergovernmental relations framework and mechanisms of selected countries
- ❑ The role of various elements such as commitment in governance and the management of intergovernmental relations.

Chapter 6

Summary, conclusion and recommendations

Despite the challenges that face intergovernmental relation systems in developing countries, some critical elements have been identified in this chapter, as these can bring about sound and improved intergovernmental relation processes, including the need to:

- ❑ rationalise the expanding role of intergovernmental relations as a facilitator of governance processes in the state, using lessons learnt from the two country cases profiled
- ❑ Provide guidelines for proactive management of possible managerial tensions in intergovernmental relations
- ❑ identify areas for future research
- ❑ make recommendations and conclusions

Chapter summary

The nature of these intergovernmental relations can include relationships between one province and another, provinces and national government, one local government and other

local governments, national government and local governments, as well as simultaneous relations among all spheres/levels of government (national, provinces and local government).

The context in which intergovernmental relations take place should be thoroughly considered, if a truly indigenous and workable system is to be evolved. On the African continent, there is growing impatience with government programmes and corresponding service delivery hence the role of IGR in facilitating improved service delivery is even more important. The emphasis of this research is to determine public administrative approaches that may be employed in the management of intergovernmental relations, and the extent to which these could be successfully implemented.

In this introductory chapter, attempts have been made to introduce the theme being investigated, and its relevance to the African continent. In addition, concepts have been clarified, and an attempt was made to present the origin of intergovernmental relations. Finally, an outline for the structure of the study has been logically presented within the framework of governance and the opportunities that intergovernmental relation may present.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter deals primarily with the research problem and methodological issues that have relevance to the investigation. It is important to ensure that all the relevant issues are clarified. An attempt has been made to provide an overview of research design as well as providing insight into the various strategies that are available for a qualitative orientated research, such as this. The rationale for the preferred qualitative research design is explained and ways to augment possible limitations that a particular strategy might pose are suggested.

The research is largely descriptive in nature as ‘social science researches are more affected by some properties of society than the natural sciences’ (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995: 9). The research design, which emerges from the nature of the research problem, is however, both descriptive and explorative in nature. The descriptive part provides a general text on the nature of intergovernmental relations as well as the implementation mechanisms in the Republic of South Africa, and Nigeria. The explorative aspect provides an in-depth analysis of public administration principles that have been employed in Nigeria and South Africa, as a management mechanism for facilitating service delivery in the arena of government. The focus in this respect is intergovernmental relations, its challenges, implications of its management strategies as well as an exploration of the extent to which current practices have been useful in the governance of the state.

This chapter profiles the research design adopted, and subsequently demonstrates through the process of rationalisation why a particular design is preferred to anchor this study. How this research has been planned and how it has been executed to minimise error is discussed.

Public Administration & qualitative research

The history of qualitative research reveals that modern social science disciplines have embraced their mission that appears to be an attempt at analysing and understanding the patterned conduct and social processes of society. The fact that a research in the social sciences can be carried out presupposes that social scientists have the ability to observe their environment objectively. To this end, qualitative methods are a major tool in the quest for deeper understanding (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 18-29) of various issues or experiences hence qualitative research has a long and distinguished history in human discipline.

Denzin & Lincoln (2003: 1) argue this qualitative method can be traced to the 1920s and 1930s which established its importance as a qualitative inquiry for the study of human group life, processes and systems. Qualitative research is also viewed as ‘an interdisciplinary, trans-disciplinary and sometimes counter disciplinary field’ as it cross-cuts the humanities and the social sciences (Nelson, Treichler & Grossberg, 1992: 2). Given the above, the qualitative design remains invaluable in the study of Public Administration. An eclectic science, which has over the years benefited from this field of inquiry given that qualitative inquiry allows the Public Administration researcher or scholar to cut across disciplines, fields and subject matter in a manner that is rich and deepens the inquiry.

Regardless of the fact that qualitative research has continued to develop in form over the years, it has remained appropriate and applicable. Denzin and Lincoln (2003: 19-29) identified seven phases of the development of qualitative research. The lessons drawn from these phases that have been applied in this study include how best to offer valid, reliable and objective interpretations such that the research findings become a catalyst for reforming society in a manner that serves the people. Furthermore, there is value in the research approach given that it is underpinned by case studies, historical and ethnographic studies

(which embrace elements, such as class, race, gender and ethnicity amongst others) in a way that shapes the process of inquiry and explore avenues that connect the research issues to any democratic society in an attempt to better understand social processes in societies.

It is clear that the value of qualitative research allows for some level of flexibility and thus has been applied accordingly in this research. The flexible approach that is used in this research allows the researcher probe further, where findings suggest that there is need for deeper insights. Furthermore, the exploratory element allows the researcher in Public Administration to collect information that is open-ended in nature thereby enabling the unravelling of a research problem by uncovering insights about a ‘particular problem or phenomenon rather than test specific predicts’ (Dyer, 1995: 43). In the context of this research study, the researcher utilises the qualitative design to explore the Public Administration approaches that have been utilised to facilitate delivery in selected government ministries or departments and within the framework of intergovernmental relations systems.

Rationale for the utilization of the qualitative research design

The aim of this section is to provide an overview of the qualitative research design that has been utilized as well as to provide insights into the various approaches that the researcher has utilised for the purposes of this research. The design allows the researcher to present arguments or findings that are embedded in literature and analyze information in a manner that enables him/her tackle the research question or solve a problem. Hence, Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg (1992: 2) reflect that qualitative research uses ‘semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival and phonemic analysis, even statistics, tables, graphs and numbers’. They also draw upon and utilise the phenomenology, hermeneutics, feminism, rhizomatics, de-constructionism, ethnography, interviews, psychoanalysis, cultural studies,

survey and participant research, and observation among others, all of which provide valuable and important insights and knowledge.

The current qualitative research is largely discipline-based, descriptive and exploratory in nature. Doodley (1984: 283) captures it as ‘social research based on non-quantitative observations... and analyzed in non statistical ways’. Strydom, Fouche & Delpont (2002: 272) explains qualitative research by highlighting what it is not. He notes that qualitative research does not provide the researcher with a step-by-step plan, unlike quantitative research that ‘determines the researcher’s choices and actions’. The strength of the qualitative research utilized in this study therefore, gives the researcher room to shape research tools and deepen the inquiry on the discourse of intergovernmental relations.

For the research to be successful, the researcher has deployed a qualitative research method in a manner that enables scientific enquiry, in a manner that is fully exploited and carefully considered (Smith, 1995: 8). The primary approach employed in this qualitative research is triangulation. The benefit of triangulation is that it takes advantage of the different methodological viewpoints and arrives at a more accurate discussion. The approach therefore departs from the premise that no method measures perfectly and the use of other methods or approaches offers a better chance of assessing the validity of the study. In certain instances, this may be adopted to clarify or solve emerging problems. Below is a diagrammatical illustration of the methods utilized within the triangulation approach constructed by the researcher for this study. The principal approaches utilised in this triangulation consists of the case study, historical and the ethnographic methodological viewpoints.

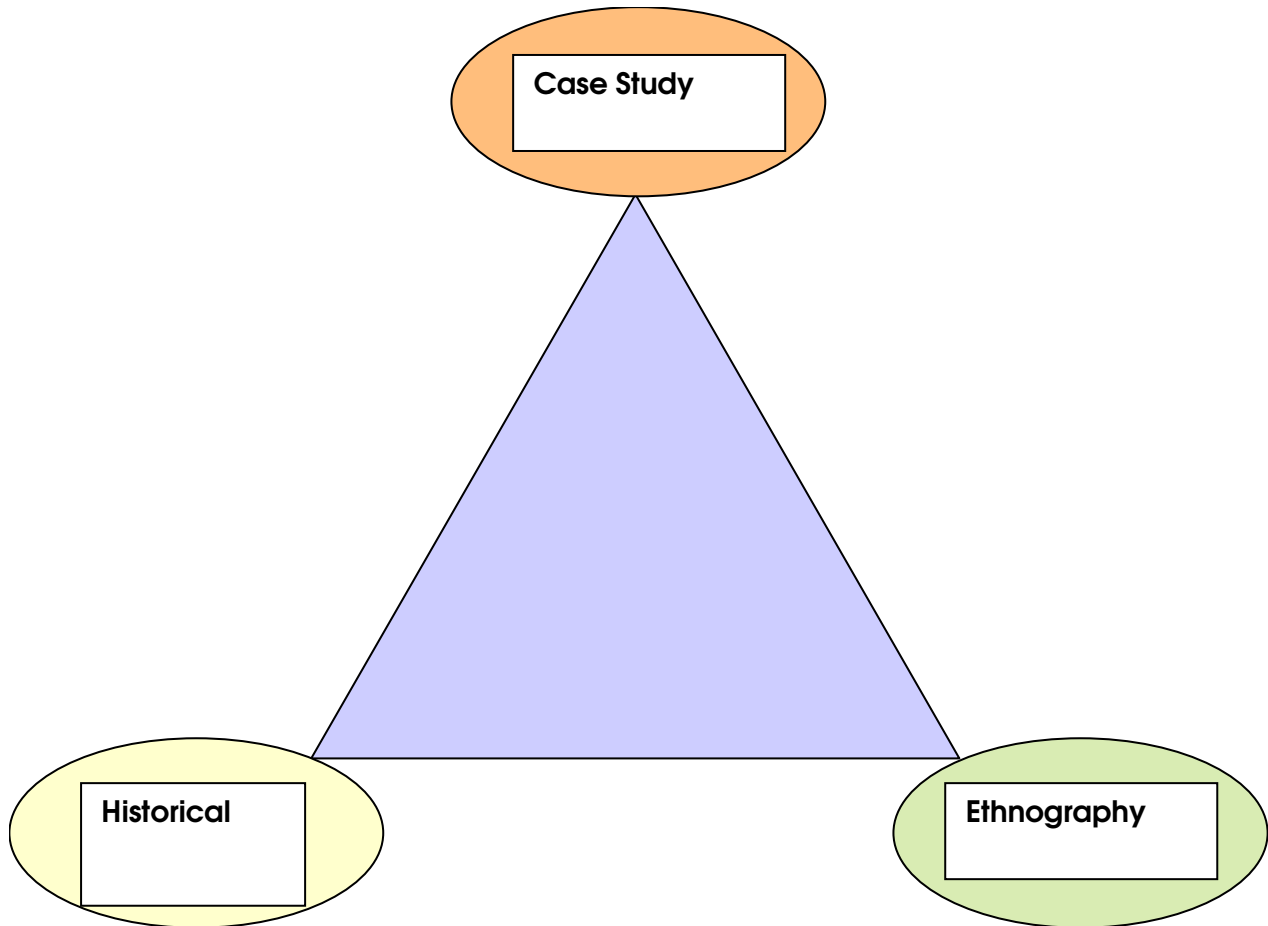


Figure 2 .1 A depiction of the triangulation approach to qualitative research

Triangulation is a multi-method approach and is also known as the multiple measurements. According to Brewer and Hunter (1989: 17), ‘triangulated measurements try to pinpoint the values of a phenomenon more accurately by sighting in on the different methodological viewpoints. This is useful, as the measurement tool can be devised and deployed in a manner that enables the researcher to determine whether the results obtained from IGR management in the selected countries are conflicting or complementary.

The approach provides an opportunity for the complementary methods to be utilised and deployed because it departs from the premise that no method measures perfectly and the use of other methods or approaches offers a better chance of assessing the validity of the

findings. The use of three methodological viewpoints allows the researcher to solve emerging problems with the most appropriate approach. However, some critics of this approach argue that the use of a variety of approaches will only lead to confusion and endless controversy (Blalock, 1978: 22), this approach remains powerful in the field of social and human sciences research. Although there may be justifications for the use of a single method, the multi-method approach is a more attractive option as it integrates the various results from the methods utilised in such a way that the findings tend to be more coherent.

In the triangulation, there are a few deviations, and these have been distinguished into four main types (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 289) and these are as follows:

- Data Triangulation (The use of different data sources which should be distinguished from the use of different methods for producing data)
- Investigator Triangulation (Used to minimize bias resulting from the researcher as a person)
- Theory triangulation (Approaching data with different perspectives and hypotheses in mind), and finally
- Methodological triangulation (Researching within methods and among methods)

The research design emerging from this study can be located within the methodological triangulation framework, with case study, ethnography and historical approaches having been employed and profiled in the next section.

Data and Information collection

A descriptive overview of the methods utilized for the purposes of collecting information and data for this research are contained in this section. Their strength, possible limitations

and how these are limitation as to pro-actively managed in the course of this research investigation is discussed below.

Case studies

The case study approach has been selected as one of the methods for this research, because it provides insight into a particular investigation with a view that the problem will be better understood. For the purposes of this study, two countries (Nigeria & South Africa) have been selected for in-depth study in terms of their approaches to intergovernmental relations. The case study approach utilised in this study is more inclined towards the exploratory design as the researcher seeks to function within a broad theoretical framework rather than a case study that is inclined towards gathering evidence in support or refutation of a theory (Dyer, 1995: 51).

The value of the case study includes the fact that case studies provide an opportunity to deal with ‘understanding uniqueness and the idiosyncrasy of a particular case in all its complexity’ rather than generalized or regular deductions (Welman & Kruger, 2002: 183). In this way, case studies provide deep insights; hence Dyer (1995:47) reflects that case studies can be likened to the case history of a patient with detailed information relating to systems, symptoms, diagnosis, record of treatment and eventual outcome with a view of highlighting any usual or unusual traits. In this way, the researcher is able to investigate the dynamics of institutional interactions within the framework of intergovernmental relations in selected states.

In this research the intergovernmental relations and public administration functions have been fully explored in chapter 3 and 4. It is important to note that elements of comparison may have been harnessed in the course of this study, among the selected countries. This

comparative approach permits the in-depth understanding of the peculiarities through the use of case studies in the selected countries. The form of the data utilized for this purpose includes descriptive statistics for Nigeria and South Africa in order to amplify the understanding of the context and, where appropriate mass media material has been deployed as this provided valuable insight with regard to content analysis.

A further strength of the case study approach is that it allows for the carrying out of a detailed in-depth study, in a descriptive process-orientated manner while limiting a multitude of factors, such as the number of cases studied by demarcating the boundaries of the study. Hence, the case studies in this research are tightly grounded in theory (Dyer, 1995:50) particularly the systems approach, allowing for comprehensiveness in the intergovernmental relations.

The case study method is systematic and process orientated (Dyer, 1995: 48) as it explores the nature of a process that has occurred over time within a particular context and is in contrast to snapshots thereby tracking the socio-political metamorphosis of intergovernmental relations in the selected countries. Lastly, it allowed for in-depth, unique experiences to be shared in a highly detailed and narrative manner. The case study approach and the critical elements applicable in this study are identifiable as

- Systematic nature of the processes and activities of public administration(in a federal or unitary government)
- Explorative and comparative
- Context uniqueness and in-depth narrative

All of which are further amplified in the diagram below:

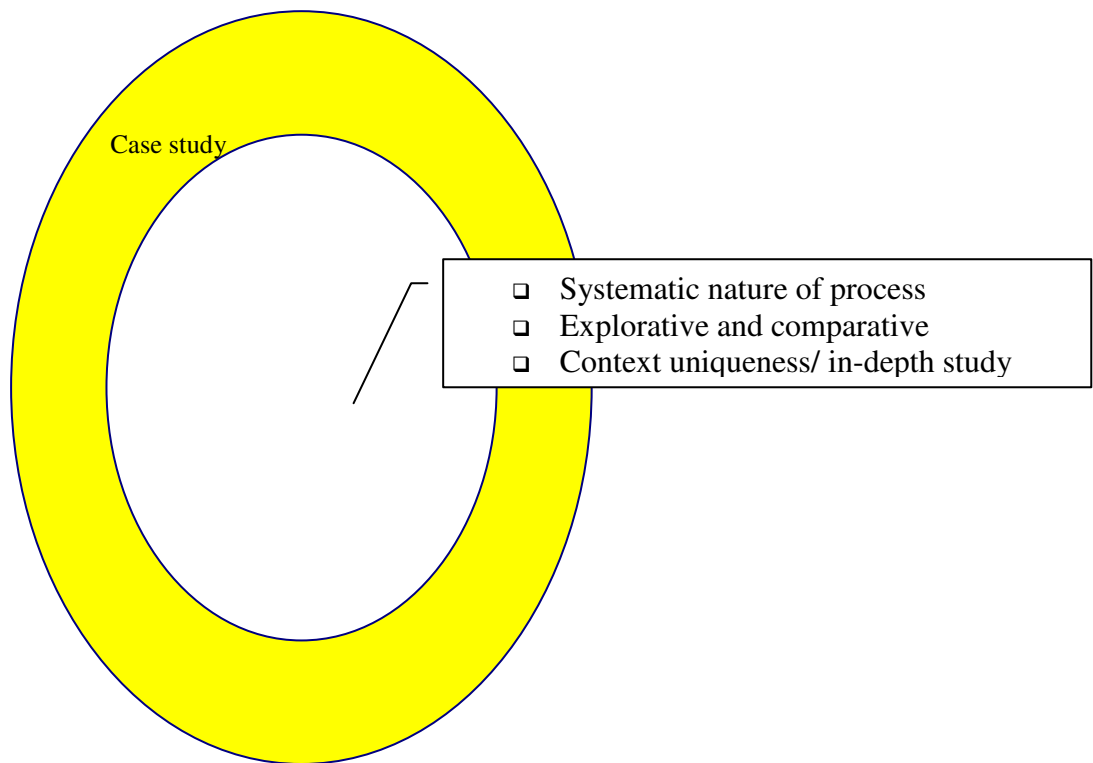


Figure 2.2: Variation of case study approach adopted

Ile's (2006) configuration of the variant of the case study approach adopted.

A major criticism of case studies however, is the presentation of facts (Dyer, 1995:52) especially the way information is selected and findings generalised. Hence, Huysamen's (1995:2) argues that the researcher's reasoning may be conducted logically but the results will be erroneous because the material proceeds from a false premise. To safeguard the validity of the research, care is taken to ensure the authenticity of the sources consulted by ensuring there is a fair spread of opinions and representation in order to remain objective and minimize subjective bias. Furthermore, the application of other methods such as the historical and ethnographic methods will be useful in making important decisions on what to include, thereby ensuring relevancy.

Finally and with regard to the utilisation of the case studies, the discussions in this work used a range of approaches as complementary tools to ensure a rich and robust discussion

but primarily, the Public administration approach which includes the normative operational approach will be the primary tool for analysing the issues and case studies.

Historical method

Intergovernmental relations have a great deal to do with interactions inherent within or amongst organizations. An in-depth understanding of the institutions and how they have related in the past provide an important backdrop for the research. According to Welman and Kruger (2002: 179), a historical understanding can be obtained through a number of sources including documents (newspapers, reports, correspondence, official statistics) and information from the past that have been preserved.

The historical method has been used in line with Brynard and Hanekom's (1997: 6), arguments that it is useful when the researcher wants to give a rational and logical explanation of the effect of an event(s) on a society. But even beyond that, it could seek to advance a better understanding of social interactions. Mouton (2001: 107) further notes that this approach can be enriched by keeping a detailed record of the precise location of the data sources, missing documents or parts of a document as well as issues relating to the authenticity of the historical sources. Its aim is to provide a near accurate account of happenings in the past in a chronological fashion as well as to make any deductions about the way the events have taken place and how governmental systems such as intergovernmental relations have emerged.

The researcher is not directly observing these events as they have already occurred but seeks to describe, analyse and interpret the emerging issues in light of the framework of the current research. To this extent, the influence and value of history is even more important given that the context has been influenced and continues to be influenced by the socio-

political, demographic and political climate in the selected countries thereby re-emphasizing the importance of a detailed descriptive approach to the research.

This research places value and emphasis on interactions in the intergovernmental relations systems of the selected countries. History provides a better understanding of the context and the context, in turn, enables a deeper insight into the issue at hand. This is logical in the sense that human activities cannot be dissociated from their context. The study of intergovernmental relations within the socio-political context of Nigeria and South Africa provides explanations and further insights on the research subject.

In an attempt to ensure validity and reduce the margin of error, every attempt has been made to use primary information sources where they exist, given that reliance on only secondary data may be subject to ‘inadequate or deliberately distorted’ information (Welman & Kruger, 2002: 179). This means that government and relevant policy documents and pronouncements have to be directly engaged. Information uncovered has not be taken at face value but has been subjected to analysis in terms of the authenticity as well the credibility of both content and source. This required the use of accredited sources including peer reviewed journals as well as works of distinguished scholars to corroborate findings through the use of multiple sources.

Ethnography

This is defined as research inquiry that aims to describe and interpret the place of culture in human affairs. Ethnography is primarily defined not by the methodology adopted but by the subject matter of a research study that is embedded in ethos or strong in terms of the cultural perspective sought in the exploration of research problem.

Anthropologists largely used ethnography, but this is no longer the ‘sole province of anthropologists’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 391). The value of the ethnographic method in this research is that intergovernmental relations rest on interactions among institutions and individuals (as members of the institutions). Therefore, social aspects of society have provided perspectives to enable the researcher to examine customs, ways of life, norms and behaviours that provide a cultural portrait of a group(s) through the study of their behaviours within governmental systems. The relevant literature was employed to provide structure for interpretation and reporting through extensive description of experiences.

This method required the researcher to immerse himself /herself in the real life context as a participant observer. Over a period of time, the researcher was then able to gather data and apply it accordingly through an inductive methodology that seeks to uncover deeper issues. According to Mouton and Marais (1988: 122), the emphasis of this approach is on unstructured direct and indirect observation, ranging from the discourse analysis to the historical analysis” or in the words of Bailey (1998:36) from “micro to macro” collective behaviour.

The different types of ethnography have been categorised by Silverman (2002: 17) as integrative ethnography (which is participatory in approach), narrative ethnography and combinative ethnography. For the purposes of this research investigation, the researcher will deploy the narrative ethnographic type in an attempt to capture emerging interaction patterns that may directly affect public administration approaches that are being implemented within a particular setting or context. Thus Rubin and Babbie (2001: 391) describe the approach as one that seeks to capture the meaning as a ‘naturalistic observation and holistic understanding of the cultures and sub-cultures’, all of which provide a better understanding of the subjects being studied.

Applied Ethnography:

An ethnographic research study may be basic or applied in nature. The applied ethnographic method is utilised in this study and seeks to offer views of how ethnographic understanding of a subject could shed more light on the research investigation. The ethnographic research inquiry has evolved and grown over the past years. Ethnographic research inquiry is made up of three approaches as described by Denzin and Lincoln (2003:392). The first attempt at the ethnographic research method was when the British colonial administration in Africa sought to better understand issues from what they termed the ‘native’s point of view’. As a result, they were able to obtain valuable information that assisted their decision-making process and agenda.

The second approach was brought about by the integration of cultural concepts and ethnographic data obtained by the British colonial administration. The value of this was even more obvious given the multi-cultural outlook of the British colonies. And the last approach sought to utilize observation as a mainstay of the ethnographic research methodology.

For the purposes of the study, the researcher has applied a combination of the first and second approaches. The first approach of applied ethnography is relevant in the sense that the current research offers views on how ethnographic understanding could assist governments shape their intergovernmental relations arena. And in a complementary way, the second approach becomes useful in the sense that the selected countries that provide primary sites for this research are diverse in nature.

The combinative approach allows for unique ways of integrating findings into the intergovernmental relations landscape and promotes policy reform and programme

development. In this sense, the value of the applied ethnographic inquiry goes beyond the descriptions to reflect on and puts forward prepositions with regard to reforms in the governance systems.

Having noted the approaches of applied ethnographic studies, the cognitive approach derived from Denzin and Lincoln (2003:399-400) tends to focus on a research population that is part of a large group that would have been otherwise too large to study. In this research the selection of the two African countries was to allow an understanding of and to provide perspectives on IGR that are relevant to most African countries as most of the counties on the continent are diverse in nature. The relevance of this approach in the current research study is even more appropriate given that the cognitive approach to ethnographic requires a research problem that is, at least, defined by the some larger social “problem”.

In this regard, the cognitive approach applied to ethnography derives much of its relevance and practical value from the fact that it tends to focus on failures of communication that may have occurred over time or on cultural breakdowns. For the purposes of this study, the management of intergovernmental relations has great impact on governance processes, as intergovernmental relations provides the forum for institutional engagement, hence the extent to which appropriate Public Administration approaches/systems have been deployed have to be investigated. Given that communications between governmental groups tends to be lower than desired, the tensions could be such that the environment breeds mistrust.

The researcher has selected the applied ethnographic research method; and in addition to the strengths already discussed, the fact that this method provides a holistic focus through the understanding of socio-political dimensions (as these are critical in the work) make this research inquiry increasingly attractive for the purposes of this research study.

Research tools

In the course of this research, data was collected from a number of sources. These sources, according to McNabb (2002:391) could be wide ranging and could be from symbols or nonverbal signs, non-written communication to written text, which could either be formal or non-formal in nature.

Nonverbal communication and symbols indicate the use of data emanating from the interpretation of body language, music and art among other aspects. This certainly has value when the sociologist and anthropologist seek to understand and document insights from the culture of a group or groups of people. It may be subject to the interpretation of the researcher and could reflect high margins of error in some cases. Similar to this group is the non-written communication that may include the utilization of data from videos and photographs for data collection purposes.

Written materials are used extensively in a study as this enables the researcher obtain the insights and information which otherwise would not have been easily attained. However, it is necessary to ensure the information obtained is properly analysed by the use of other relevant documentation through cross referencing and not accepted at face value as already noted.

In this study the literature review is central. According to McNabb (2002:393) it seeks to provide information in a systemic manner with the aim of harnessing relevant information, analysing the data collected and subsequently, interpreting these within the framework of a particular research topic. This systematic methodology is reiterated by Welman and Kruger (2002: 32-40), who reflect that the literature review process includes literature searches, tracing relevant data, recording relevant data, planning for further searches, compiling the

literature and managing the referencing system. The importance of literature review is that it reveals previous researches that provides a basis for the researcher to depart from, and enables the researcher to deepen the search/study as the information derived may not necessarily make logical sense at first or may require the researcher to sieve data and resolve or at least pinpoint where contradictions may exist.

The important role that intergovernmental relations has to play in all democracies (young and old alike) as in the case of South Africa and Nigeria is unquestionable and needs to be tackled proactively. A survey of the relevant literature in this area shows that effective intergovernmental relations could enable governments to better achieve their mandates especially if they have taken into account the peculiarities within a particular country and evolved systematically. In most African states, the development of an effective and efficient intergovernmental relations system remains a challenge as governments struggle to manage tensions that would otherwise have been contained by extensive and comprehensive intergovernmental relations mechanisms. It could be argued that the public administration approaches utilised in the management of intergovernmental relations of government have proved to be an opportunity for some while, for others, they have been the cause of tensions and even wars. What this suggests, is that there are an array of lessons that can be learnt. African countries in general, could benefit from this, as the continent seeks to deepen and strengthen democracy on all fronts. The research thus makes a contribution to the discipline of Public Administration, the practice of public administration and to the peoples of Africa.

Data analysis, validation and reporting

The data analysis and interpretation has been anchored in a content analysis methodology. For Welman and Kruger (2002: 194), content analysis seeks to interpret qualitative results by seeking 'recurrent themes'. This approach requires the researcher to examine the content

in a systematic manner so that emerging trends, their frequency of occurrence and the manner in which they are portrayed are captured and reflected in the research study. The steps of content analysis are captured by Welman and Kruger (2002: 195) and have been represented diagrammatically as follows by the researcher:

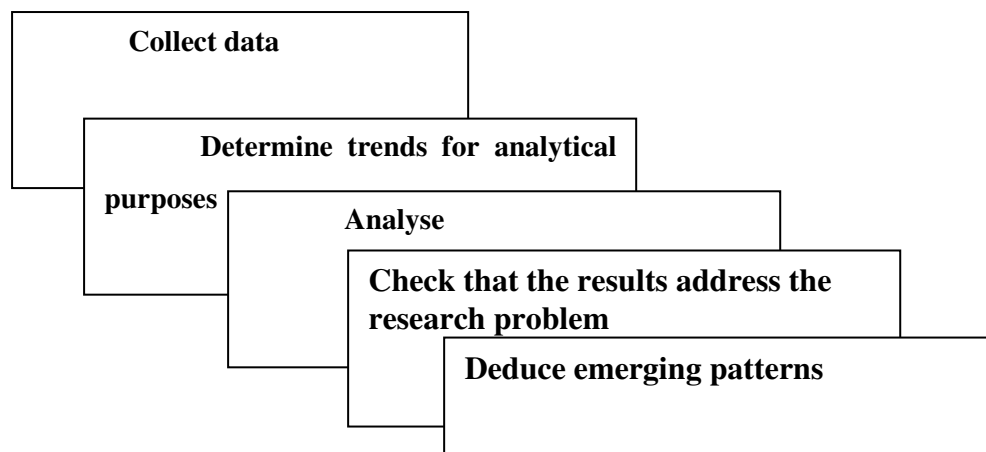


Figure 2.3 Steps of content analysis

Ile's (2005) configuration of the steps of content analysis

The content analysis encompasses both micro/macro analyses. This recognises that applied ethnography is really not about experiences and their isolated descriptions, but rather about the relationships of a particular institution or institutions in a particular society. In this regard, the methodology utilised, although qualitative in nature, will tap into descriptive data (which may be statistical in nature) of the selected countries to enrich the analysis from a local level of micro analysis to a national level of macro analysis frame in an attempt to analyse emerging trends in the management of IGR.

Furthermore, while it may be argued that content analysis could lead to a situation where data is isolated from the context, in this particular research study, the use of case studies nullifies that argument as the analysis of information is contextualised to enable the

researcher draw comparisons where necessary. For the purposes of content analysis, various documents have been sourced and utilised. Special attention was paid to policy documents, making policy analysis an integral activity of the content analysis. The value of policy analysis to this research is that it will provide insights, a basis for comparisons and assist the researcher draw conclusions, within the broad triangulation already articulated.

Ethical considerations in the research study

Given the role that research plays in shaping the public administration arena, the researcher has made every effort to ensure that the issues are truthfully presented, thoroughly engaged and handled meticulously throughout the research process. McNabb (2002:36) indicates that there is immense value in maintaining research ethics. Ethics is the study of moral behaviour of humans within the framework of society and the rightfulness or wrongfulness of actions. It deals with the values that relate to human conduct and the implications thereof (Mafunisa, 2004:193)

In any research study, attaining high levels of ethical conduct can be assured if ample time and care are taken in the planning, analysis and reflection of research findings. It is therefore important for the researcher to reflect the findings in the field just as they are. Given that findings from an applied research study, such as this, may be employed as part of the knowledge base from which relevant stakeholders may consider and re-consider decisions affecting the fate of communities and their environments, the researcher has made every effort to ensure that:

- objectivity in research is maintained throughout this research; hence the researcher has assumed the role of the third person and refers to herself as the “researcher”

through this study, to ensure that the researcher retains the appropriate role and limits the levels of subjectivity that research like this may be subjected to.

- ❑ data or information is not misinterpreted, massaged or watered down
- ❑ truthfulness is not compromised
- ❑ advice is sought from a mentor (in this case, the academic promoter) when faced with difficult decisions, and
- ❑ every attempt is made to acknowledge sources consulted or utilised in the course of this research.

Limitations of the study

The research study is captured through the title as ‘A Public Administration approach to managing intergovernmental relations in the governance of a state: with particular reference to Nigeria and South Africa’. The study does not investigate all instruments related to IGR but primarily relies on the constitution of both countries as the framework for the comparative analysis of this research. Furthermore, in an attempt to focus of the research, the researcher provides the parameters that guide the usage of some key terms and phrases from the title to achieve this. The key words are:

- ❑ **Public Administration Approach:** The public administration approach refers to functions that focus on governmental activities. These are also known as the generic functions of public administration. They include, policy, organizing, control, work procedures, staffing and financing. Within the framework of this study, the researcher has derived insights with regard to all the functions of public administration, but particularly focuses on the issues around policy and organization – in terms of structures and the role of communication as a management strategy in intergovernmental relations, as well as staff and resource implications.
- ❑ **Intergovernmental Relations:** From the broad arena of intergovernmental relations,

the researcher has delimited the focus to the operative framework as well as the reference to some policy framework and structures that allow for IGR with the emphasis on interaction between various governmental structures,

- Governance of the state: The elements, such as societal democratization and the processes, supremacy of the body politic, public accountability, participation, fairness and reasonableness, probity, and efficiency and effectiveness will provide important pointers within the intergovernmental relations framework of the selected states and the nature of the state (including the unitary vis-à-vis stronger federal characteristics of the selected countries).
- International: The internationalization of the work is important as it seeks patterns across a very large population. The narrative provided in the form of overviews would pull experiences and profile countries such as Switzerland, Canada, and Australia. This was then be narrowed to case studies of selected African countries. Two countries have been selected to provide insights according to the regional blocks from Southern Africa/SADC region (South Africa) and from the West Africa/ECOWAS region (Nigeria).

Finally, it may be worthwhile to note that the countries selected for this study are both largely Anglophone countries and are members of the Commonwealth of Nations. This is to allow for synergy in emerging trends hence the francophone countries are not included.

Significance of the research study

The management of Intergovernmental Relations framework is a critical block for success and could be improved in most of Africa. Adamolekun (1999: 303) notes ‘managing intergovernmental relations relies on a variety of political and administrative mechanisms as well as judicial process’. This current research explores the “administrative mechanisms”

that are crucial for the success of the management of intergovernmental relations through the identified case studies and for highlighting the lessons therein.

The fact that governance systems in most African countries were born out of shaky arrangement (largely as a result of colonialism) is rather troubling and could very well have provided the stunted start that has proved very difficult to stabilize. Although federalism has remained less than perfect, given the heterogeneous nature of most African nations (some of which will be captured in this work) a unitary system of government could not have done any better and the experiences of the selected countries reveal this. With an increased need for the integration of governmental activities across all spheres or levels, ways must be sought to continually promote and sustain liaison with various stakeholders.

The importance of an efficient and effective intergovernmental relations model for any country, including young democracies like South Africa and not so young democracies like Nigeria, cannot be over-emphasised. The challenges may vary given the nature of the governance system in that particular country. In federations, Peach (1998: 7) notes that there are a number of challenges that may characterize its design. And with unitary systems which have all powers located at the centre (Coulter, 1987: 60) there may also be similar design challenges. In reality, every modern state combines features of both centralization and decentralization, although the degree of application of each of these elements may vary from one country to another, in order to maintain a balance. This balancing act takes into consideration the country's historical, economic and socio-cultural realities.

In this research, an overview of the state, and the management of intergovernmental relations in the selected countries is presented with an aim of highlighting lessons that could be learnt from the countries and the continent. The interactions between institutions and the

community are vital ingredients, as these should be properly managed if governmental objectives are to be accomplished. In light of these interactions in intergovernmental relations, pertinent issues, such as those reflected below, had to be considered:

- ❑ The Public administration principles that are critical to the management of intergovernmental relations
- ❑ The integrated nature of the Public Administration principles and the complexity in application
- ❑ The extent to which intergovernmental relations management can assist or limit the attainment of governmental objectives
- ❑ The need for recognizing the relevance of both formal structures and non-formal mechanisms that may be available to promote intergovernmental relations.

The significance of the research proposed is to determine to what extent the intergovernmental relations systems in selected African countries Africa are fore-grounded on Public Administration principles, the management of complexities as well as the implications for the current intergovernmental relations system. The research establishes the interlocked linkages of these principles within the intergovernmental relations framework and the administrative implications thereof, as tensions exist in the managing of governmental activities. The ideal is one that embraces and manages the critical elements that enable governments to attain benefits of a synchronized and harmonious system.

There are lessons to be learnt from the selected countries. The reality is that the poor or inadequate management of intergovernmental relations has brought about less than desired or negative consequences in particular countries. Nevertheless, there may also be pockets of excellence and these have been highlighted. The management of different structures, policies or contradictions within the intergovernmental relations system requires promotion

of an integrated approach, if common goals are to be achieved.

Attempts have been made to understand these key issues and uncover the extent to which the management of intergovernmental relations has contributed to the current state of governance in a particular state. The selected countries will provide the case studies for evaluating the management of Intergovernmental relations and an in-depth analysis of its appropriateness and comprehensiveness.

Chapter Summary

In most African states, the development of an effective and efficient intergovernmental relations system remains a challenge as governments struggle to manage tensions that would have otherwise been contained by an extensive and comprehensive IGR mechanism. The research area and issues were duly considered before an appropriate methodology was selected.

The manner in which this research has been set out has been extensively discussed in this chapter with approaches that complement themselves being selected through triangulation (using case studies, historical and ethnographic research inquiry) to ensure that the findings are valid, credible and reliable. The study utilises the qualitative methodology of research inquiry that has enabled the researcher to explore public administration approaches that have been utilized within the intergovernmental relations framework in the selected countries.

The selection of the qualitative research approach provides an avenue for presenting summaries, intricate detail and information that may not be clearly articulated through the use of numbers and statistics. Much has been said about the approaches and limitations. Despite the shortfalls of the approaches discussed and the criticisms raised, a crucial point

that has emerged is that a fair mix of approaches used in a qualitative research studies comes across as more effective than the use of a single approach, as the strengths include attributes of objectivity, enquiry, respect for valid data and information.

In conclusion, the development of the selected research design has not been a simplistic one, but has required the researcher to be engaged in a series of choices and decisions. The researcher has not stopped at describing methods available but has reflected on the limitation of the selected approaches used in the study and has made attempts to compensate for the shortfalls by seeking complementary approaches that even out the shortfalls detected.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter, perspectives, pertinent literature and theoretical frameworks on the management of intergovernmental Relations in general and how these relate to this study are discussed. Overviews of the nature of the selected African countries are also profiled. However, unlike previous studies, which tended to focus only on the historical perspectives, attempts have been made to understand the Public Administrative approach that is paramount in managing these intergovernmental relationships and activities. The notion of making governance work better and bringing about efficient and effective service delivery through better coordinated and aligned sub-governmental systems, (in the form of an intergovernmental relations system) is one that should be earnestly pursued. Especially on the African continent, (hence recent debates on good governance have been high on the agenda) in order to improve the living standards of millions on the continent.

The theoretical framework that provides the basis for this study is fully explored to ensure the work is academically sound and grounded. In addition, the literature reviewed includes an exploration of the concept of the state, the nature of African states, particularly Nigeria and South Africa, as well as an overview of Public Administration principles that intergovernmental relations must take cognizance of, regardless of the governmental system (unitary or federal) adopted, has been attempted.

Theoretical perspectives in the study of intergovernmental relations

A few IGR approaches have been put forward by Roux *et al.*, (1996: 172). These approaches are:

- Democratic approach: proponents hold a separatist view and emphasise the right to autonomy of every government (regardless of level) to exist. This in the researcher's opinion will lead to a volatile situation and is a recipe for complexities. IGR should, in fact, aim for effectiveness and efficiency in the public service and this requires that conflict and competition are reduced and interdependence and the pursuit of a common agenda are promoted. This brings about a comparative advantage given that resources are pooled together and hence optimally utilised.
- Constitutional approach: accepts that there is a hierarchy of governments and this is a constitutional fact, since the constitution was seen as the instrument for determining intergovernmental relations and achieving harmony
- The Financial approach: where IGR is viewed from a financial perspective and the crux of the matter was what responsibilities do the spheres of government have and what financial resources are attached to it?
- Normative operational approach: comprises broad elements, such as values (material, cultural, spiritual, social, institutional and political values), as well as technical limitations, geographical factors and issues around the distribution of resources should be considered.

While it may be possible to profile a range of theories that could provide a framework for a Public Administration study such as this, the researcher has approached the issue of theories from a relevance and applicability point of view. This indicates that the theories and related issues that are being discussed here are not just exploratory but are focussed to ground the work herein specifically as intergovernmental relations, within federal systems and unitary states with federal characteristics alike, generally and inevitably involve elements of both cooperation and conflict. A position which Watts (1994: 9) argues brings about inevitable overlaps that occur in the exercise of the jurisdictions by different governments, as there is a

requirement for some co-ordination and harmonisation of the activities of governments. Consequently, the following theoretical perspectives are explored:

a) A Systems perspective to the study of intergovernmental relations

System theory departs from the political system which takes inputs from society (usually consisting of mandates, demands, etc.) and processes them, the outcome of which could be policies. These are then fed back to the community, through policy related activities and then, a series of new wants and needs triggers the system again. In the systems where the inputs are processed, there is a need to take into account the various inevitable power relations and those principal actors within the intergovernmental relations structures.

Power relations in the government arena may occur in various forms and must not be viewed in a fragmented manner. Hence, Hague and Harrop (1982: 131) note that ‘although the structures of government can be divided, it is best to regard it (government) as an integral whole, for it is the relationships between these institutions, rather than their internal working, which is critical’. Boguslaw (2002: 410) extends this argument, noting that what makes organizations work are the relations and the culture that underlie partnerships. The use of the term “system” should therefore be understood broadly as it takes into account the cultural, political, social and other contexts that may shape the relationships in any system but particularly within intergovernmental relations sub-systems. Thus, the same governance or intergovernmental relations structure or model may exist in many places, but the unique organizational, cultural and social relationships (which are all part of the system) mediate how organisations operate within a given structure, and therefore, produce dissimilar outcomes.

The need for a system approach to the understanding of the workings of government is even

greater, given the networks that are inevitable. The task of coordination is daunting as governmental activities have grown beyond just providing security and peace to include a range of other activities, especially in developmental states and in the developing world. Hague and Harrop (1982: 182) argue that ‘the task of coordination becomes more difficult not just because government is bigger but also because the issues have grown more complex. Decisions have far-reaching and unforeseeable ramifications’.

Public administration activities take place within these systems and within the systems; there are sub-systems that must interact. Hence they are interrelated in their attempt to achieve specific outcomes. The role of public administration is therefore, to facilitate a positive outcome through these interactions and where possible, limit any unintended negative consequence.

For the purposes of this research, the researcher views the “system” as an integrated whole that consists of parts that can be likened to the analogy of the human body in a manner that reflects that parts are interrelated and interdependent, despite the fact that each body system may achieve functionality on its own and does impact of the activities of the entire body. Similarly, the execution and management of public affairs would require that the main elements of the systems theory which are; inputs, processes, outputs and feedback (as illustrated in the diagram below) are harnessed in a manner that promotes functionality as invariably, the activities of a sub-system (a part of government) affects the entire government.

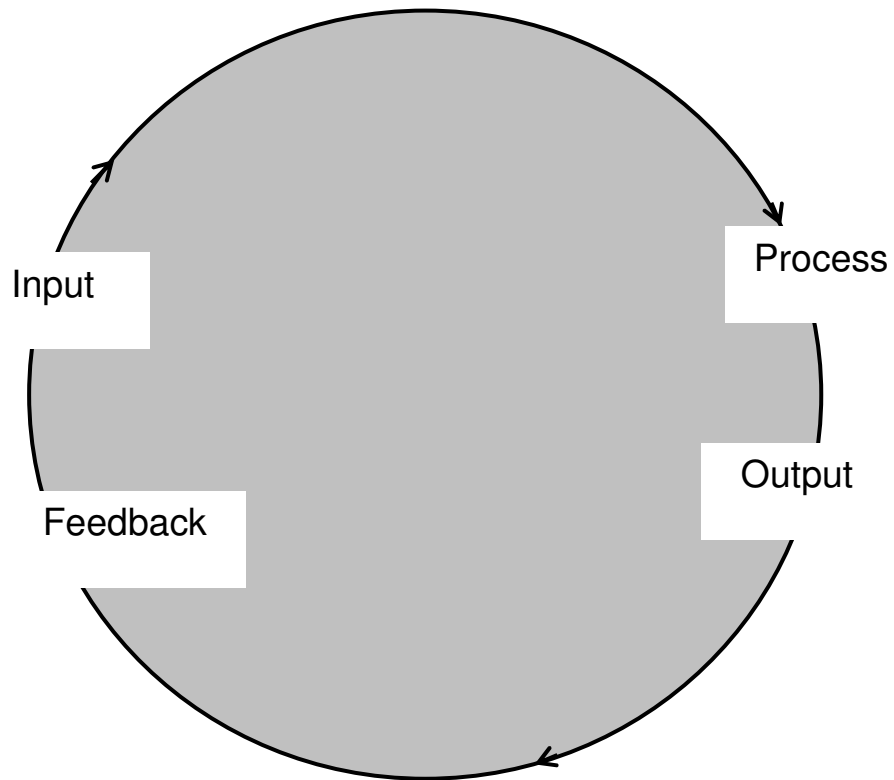


Figure 3.1 The systems theory (adopted from Van der Waldt and du Toit, 1997:95)

In the management of intergovernmental relations, and within the systems perspective, there is value in promoting a relational approach to intergovernmental relations. An integral part of this is the proper orientation of intergovernmental forums, so that they understand how they all fit together as a whole so that they can easily facilitate governmental processes rather than become stumbling blocks in the developmental process. This line of argument is endorsed by Boguslaw (2002:45), who notes that beneath the surface of political and functional approaches, analysis points to a different crisis – a social one. This stems from the fact that intergovernmental relations systems must consider relationships between and among institutions. The unravelling of the value of social partnership in intergovernmental relations actively seeks sustainable remedies through collective means by reorganizing relations to build upon the new realities of the intergovernmental relations structure proactively.

b) A functionalist approach to the systems theory

Having determined that the systems theory is multi-faceted (including political, cultural, economic and social contexts), the researcher reflects on the systems theory not only from a linkage (interdependence) point of view but also from a functional (execution) point of view. This means that the relationships among the various components of government are not enough in themselves. The vital question must be asked: To what extent are they achieving the expected and communicated broad goals of government? This is especially important in terms of ensuring coordination and appropriate outputs such as efficient and effective service delivery. Also critical to the function of the system are the questions: How does the intergovernmental relation sub-system within the system of government contribute to resolving blockages and facilitating government service delivery imperatives? How can these systems or interactions best be aligned and organized in a manner that ensures power relations and interests achieve the desired outcomes? This functional approach within the systems approach seeks to find a planned and structured way of organizing inputs within the systems analogy so that fragmentation, non-alignment, and misdirected or uncoordinated effort are better managed and grouped for efficiency, especially in the intergovernmental relations sub-system.

This functional approach to the utilization of the systems theory within the framework of intergovernmental relations seeks to manage the criticisms that intergovernmental relations generate structures that in themselves may be blockages in the process of ensuring efficient and effective service delivery to the public. This suggests that the functional approach should be integrated with the systems thinking, bringing about a model worth considering critically in intergovernmental relations circles and which the researcher terms a “*Functionalist model of the systems theory*”. Isioma Ile’s (2005) configuration of a functionalist model of the systems theory follows:

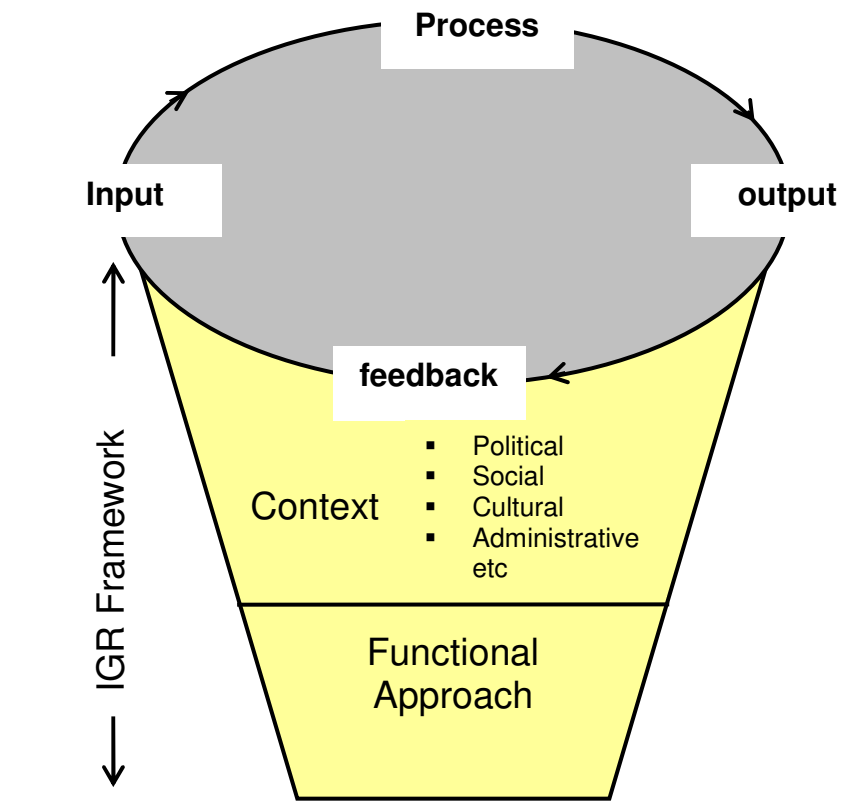


Figure 3.2 Ile's (2006) configuration of the functionalist model of the systems theory

According to Boguslaw (2002:37-38), functionalist theory suggests that in the study of society, 'we should look at how the various parts or institutions combine to give society continuity over time (including intergovernmental relations). This theoretical approach can be used to explain why partnerships emerge, persist, and how these efforts fulfil organizational and societal needs'. A criticism of the functional approach is however, that it fails to incorporate an understanding of power in the environment or the role of organizations as agents in shaping society, those failing to make explicit the implicit order of relations that underlie political relationships and thereby failing to connect the institutional and societal interests. The challenge, then, is for an "institutional analysis to determine which relationships need such consistency and cohesion, and how to structure

relationships amongst the various organizations and still maintain their relative authority, autonomy, and independent spheres of action' (Wunsch & Olowu, 2000:81).

Chaumont-Chancelier attempts to rationalize those relations arguing that the

'Complex order can be explained with a spontaneous approach, as its name indicates, it is not concerned with the formation of any particular rule. It tries to explain the existence of social order, of this complex web of rules and the institutions leading to a recurrent social pattern of cooperation and coordination. This network is complex since it can be seen as a network of interrelated institutions, as an interweaving of many kinds of rules, some of them designed as spontaneous, explicit or tacit, enforced deliberately ... and so on' (2003: 70).

c) A Public Administration functionalist approach to the systems theory

The value of the systems theory and its integration with the functional approach is that the political context which is an integral part of the systems theory is not lost in an effort to promote functionalism. The ideal is therefore a theoretical framework embedded in the systems theory but one that takes cognizance of context and bridges any gaps that may have existed with a narrow functional approach. This suggests that an integration of the systems theory and the functional approach as well as the principles of Public Administration should inform and guide the processes.

The core of this research is the researcher's assertion that within the functionalist model of the systems theory, the guidelines to ensuring efficiency and effectiveness are the application of the processes of Public Administration. The functional approach therefore has immense value with regard to the usefulness of a specific intergovernmental relations system in the achievement of the desired outcome. It asks the questions (even in political, administrative systems and government sub-systems such as intergovernmental relations), that although models adopted in various countries vary greatly in their institutional arrangements, are there certain functions which must be performed if it is to survive and operate efficiently? (Hague & Harrop, 1982:11).

Below is a diagrammatic conceptualization of Isioma Ile's (2005) configuration of the Public administration functionalist systems approach to the management of IGR.

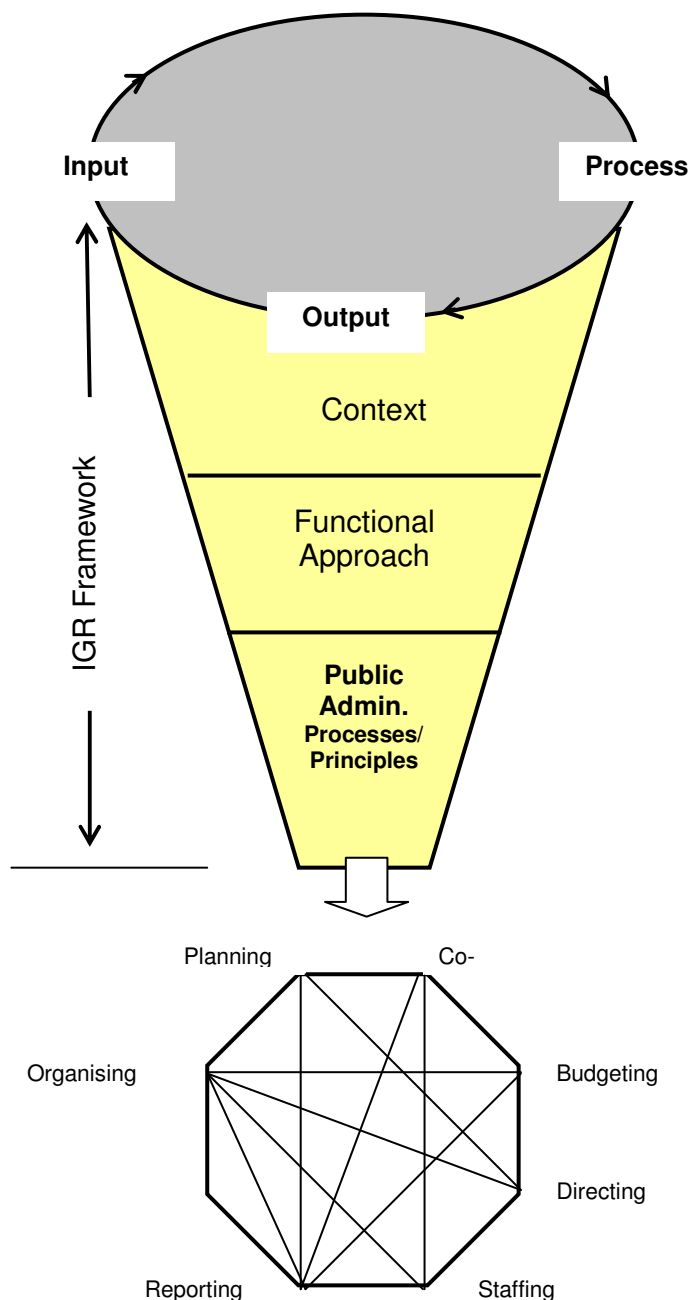


Figure 3.3 The Public administration functionalist systems approach to the management of IGR

One of the principal considerations is the need for clarity of roles, expectations and mandates through effective communication among the relevant stakeholders in the intergovernmental relations sub-system whereby knowledge created is shared from various

actors in the various forums. This brings about deepened democracy and good governance, and not just a superficial alignment of goals and direction amongst the various spheres or levels of government.

Wunsch and Olowu (2000: 80) note that ‘nested relationships can provide cohesion where national priorities and requirements such as procedures for final adjudication of intergovernmental disputes.... are spelt out’. This suggests that intergovernmental relations systems that intergovernmental relations systems that are designed to be proactive may better respond to public sector challenges. In addition, there should be clear expectations and mandates for coordination, a culture of participation, and strong leadership that ensure the efficient utilization of scarce resources and the alignment of activities with a view to strengthening linkages, associations, networks and strategic alliances with the government.

Within the mandate of good governance, broad areas of discretion as well as the ability to negotiate lateral linkages amongst diverse units can exist. This facilitates locally orientated programmes, allowing units to share concerns, complement each others skills and bring about economies of scales. This Public Administration functionalist approach to systems can meet the legitimate and unavoidable requirements for cohesion and consistency without seeking centralization of rule, homogenization, or precluding a very broad autonomy for organizations.

The practice of intergovernmental relations in states: a conceptual framework

Iduje notes that

‘Public administration at whatever state of development does not operate in a vacuum. From simple societies to complex ones, it is totally unreal to think of public administration as existing simply to execute political decisions of political leaders, unaffected by the private political or ideological convictions of the administrators themselves’(1993: 96).

With the role of the state transcending security functions, and a broad range of activities requiring state leadership, the state must continually seek to create an enabling and conducive environment through the development and the facilitation of an appropriate policy and regulatory framework. According to Dunleavy and O’Leary (1987:1-3), the abstraction of a state can be determined either organizationally or functionally.

- i) Organizational abstraction reflects state institutions and government in particular, with regard to the process of making rules, controlling, guiding or regulating.
- ii) Functional abstraction relates to the state as a set of institutions which carries out particular goals, purposes or objectives.

The reality of the state does not allow for one categorization without the other. The organizational categorization is a pre-requisite for the functionality of the state. Within the intergovernmental relations realm, if structures are determined organizationally, it could be problematic and lead to a superficial system, but if the intergovernmental relations are determined with emphasis on functionality, which, in turn, determines structures then the system could be better streamlined. In specific instances where intergovernmental relations structures have mushroomed, the role of the state with regard to how best to facilitate institutions, within and across the different spheres of government and still pursue joint agendas or minimize administrative or political crisis remain paramount.

Given the pluralist nature of societies, an appropriate management strategy provides an opportunity to examine the constraints, utility, costs, strategies and the politics of intergovernmental relations forums in structuring and shaping actions around a specific area of concern. Dunleavy and O’Leary (1987: 13) define pluralism as the ‘belief that there are, or ought to be, many things. It offers a defence for multiplicity in beliefs, institutions and societies, and opposes monism – the belief that there is, or ought to be, only one thing’. It

therefore departs from the premise that reality cannot be explained from only one angle. Similarly, Intergovernmental relations seeks to pursue multi-faceted institutions, who come together to address specific issues and by so doing evolve an integrated approach to problem solving.

Pluralism promotes decentralization which necessitates the development of intergovernmental relations. Decentralization, in turn, helps prevent the emergence of democratic alienation, provides multiple points of access and sites for input into the governmental agenda, and enhances the participation of a broad spectrum of public officials and politicians thereby providing for administrative and legislative interface. The processes of decentralization in the case of Nigeria and South Africa are constitutionally entrenched. The idea is devolution of powers to lower levels/spheres of government, especially at the local government sphere/level specifically, where the local decision-making powers must be adhered to, whether the state is unitary or federal constitution.

The pluralist theory has relevance within the systems theory as it seeks to muster the support of a multiplicity of actors, usually with diverse interests to find relevance and to function as parts of an integrated whole within the system. The approach remains critical to the current practise and reflects on how governments can benefit from the pluralist approach by constantly approaching key issues with varied theories and from different angles in an effort to be analytical in seeking solutions to some of the governance challenges that are faced.

The issue of decentralisation seems to have taken root in both unitary and federal states. Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987: 305) note that, in some unitary states, virtually all responsibility for social policy has nonetheless been delegated to elected sub-national governments, citing the example of Denmark, where local authorities account for 66% of all

levels of decentralisation of all public spending. These issues of decentralisation which has reinforced the need to consider and reconsider studies in the area of intergovernmental relations necessitate the various levels of government to work together in more integrated fashion.

In some cases, this need for coordination has brought about complicated systems that have not necessarily evolved with clear principles and guidelines. The challenge of maximizing the forums created by intergovernmental relations structures in a way that ensures that debates are robust and coordination aligned, requires that the management of intergovernmental relations must consider administrative processes in all activities as the structures on their own can achieve little or nothing on their own. The management of these intergovernmental relations networks can be two fold as identified by Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987: 306):

- Networks in which the central departments deal with sub-national agencies in a clearly hierarchical fashion, and have the capacity to remould programme characteristics or institutional arrangements in a policy area if things go wrong. This management approach could be linked to the centre periphery theory. Using Nigeria as an example, Ayeni & Olowu (1988:215) note that 'the result was that by 1993, over 90% of all state and local government revenues were coming exclusively from the federal sources. This situation was to persist as long as the federal treasury was abundantly supplied with the revenue from petroleum'. The implication, therefore, was that the active agreement of other actors did not need to be secured before policy could proceed, eliminating an opportunity for various levels of government to question, defend and muster support for their own vision.
- A management system in which the responsibilities for different policy issues have been split up between agencies. Given that policy formulation and analysis takes

place at different levels/spheres of government (usually at the centre government) and the implementation at another sphere of government (usually at the periphery of governmental systems), indications are that there may be a lacuna, especially if the interlocking administrative and management systems are weak. The case for a solid management of the intergovernmental relations framework is that it allows for differentiations in the contexts and sub-systems of government.

Having explored some of the underlying threads in the conceptual understanding of the state, attempts are now made to deepen the discussions within the context of the African state in general and, more specifically, within the context of the selected case studies.

Nature of the African state

Wunsch and Olowu (2000: 64) note that 'Africa's march to independence began with substantial cash reserves, a strong domestic agricultural economy, a skilled and professionalized workforce a popular leader and hope for the future was bright. Today these hopes have faded'.... They further noted that the critical difference between African states and most other states across the world, however, lies in the qualitative dimension, specifically on the distribution of authority, responsibility and resources available to central versus local governments. They highlight the following as some of the reasons for the over-centralisation of responsibilities and resources:

- Limited resources allocation: while 17% of national spending is controlled by local government in France and 66% is the figure for Sweden, in Africa, the average spending at local government level is 2%. This suggests that the more responsibilities are devolved and adequate resources sourced, the more the state will be able to meet its service delivery imperatives.
- The limited skilled personnel at local and state/provincial levels. This will aggravate the situation should more responsibilities be devolved to spheres with limited

capacity.

Currently, the economies of most African countries are struggling; the public service is demotivated; leadership is not quite credible; issues of political instability are a shadow of governments; and skilled personnel have continued to leave the shores of our continent. Strategies aimed at reforming and re-energising the political and administrative systems on the continent are at this point crucial. This may necessitate 'a system of strong governance conceptualized as composed of many rule-making organizations, linked with one another in rule-governed relationships which both encourage general reciprocity and allow for variations of choice and policy within that general framework' (Ostrom 1985: 81).

The need for a shift from centralized states to one that is able to attain and properly manage acceptable levels of decentralization requires the following:

- ❑ Devolution of real powers, responsibility and authority
- ❑ Shrinkage in the role of the centre including budget
- ❑ Encouraging greater participation in politics and government activities
- ❑ Regulating the role and power of public servants so that they are only able to execute the necessary tasks and not facilitate their own interests. (Wunsch & Olowu, 2000: 67).

While the nature of governmental structure, especially mechanisms around intergovernmental relations can create avenues for reform, structures by themselves cannot achieve the desired change. There must be rules that encourage exploratory relationships in the governance of the African state. Hence, Wunsch and Olowu (2000:79) note that the challenge to 'organize, learn and act with one another to construct the more complex social, economic and political relationships which are necessary for development to occur. The role

of the state is to set the stage rather than to write the scripts'. For a meaningful reform in the African continent, Ekwe-Ekwe, notes:

'it should be stressed that the human resources of any given society constitutes its engine of development. In Africa, these human resources have been trapped in an exogenously-oriented existence ... The future direction of Africa must therefore be fundamentally geared towards the interiorisation of the use of African human resources – a minimum requirement for the survival of the African race' (1993: 99).

Nigeria

Nigeria, located in West Africa, is the world's most populous black and African nation. Its population is 'around 120 million drawn from some 250 ethnic groups with diverse cultures and religious background... with about 30% accounting for the urban population' (Ayeni 2000: 31). The population patterns suggest that resources have to be efficiently utilised in the urban areas but even more importantly in the rural areas, where the majority of the population still lacks basic minimum services.

Most democracies have involved agreements allocating a significant degree of autonomy over local affairs to constituent segmental groups. These guarantees, which are enshrined, in principle, are intended to ensure that participation by minority parties are maintained (Lijphart, 1977: 41). The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Part 1 (2) pronounces Nigeria as a federal state consisting of 36 states, consisting of seven hundred and sixty eight local government areas.

A well-resourced nation, in terms of natural and human resources, Nigeria could have done better but has been plagued, with several undemocratic and self-imposed governments that only sought to deplete the nation's resources for their own benefit. Ekwe-Ekwe (1993: 87) argues that what the Nigerian example shows is the performance of a string of African leaderships, endowed with the resource, the existence of which they fully acknowledge, that could easily have been used to radically transform the living conditions of their people, but

whose choice of was action instead hemmed in by a megalomaniac disposition to deprive their society of their newly found wealth.

Present-day Nigeria which consisted of three former colonial territories and subsequently after amalgamation in 1914 was reorganised as two territories, namely northern and southern protectorates were administered separately within the machinery of government. The first opportunity for a central legislature to become engaged in national deliberation was only accorded in the 1940's and early 1950's with the introduction of the Richard's Constitution in 1946 and the Macpherson's Constitution of 1951. This provided for a quasi-federal system within a colonial government, giving more autonomy to the regions. With the dawn of independence and the scramble for political control, this promoted interpersonal rivalry, intertribal rivalry, regionalism and ethnicity at the expense of nationhood.

Federalism cannot be truly substantiated as a system that has evolved out a plan but rather one that has been imperative for the promotion of peace – hence, the incomplete and rushed metamorphosis from a unitary state into federalism. This can be largely attributable to the incomplete and rushed transformation from a unitary state into federalism. Despite a shift towards federalism, the reality has been one that has promoted a stronger ethnic identity and weaker nation-state identity. This reasoning is captured by nationalists, such as Aminu Kano who notes in Elaigwu:

‘I think the regional grouping was a result of sudden awakening...But this was misdirected, that is to say; it is a crude form of interpretation of awakening...the sudden realization of “we can take power” resulted in ethnic grouping and therefore regionalism’ (1994: 230).

The outcome led to a situation where regions wanted to extend their authority, making the national stage strongly competitive. The federal government thus remained very attractive and whoever controlled the federal government controlled the Republic of Nigeria. In the

quest to control the federal government, tools of numerical value, such as the census, were employed to the dissatisfaction of smaller tribes and nations.

With sharp differences in cultural inclinations and identity, including religious differences, the battle was further intensified as it was now both ethnic and religious in nature. Sadly, the mistrust and competition that had transcended ethnic and religious rivalry promoted military regimes as the regions, which in some areas were very strong, had to be curtailed through a coup de'tat as this was the fastest way to establish control.

Within the complexities of the state, as Watts (1999:57) states, and among the areas which have been noted to pose challenges to federalism, there have been degrees of diversity within federal societies, differences between territorial and non-territorial diversity, differing impacts of cross-cutting and of cumulatively reinforcing social cleavages. Others include the impact of ethnic nationalism, the particular characteristics of bipolar societies, the trend to asymmetrical arrangements within federations, the increasing number of confederal associations, federal financial arrangements, and the role of political parties in federal systems. These are all factors which should be considered in the development of intergovernmental relations management strategies.

Over the years, intra and inter state conflict has certainly not eased, with issues of asset sharing between governments at state and local government levels remaining paramount.

Elaigwu pertinently observes that:

‘Nigerians complain about the powers of the centre, especially the fiscal powers of the centre. The great dependence of sub-national units on grants from the centre has generated heated debates for a review of the current revenue-sharing formula and an adjustment of the legislative lists of the various tiers of government’ (1994: 237).

This has continually created tensions such that ‘lingering power imbalances between the states and the federal government have contributed to the air of mutual suspicions and

animosity by exacerbating fears of ethnic domination' (Williams, 1992: 113). This suggests the need for various reforms across a number of areas, including intergovernmental relation. This is not peculiar to Nigeria and may be the case for a number of federations. Opeskin (1998: 21) notes that the coordination and adjustment of fiscal relations in federations have often given rise to several mechanisms for intergovernmental relations. These deserve special mention because of the tendency for fiscal issues to dominate intergovernmental relations.

In a country heavy reliant on the exploration of crude oil which accounts for over 80% of its foreign earning, 28 years of Nigeria rule has been dominated by the military. Despite Nigeria's human and natural resources, the nation is far from reaching its potential (Ayeni, 2000: 32-33.). While reforms have advocated for the training of public servants, re-orientation, re-structuring, performance management (Ayeni, 2000: 34) , it would appear that the value that intergovernmental relations can play with regard to strengthening the governmental system may present an additional opportunity to tackle governance issues.

South Africa

The apartheid system was brought to an end in 1994 with the first democratically elected government being put in place. The post-1994 government has been saddled with a range of challenges which directly impacted on its governance capabilities. This includes imbalances in skills levels between whites and blacks, low productivity and an inefficient bureaucracy. In an attempt to reform the bureaucracy, the reform of intergovernmental relations sub-system is inevitable. A critical observation put forward by Ayeni (2000:40) is that 'efforts to drive implementation and service delivery are often not optimised because of the duplication of efforts amongst the agencies/departments'. This is echoed by the 1997 white paper on the transformation of the Public Service which identifies critical elements of good governance

that should be treated as priority areas. These include integration of services, promotion of accountability, responsiveness and the upholding of high standards of ethical conduct.

The nature of the state could differ in various ways, in terms of power arrangements and the management of the relationships that exist in the state. The South African unitary state is rooted in democratically styled structures that have been shaped by the 1996 Constitution (as this is the foundation of all governmental interactions) but with some strong federal elements. In certain unitary states, such as France and Britain, local governments have continued to display significant roles with great autonomy such that central government cannot in practice treat local governments as mere things of wax which can be dissolved and shaped at will (Hague & Harrop, 1982:44). This is an acceptable practice, given that what transpires in reality is that there are unitary states with varying levels of decentralization and stronger attributes of federalism, but in other cases they may be more centralized with more degrees of unitarism. The South African model borrows elements from the two typologies of governmental arrangements and attempts to fuse them in a manner that best suits its unique context.

The nature of intergovernmental relations in South Africa has shifted considerably in the decade with specific regard to the provision of the bill of rights, power-sharing mechanisms between spheres, execution of assigned roles in the new democracy and the promotion of cooperative government. A fundamental component of the constitution for the Republic of South Africa is that the relationship of the spheres of governments is clearly spelt out as *distinct, interdependent and interrelated*. It further requires the three spheres of government to function within a framework known as principles of cooperative government.

The above sets the scene for a non-competitive governmental structure. However, given that the intent captured in the constitution has to be made a reality and within the scope of intergovernmental relations, attention needs to be paid to the statutory bodies (those with legislative backing) and non-statutory bodies (these constituted by government for a specific task) as these can promote intergovernmental relations in the form of committees, boards or a range of other bodies (Kuye, *et al*, 2002: 45).

For the achievement of governmental goals, including cooperative government as proposed by the Republic of South Africa, the 1996 Constitution (Chapter 3) provides for an intergovernmental relations system that seeks to improve coordination and alignment. The critical role of intergovernmental relations suggests that ways should be continually sort to improve the system, as this may lead to improved governance with stronger elements of policy alignment, interaction and coordination within and among spheres/levels of government.

There are a host of structures that exist to promote intergovernmental relations; they all work towards a broader goal, which is principally to promote service delivery at various levels by providing clarity for each arm/sphere of government and to ensure that their operations are smooth without necessarily overstepping their respective bounds. With the spheres of government being distinctive, interdependent and interrelated, critics, such as Watts (see Klaaren, 1995: 5) argue that cooperative governments can also have a darker side. Excessive emphasis on harmony and cooperation can mean intergovernmental agreements that are the lowest common denominator, or that are too watered down to be effective. Such arrangements can lead to excessive delay as governments work towards effective agreement. This may not be too far from the South African experience as the government of the day strives to find its own balance between autonomy and

interdependence, centralization and decentralization, competition and consensus. Both sides of the coin are essential to the broad goal of ensuring that systems can respond and adapt to the changing world in which they are embedded, and which they serve.

An overview of Public Administration principles and functions that govern IGR

Public Administration enables government to meet its mandate by providing capacity that is required to ensure that the expectations and mandates of government and society are met. These government activities across various levels have consequences for the governance system in general. The complexity of intergovernmental relation can be portrayed by the organization of public administration. According to Nnoli (2000: 45), Public Administration is organized in two ways: laterally and vertically. Laterally, the government creates departments or ministries using functional activities. This suggests that the need to create a new forum, where ministries can share information, monitor and get feedback from officials who are dealing with the implementation issues, is inevitable. On the other hand, certain state functions are concurrent in nature suggesting that there is also a need for coordination across spheres or levels of government, making coordination a critical task from an intergovernmental relations perspective. Nnoli (2000: 49) declares that 'effective coordination of various arms of public administration is the wheel around which its efficiency and effectiveness revolve'.

The importance of an efficient and effective intergovernmental relations model for any country including democracies in Africa cannot be over-emphasised. Ademolekun (1986: 89) notes that IGR as a concept is usually associated with states having a federal administration systems where the relationships between the federal, central or national governments and the major sub-national unit (province, region or state) are formally spelt out in the constitution. Is that to say there are intergovernmental relations only in a federal

state? This assertion by Ademolekun (1986: 89) is important in this research because, although South Africa is a unitary state, the reality is that the leadership of the country has to contend with the varied relationships between organs of government in an effort to achieve governmental goals. In other words, a country may be unitary in nature but have federal characteristics and vice-versa in terms of the implementation of governmental systems.

Governments can achieve efficiency and effectiveness (if linked to intergovernmental relations objectives), especially with regard to the quality of intergovernmental relations inputs, processes and outputs. The principles that underpin the inputs, functions that underpin the processes and the desired output from an intergovernmental relations perspective are now outlined. The normative principles of Public Administration provide the cornerstone for the foundation of intergovernmental relations. These are values which a society holds dear and which invariable influence the business of government. According to Du Toit *et al* (2002: 102), they usually emanate from:

- i) The body politic: These include the principles contained in the constitution as well as those relating to the authority of the legislature. In both countries that have been selected (as case studies), the constitution is the supreme law of the land. It (and other legislations which emanate from it through the legislative arm of government) provides the framework within which public officials and politicians carry out their roles and exercise authority. The legislature is the law-making arms of the government; the executive is the implementing agency and the judiciary monitors and enforces the application of the various legal frameworks enshrined in the country's laws. These guide the interactions of officials and politicians alike in the intergovernmental relations framework. The supremacy of the constitution is applicable to democratic governments only. In the past, when the military had taken over in Nigeria for instance, usurpers have had to suspend the constitution. The

consequences were an intensified struggle for state power which discarded the rule of law and breed an environment of distrust and ethnic rivalry amongst others (Decalo, 1985: 209-237).

- ii) Legal framework of the nation: This regulates acceptable and non-acceptable behaviour among public officials in the execution of their roles by advocating that the roles must be performed in such a manner that reflects the fact that adequate consideration has been given to the *ultra vires* modes.
- iii) Social value systems: These are derived from society and require that governmental business is conducted in an acceptable fashion in terms of what is socially acceptable and what is defined as good. Intergovernmental relations are largely a human interactionist activity, so the values which are acceptable in that particular society are expected to be inherent in the country's officials. These values may have developed over time in the society and are context related including political, historical and cultural.

These normative guides of Public Administration are applicable to intergovernmental relations and should be present in Nigeria and South Africa alike. These normative principles of intergovernmental relations provide the framework for which public administration functions (administrative and management alike) are performed. In the broad field of administration, a set of principles referred to by the acronym POSCORB reflects the function of administrators (Adebayo, 2000: 13). These functions are equally relevant in intergovernmental relations activities. They are therefore, briefly outlined below:

- a) **Planning:** Broadly outlines what, who, when, where, and how activities will be organized and accomplished with the greatest efficiency. A preliminary activity in planning is to ensure that roles and role relationships as clear, detailed and practical as possible. This includes 'the interventions and programmes of government, the means

available internally and externally to accomplish them ...who is to benefit from them...should be pre-determined' (Nnoli, 2000: 44). The planning processes especially for development purposes are an important mechanism for such aspects as inter-ministerial coordination or cluster planning as in the case of South Africa.

- b) **Organizing:** This deals with the formal structure that demonstrates how works flows are determined, arranged and executed in a manner that ensures that the organisational objectives are achieved. It is a planned and structured arrangement that includes design (and re-design) of systems, and the manner in which services are delivered to the people in a particular country, thereby giving it a sharper cutting edge to meet the demands of the public. Organization should be beneficial to society and a means to an end and not an end in itself. 'Management reform in the public service must take account of the administrative systems in which these take place if success to be achieved' (Politte & Bouckaert, 2000: 6-17).
- c) **Staffing:** This devises strategies that ensure that there are clear processes for the organisation to attract, develop, utilise and retain appropriate staff to achieve the organisational goals. Bretton (1962:144) notes, 'No degree of institutional refinement of a social or political system will be adequate if administrative skills are non-existent or inadequate'. The quality of staff is even more important as human interactions are at the core of any intergovernmental relations noting that it is 'human beings clothed within the office who are the real determiners of what relations between government units should be' (Agrannof, 1993: 6). This suggests that staff must be continually trained and oriented to reflect the normative guidelines discussed earlier.
- d) **Directing:** This advocates for strong and clear leadership, ensuring that guidance is continually given to staff such that the vision is attained. This suggests that the public sector manager should have a strong conceptual understanding of how the various parts of the systems, although different, all work towards a common agenda, thereby reducing

efforts expended in intergovernmental relations conflicts, including the diffusion of tension that may exist as a result of the conflicts or competition between units and spheres/levels (which may altogether be unnecessary and completely counter productive).

- e) **Coordinating:** This function attempts to synthesise the activities of the organisation and to achieve desired levels of harmony. The need for coordination is required across a range of intergovernmental relations activities. One of such critical areas that requires strong coordination is policy. Given that intergovernmental relations are embedded in policy issues that relate to policy alignment, these have to be carefully thought through especially as it is further complicated in the context of the multi-level governments as is the case with Nigeria and South Africa. This must also take cognizance of policy issues related to administrative and political interfaces. Adebayo (2000: 71) asserts that ‘the corollary of this is the relationship that ought to exist between the political chief and the administrator in their joint roles of policy making ...’.
- f) **Reporting:** Within the sphere of intergovernmental relations, this provides an opportunity for the monitoring and evaluation (which seeks to measure actual against the expected outcomes and to gauge the impact of the inputs) of various activities which should have taken place as well as the quality of the services that have been rendered. This promotes communication and the gathering of information/data which may be crucial for other related managerial decisions. Adebayo (2000: 16) notes that there are certain functions and processes which form the bedrock of the responsibilities of a government. These functions include reporting as it allows for regulating issues of conflict resolution, conciliation, balancing, and compromise in ensuring adequate service delivery.
- g) **Budgeting:** This is a critical function in the sense that almost (if not all) governmental activities require the utilisation of resources. Given that the demands of the system are

greater than the resources available, the decisions around budget allocation for purposes of intergovernmental relations effectiveness remain at the top of the agenda. Adebayo (2000:132) notes that one of the main tools of management is the budget. It controls the programme and the activities of any organisation and determines the scope of work performance in Nigeria. However, it ‘unfortunately, over the years the system of annual budget in government has been a farce... No attempt is made to get down to the principles of a budget...’.

Having discussed the framework for operations (normative guidelines) and administrative processes (functions) that are inherent in intergovernmental relation activities, the challenge is to ensure that the following outcomes are strongly reflected:

- ❑ An effective communication and commitment strategy. Drucker (1968:22) notes that the flaw in dealing with communicating (which is core for intergovernmental relations) is that the strategy may contain no action commitment.
- ❑ A strong public accountability element that regulates and holds officials accountable for their activities or inactivity.
- ❑ An increased participation and inclusive consultation given that government and the forum are not an end in themselves but an agency for development. Hence the facilitative nature of governance must be advocated for.
- ❑ Strong visionary leadership and strategic management at various levels of intergovernmental relations process at all spheres.

Chapter summary

An intergovernmental relation is one of the critical blocks for government to achieve efficiency and effectiveness. The systems theory provides the analytical framework for this research, but this has been modelled to integrate the functional approach as well as the

functions of public administration. The inputs, processes and the outputs that determine the quality of intergovernmental relations in terms of the administrative processes as well as management processes must be interrogated. If appropriate quality is executed, the output of the intergovernmental relations processes will be positive but if otherwise, it will have a negative output. It can therefore be deduced that the management of intergovernmental relations shows to what extent government will be able to meet the needs of the citizens of a particular country.

Within this broad framework, attempts have been made to provide a conceptual understanding of the state, an overview of the African state in general, with particular reference to Nigeria and South Africa. In most instances, the transformation of the public services is an important tool that must be engaged. This suggests that processes must be analysed in an integrated manner.

CHAPTER FOUR

IGR: AN INTERNATIONAL AND CONTINENTAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

This chapter first seeks to present literature on the role and connectivity of the three arms of government, intergovernmental relations from a global perspective and at a continental level, using a country specific approach. Where possible, a comparative study is undertaken as comparison is a natural human activity (Landman, 2000: 45). The narrative contained herein profiles the status of IGR in selected countries; namely Switzerland, Australia, Canada, Nigeria and South Africa. The aim is to present and understand the particular contexts for operationalising intergovernmental relations in an attempt to share knowledge that provides understanding and insights into what works, how it works, and the possible justification for the current status quo.

The need to depart from a broad perspective is an acknowledgement of the highly interactive nature of relationships and influences that are cross-border in nature and further reinforces the concept of globalisation. According to Simeon (2000: 21), globalisation creates many challenges for intergovernmental relations. It may be seen from diverse perspectives:

- i. Intergovernmental relations as setting up pressures for decentralization (that is, as national governments lose control over the policy instruments that are traditionally in their hands, as national economies become less integrated internally and differentially integrated into the wider world), or
- ii. It could be that intergovernmental relations within the context of a globalised world, provides an opportunity to establish common standards that ensure minimum delivery of services. It also encourage cooperation as countries and their inherent subnational

units become more effective in the international arena given that they are able to speak abroad with one voice,.

Which ever perspective is correct, it seems clear that in a globalised world, relationships no longer stop at the border as global forces have powerful effects on domestic relationships. The character of any country is inevitably projected into the international arena; hence this chapter profiles IGR international and continental cases.

This framework is endorsed by Almond and Powell (1967: 23), who noted that in the study of political and administrative systems, there is a need to know the underlying propensities as well as actual performance over a given period. Through profiling or comparing various states, we are able to understand issues concerned with the intergovernmental relations in a particular society, compare capabilities, political culture, constitutional mandates, conversion functions, system maintenance, adaptation functions, relationships between functions and structures.

This basic principle underlies the logic of collective action by governments within a federation. Governments acting in concert may find solutions to problems that cannot be solved when each government acts alone. One mechanism for concerted action is a formal intergovernmental agreement. Where intergovernmental agreements are acknowledged in constitutional law and practice, they are frequently known by different names, and serve different intents and purposes. Despite the design issues, they ultimately seek to enhance governance mechanisms that exist in a country in a manner that enables government meet their mandates.

It is worth noting that the need for these relationships amongst sphere or levels of government, as well as within the arms of government, has brought about a strong interface between the political and administrative systems in any country. Political systems in themselves consist of political units which may be termed levels, tiers or spheres. These are connected mainly by administrative processes that require strong coordination and monitoring of the processes. The foundation of these processes should usually be from the constitution or the legislative framework of any country, as legislative processes envisage a great deal of formal and informal communication between national and provincial/state committee chairpersons and other stakeholders.

Opeskin (1998: 15-22) notes that, within governance structures, the inevitability of overlaps and interdependence in the exercise of constitutional powers has generally required extensive intergovernmental consultation, cooperation and coordination. These processes have served two important functions, that is, resolving conflicts on the one hand and providing a means of pragmatic adaptation to changing circumstances. The intergovernmental relations affect the extent to which spheres or levels of government effectively participate in power-sharing ventures, adding that executive mechanisms, cooperative agreements, judiciary and legislative mechanisms all facilitate government machinery.

The extent to which power is managed by all three arms forms of government is vital. A brief discussion on the role of the three arms of government is commenced; and discussions as contextualised with the aid of the three selected international IGR cases (Canada, Australia and Switzerland), followed by an African contextualisation of the subject of IGR, with particular reference to Nigeria and South Africa.

Overview of the roles of the three arms of government within an IGR framework

The executive:

The executive plays a major role in intergovernmental relations in all countries as intergovernmental mechanisms involve the executive wing making binding written agreements, using informal liaison between governmental offices and ensuring delivery of a whole range of activities to the public. With regard to the coordination and adjustment of administrative relations in countries, Opeskin (1998: 21) notes that this gives rise to several mechanisms for intergovernmental relations. In South Africa, for instance, the coordinating structures could be divided into two broad categories. These are structures established in terms of the constitution or other legislation and structures established by a decision of an executive or institution (Thornhill *et al.*, 2002: 106);

Once the coordination mechanisms are in place, sufficient attention has to be paid to the management of the administrative processes, as this could either undermine the entire process or propel it into achieving the vision of the state. Effective management of IGR, therefore, brings about improved performance, and acceptable levels of efficiency and effectiveness. In this research, specifically in the subsequent chapters, consideration is given to elements that hinder or facilitate IGR for purposes of analysis. These elements include quality of leadership in the public service, the quality of citizenry and the attitude and political culture that exist in the public service.

In some countries, the executive arms of government seeks to work together and harness efforts towards a common goals (through cooperation), although it should be noted that in other countries, executives within a federation may be brought into relation with each other through competition. This is so, as the executives of regional governments vie with one another for sources of revenue and employment opportunities for their residents. Examples

of competitive behaviour include offering subsidies to encourage businesses to locate within the region, introducing lower rates of taxation, or providing infrastructure to industry. Issues and challenges that arise in respect of intergovernmental relations may be competitive in nature and could include the following:

- Does competition among units create an unhealthy rivalry among units thereby redirecting positive energy that would otherwise have been useful to the State?
- Does competitive federalism *really* produce economically efficient solutions by promoting competition between the laws, practices, and procedures of the jurisdictions?

While the above may be concerns for some federal states such as Nigeria, it may not necessarily be the case for all states with federal characteristics, but it shows that the models or degrees of federalism or application of federal characteristics does differ from one context to another. These may be competitive in some and cooperative in others.

The judiciary:

Opeskin (1998:26) notes that, the judicial branch of government plays a critical role in establishing the framework for the conduct of intergovernmental relations by the executive and the legislature. This importance stems from the fact that:

- (a) all states embody some kind of division of powers between central and regional governments', and
- (b) neither level of government should be the sole arbiter of that division.

In disputes, the courts are usually called on to superintend the division of power and hence to determine the conditions under which the other branches conduct intergovernmental

relations. The attraction of the courts in this respect arises from the public perception of them as independent and impartial arbiters. In some countries, as in South Africa however, governmental structures are not encouraged to file suits against one another, but should explore several avenues that may be available before approaching the law courts. Nevertheless attempts have been made to ensure that the judicial systems are in place to promote the workability of the democratic system.

The legislature:

According to Opeskin (1998:25), legislatures play an important role in giving the force of law to policies initiated by the executive. Intergovernmental arrangements created by central and regional executives often require legislatures of the constituent regions to act in concert. This is important if uniformity, harmonization or reciprocity are to be achieved in the manner envisaged by the executives. The challenges of coordination are further made complex by the relatively large number of constituent units that some governments have to deal with. For instance while South Africa has nine provinces to coordinate, Nigeria has thirty-six states. Invariably, there are more difficulties coordinating legislative action in Nigeria than in South Africa. The size of government may, therefore, have a bearing on the type of mechanism invoked as the presence of tensions surface in a variety of forms and contexts (Wright, 1994:118).

IGR systems: an overview of selected international systems

Three countries have been selected to provide an international perspective and a further two countries have been selected to provide an African perspective. The selection of these countries has been carefully considered in the sense that these countries fall within diverse categorizations. The international cases are from the so-called advanced and industrialised countries while the latter are from the developing worlds, specifically the African continent

and are both strong leaders on the continent.

The aim of this section is to present the relevant context information that enables the analysis and comparisons that are engaged in the following chapters. The context relevant issues to be explored include an overview of the political systems. In addition, an attempt is made to reflect on the development of the current intergovernmental system as well as the constitutional mandate. These are presented with a view to capture the management of intergovernmental relations, showcasing practices which enable in-depth reflection on some of the challenges in the latter part of this study.

A Canadian IGR contextual perspective

Herperger (1991: 1) notes that, geographically, Canada is the largest of established federations in the world (see map below). Canada is a large country with a relatively small population of about 31 million. It is composed of the French speaking Canadians who make up about 27% of the population, British Canadians who make up about 40%, and Europeans make up about 20%, and indigenous Canadians make up 1.5 % while others make up about 11.5% (Hague & Harrop, 2001: 205-206).

Map 4.1 Map of Canada



Source: http://www.lonelyplanet.com/mapshells/north_america/canada/canada.htm.
Accessed: 7 March 06.

The Canadian form of government can be classified as a decentralised federal parliamentary democracy. Wheare (1967: 20) noted that the Canadian constitution appears quasi-federal in nature. Although in practice, the government consists of the centre as well as 10 provinces and two northern territories with the majority of the population living in Ontario or Quebec. A unique characteristic of the Canadian policy is the existence of large francophone majority concentrated in Quebec. The legislative arm of government consists of two legislative houses. The house of commons is the lower legislative chamber while the Senate is the upper house. The executive arm of government consists of the various ministers and is led by the Prime Minister who selects the cabinet while a governor- general serves as the ceremonial figure head.

According to Herperger (1991: 4), perhaps the most innovative feature of the Canadian federation is that it represents the first attempt at combining federalism with a system of parliamentary responsible government, a combination that was subsequently adopted by Australia and the Federal Republic of Germany (although with some modifications). He notes further that Canada was an innovator with respect to:

- A constitution that assigns three lists of legislative powers (federal, provincial and concurrent).
- The general residual power is assigned to the federal government rather than to the provinces. This is in contrast to the practice of all other federations except India and, most recently, Nigeria.
- The distribution of powers is uniquely marked by the inclusion of several federal government unilateral powers, where it can overrule provincial powers. Examples are the powers of reservation and disallowance and the declaratory power most of which have not been used in the past several decades.

The last trend was adopted by the South African Constitution of 1996 in Sections 100 and 136 although in general, the principle of subsidiarity applies, which implies that decisions be taken at the lowest possible level. This means that policy is crafted at the top and the lower levels carry out the implementation.

The issue of federal-state relations in the Canadian polity has always taken centre stage as a result of the challenges that are inherent and ultimately underline these intergovernmental relationships. The multi-cultural nature of the Canadian society may have contributed to the adaptation of a federalist style of government as ‘federalism creates the need for competition and the need for its containment through compromise’ (Hague & Harrop, 2001: 206). The

need for integrated society has been the key driver, which has led to accelerated development in the domain of IGR.

This cooperative government stresses interdependence. However, in reality; there are times when cooperative federalism has to come to terms with competition between stakeholders. Gagnon (1994: 136) argues that, for years Canadians have applied some measure of political asymmetry but have been reticent to move beyond to constitutional asymmetry hence Canadians outside Quebec have therefore tended to view asymmetrical arrangements as a mechanism that promotes a set of unfair practices or a set of privileges that is not extended to others and this has led to some tensions in the IGR landscape. Given the constitutional mandate to promote cooperation, effective governance requires strong IGR mechanisms which will enable the states and the centre to work together to develop policies that all can agree to. In Canada, this is known as executive federalism (Hague & Harrop, 2001: 207).

An Australian IGR contextual perspective

Joske (1971:34) notes that federalism comes about when independent political communities come together and resolve to form a common government. They do this by coming together but without desiring a complete union, thereby preserving some degree autonomy. Prior to the formation of the Australian federation, there were six colonies which came together to form the quasi-sovereign commonwealth of Australia. This was largely because Australia, at the time existed as a geographical space and not necessarily as a country that inhabitants had sentiments attached to. However, there were a sizeable number that were of British decent who preferred some kind of a unified structure given that they had the same languages, ancestry, and customs.

The Australian constitution came into being in 1901 with an agreeable power distribution mechanism that allowed for some degree of political independence. The Australian constitution, like the American constitution, allows for the distribution of powers among the organs of government. However, Joske (1971: 38) notes that ‘the difference between the Australian and the American systems lies in the recognition of the sovereignty and indivisibility of the Crown throughout Australia and the system of responsible government under which the ministers of the Crown are directly responsible to the parliament, noting that these were derived from the British principles of government’.

Herperger (1991: 4) notes that, like the Canadian example, Australia is governed by a parliamentary system of government. Further arguing that Australian federalism is unique in the sense that it has provided for the delegation of legislative authority from the states to the federal government. While the concentration of residual powers at the centre was rejected by the founders of the Australian constitution, in practice however, there has been a significant shift in the direction of centralisation to the centre, especially with regard to financial powers.

While states may raise their revenue locally, they have increasingly become dependent on the centre, especially for financial resources. This has made the central government even more powerful. For instance, in Australia, as Hague and Harrop (2001: 207) note ‘60% of the states’ revenue comes from the federal government. While the issue of financial revenue sharing model remains a problem, other challenges still complicate the scenario. For instance, some have argued that in Australia, decisions of the High Court have favoured the centre to the point where some regard federalism as having been sustained more by political tradition than by the constitution (Hague & Harrop, 2001: 208).

While an attempt to promote equality may have been included in the constitution, Mullins and Saunders (1994: 46) argue that the ‘Australian Constitution has been criticised for not articulating what might be the expected aspirations of people joining together to create a new nation’ and this can be traced to the fact that the constitutional document lacks a preamble.

Map 4.2 Map of Australia



Source:<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/mapshells/australia/australia.htm>. Accessed: 7 March 2006.

A Swiss IGR contextual perspective

Where (1967: 16) notes that the Swiss Constitution of 1848 follows the American example in many respects and is the second federation to have come into existence. Herperger (1991: 4) describes Switzerland as a relatively small country that comprises ‘26 constituent units called cantons, of which six are considered half cantons’ (see Map below). With regard to the management of Swiss federation, he further argues that:

- It has achieved a significant degree of linguistic and religious diversity, although the

German Swiss continue to dominate its numbers and economic power;

- The Swiss distribution of powers has a significantly large proportion of power assigned to the federal government;
- An innovative administrative decentralization system that deals with legislative powers, thereby making the cantons responsible for the administration of a wide range of programmes that may have been established by federal policy; and
- There is a positive record in the management of its multilingual and multicultural activities.

Within the framework of IGR, Schmitt (1994: 364) argues that Switzerland demonstrates all the classical elements of a federal state, for instance, the cantons are listed in the federal constitution, although each has its own constitution. There is a chamber of cantons at the federal level and there is power sharing that allows the cantons to display great competencies. Some of the innovations have evolved from tradition as 'several of the features of the Swiss political system are decided by custom for instance, the linguistic repartition is not provided for in the constitution, but the Latin minority (25% of the population) is usually over-represented by two to three members out of seven'.

In Switzerland, the concept of asymmetrical federalism is applicable although most of it is limited to the existence of the so-called 'half-cantons', which have almost the same rights and duties except that they have only one deputy in the House of Cantons (instead of two) count as half a vote for the constitutional elections'. Schmitt (1994:364)

With regard to the power sharing arrangements, part three of the Swiss Constitution provides for the sovereignty of the cantons, and this is not limited by the federal Constitution. As such, the power is located within the cantons as they exercise all rights that may not have been entrusted to the federal power. In effect residual powers belong to the

cantons (i.e., all powers not specified in the constitution). With regard to the implementation of this power-sharing, one must remember that it is highly complicated, because powers are not listed in a kind of black and white delimitation, but all possible qualities of grey are provided for, from the exclusive powers of the state to the exclusive powers of the cantons, including all possibilities of executive federalism (Schmitt, 1994: 369).

Map 4.3 Map of Switzerland



Source:<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/mapshells/europe/switzerland/switzerland.htm>.

Accessed: 7 March 2006.

IGR systems: an overview of selected African case studies

This section of this chapter attempts to understand the historical issues that must be considered. This overview anchors the rest of the study by tracing Africa's evolution of the governance systems in the selected countries and some of the factors that may have contributed to some of the quagmire that present day Africa faces. This section addresses the traditional African political systems and their subsequent metamorphosis into "modern" governments, their role as a development agent and facilitator, as well as attempts to address

the myth that Africans need assistance with governance issues, and finally, there is a closer look at intergovernmental relations systems in Nigeria (ECOWAS) and South Africa (SADC).

According to Nnoli (2000: 580), African countries are in general characterised by an attempt to ‘use the apparatus of the government to hasten socio-economic development, and overcome their backwardness.... Part of the constraints in further improving the situation may be traced to the inadequacies of the African public administration’. Clearly, much still needs to be done and achieved as the living standards for most of the continent’s people are unenviable. The study of IGR, therefore, is an important element in understanding the governmental systems and harnessing the lessons that can be drawn from case studies in selected African countries. Considerations of how the lessons learnt can be deployed become valuable knowledge for other countries is also given. This is particularly so, given that the turn around of the delivery machinery of government in the continent rests mainly on the performance of the public sector amongst others.

Drame (1999: 201-210) argues that many states in Africa now face a deep crisis, which may be rooted in the legacy of authoritarian states established during the colonial period and rapidly transferred to the post independence era. It would appear that, given the nature of the African governments, the African society ‘is a long way from trusting the state’. The need for a public service that recognises the need to serve cannot be overemphasized. Hence Drame (1999: 201) concludes that the ‘reform of the structures of power will have to take into account the objective historical considerations in Africa and will have to base itself on the principle of devolution of responsibility to the grassroots communities’. An attempt to achieve the above in a fragmented manner will only result in more complexities that will not

be easily reversed, hence the need to take stock (from a historical perspective) of various elements including the effect of colonialism and other events.

While colonialism may have succeeded in destroying most of Africa's traditional and political institutions it, however, fell short of annihilating African traditional political values and ideas (Mazuri, 2001: 98). The need to rekindle some of those values and ideas as well as interrogate the African culture may actually be the opportunity for a re-birth of the continent. And in order to do this, a working understanding of the indigenous political systems in Africa is imperative. Rubin and Weinstein (1974:11) reinforce this when they note that the ways in which people perceive power are deeply ingrained in their culture as they do not change rapidly, and the student who is not aware of this fact risks superficiality'.

While it may seem as if there was no political system in Africa before European colonialism, because it was not easily discernible to the outsider..., who looked for houses of parliament, supreme courts and the Hansard...' (Rubin & Weinstein, 1974:12-14). The fact of the matter is that Africans had a system of government that had worked for them prior to the advent of the Europeans to the African continent. And in line with a Eurocentric agenda that came to "save" the continent from its "darkness", the documentation that was put together in the West sought to ridicule Africa in various ways, for example:

'While there could be a king of England, the head of the African political system must be a "chief". While there could be a form of "pure democracy" in the New England town meeting, a similar gathering in Africa was called "primitive". The "natives" came to mean the "Africans" in people's minds, although there is no difference between a "native" of New York City and a "native of Ibadan, Nigeria". There are tribes in Africa just as there are twelve tribes of Israel, and just as there are firms of tribes in Europe; but one tended to use "tribes" only in referring to Africa, although some of these tribes were larger than some groups and nations in Europe. The Yorkshire man speaks a "dialect" or a variation of English language, just as the Owerri man in Nigeria speaks a dialect of the Igbo language; but one tended to use the word "dialect" for African languages in order to demote or degrade them. Words like "native" "primitive" 'tribe' and "dialect" can be used, if they are defined and if used impartially without respect to race or continent. The failure by many scholars to explain the universal applicability of terminology was a political act, and they thus played a political role in the colonization and discrimination, no matter what their intentions may have been' (Rubin & Weinstein, 1974: 12-1974:12).

Most pre-colonial African societies had governing structures and demonstrated their abilities to manage and decide their affairs. Evans-Pritchard and Meyer (1940:5-15), divided these African political systems into two categories:

- i. One group had government with centralised authority, administrative machinery and judicial institution in which power corresponded with wealth and status. Examples of these they noted were the kingdom of the Bantus in Southern Africa where the rulers controlled an organised force to uphold their authority.
- ii. The second group had elements of linear decedents but there are elements of age-grade structures, the categorisation or grading of chiefs and titles where kinship groups performed the functions of a centralised authority. The Igbos are an example of this system.

Rubin and Weinstein (1974: 21) note that although the Igbo speaking peoples of Nigeria had no centralised government in memory, the absence of centralised government does not mean a society cannot be complex. Further identifying four viable political divisions that can be seen as governance institutions. These are *umunna* or localised patrilineage, the village, the town and the group of villages.

Having established that political systems existed in Africa prior to advent of “modern governments”, it will be safe to agree with Almond and Powell (1967: 16), who note that the concept of political system goes beyond the state, government and nation, stating that the “role played by formal governmental institutions ... varies greatly. In a particular context, their specific roles may not be as important as those of other institutions and processes hence the need to effectively deal with the administrative framework of the selected countries regardless of governmental system (whether it is unitary or federal) remains an critical. In the following sections, attempts are made to understand and compare

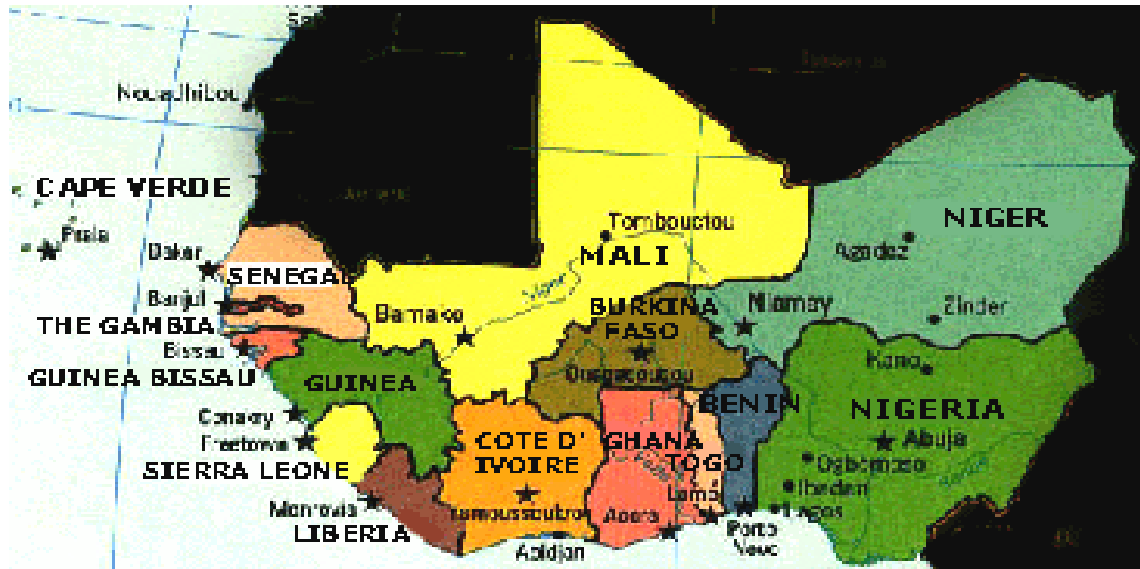
the context in which IGR and political systems operate (Unitary – South Africa, Federalism – Nigeria), consider the peculiarities of the selected countries, political culture, capabilities, conditional mandates, systems maintenance, relationships and the adaptive nature of IGR (Almond and Powell 1967: 23).

Understanding IGR: a Nigerian perspective (in ECOWAS sub-region)

The Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) is a regional organisation of 15 West African states that was formed in 1975. There were 16 members until the withdrawal of Mauritania from the forum. While the main aim of this forum was to foster economic growth, the political stability and processes in these countries have inevitably affected the pace of attaining the desired goal.

The member countries include Nigeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Cote d' Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo (<http://www.ecowas>, Accessed: the 03 March 2006). Over the years, Nigeria has remained a power house in the bloc and demonstrated its leadership in a number of ways including the deployment of resources to ECOMOG (Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group) bring about peace in troubles areas of the ECOWAS and beyond.

Map 4.4 Map of ECOWAS



Source: <http://www.ecowas>. Accessed: 3 March 2006.

Emergence of IGR in Nigeria – A historical overview

Nigeria occupies a unique position in the African continent for various reasons. Nigeria is endowed with both human and natural resources that are vital for the achievement of development. Kesselman, Krieger and Joseph (1996: 621) note that ‘resource rich Nigeria has long been regarded as a potential and economic giant of Africa. With its large population, extensive oil and natural gas reserves, a broad agricultural and small industrial base, the country has a solid foundation for the achievement of self-sustaining growth’, a point which is echoed by Ihonvebere & Vanghan (1995: 72), who noted that Nigeria is hailed as the giant of Africa and among one of the few countries in the sub-continent that could be counted upon to provide leadership in modernism, industrialisation and economic growth. Furthermore, Kesselman, et al (1996: 616) note that the study of Nigeria reveals paradox that identifies with African issues (in its complexity), as it provides an opportunity for the use of many issues confronting other African states as well as many developing countries in Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. Nigeria thus commends itself for careful analysis.

Historical and socio-political context

Nigeria has a large population of over 120 million that could effectively support an economic boom in various facets of the economy, including industry and manufacturing. However, most of Nigeria's resources have come about through the exploitation of natural resources, such as crude oil and liquefied natural gas. A member of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), Nigeria is poised to achieve greatness with appropriate political and administrative leadership. At Independence in 1960, Nigeria was a nation of various nations and there was really no common thread that could unify the various "nations" within Nigeria.

Although this worked for the British at colonisation especially with their policy of "divide and rule", it certainly did not help build the nation state Nigeria, especially as the social conflicts among the groupings were deep rooted and continued to deepen over the years. Colonialism left a bitter legacy in all the facets of Nigerian life; 'it empowered certain individuals and groups (and placed groups against groups) and weakened others. It left a heritage of harsh authoritarian domination that instilled the idea that here were two sets of rules: one for the political leaders and another for the citizenry' (Kesselman, *et al*, 1996:615).

Nigeria, which is a multi-cultural and multi-religious nation, opted for the federal system of government as a consensus, but it could be argued that that consensus rose from an awareness that conflict still exists (Ingram, 1990:12). Since independence from the British in 1960, present day Nigeria has undergone several political transitions including: democratic, authoritarian, and several military regimes and a three year civil war. For the most part, Nigeria's experience of colonialism and the hurried development to a nation-state by the colonizers leaves a lot to be desired. The British divide and rule system bred a dangerous political culture and put Nigerians against fellow Nigerians to the benefit of the few – usually the ruling class. This may not have changed in principle although the actors may

have. But unlike in the past where the systems were positioned to serve colonisers, it now serves the privileged in the society. What now exists is a governmental system that seems to serve few individuals and continues to put Nigerians against each other in order to maintain the status quo.

To date, Nigeria has had only three attempts at a democratic government and several military governments. And these attempts are called the first, second and third republics. The first Republic was Nigeria's elected government at independence. According to Robert (1981: 249), Nigeria was one of the more democratic states in Africa in the first years after independence and one of the few genuine federal systems in the world.

Kesselman, *et al* (1996: 620) note that Nigeria's first independent government (or first republican politicians as they are known) was sacked from power through a military coup with ethnic undertones led by General Agui Ironsi in 1966. This coup saw the death of many northern officials as the Igbo's sought to establish their relevance but General Agui Ironsi (an Igbo) was himself killed in a counter coup as civil war erupted. The Biafran war which was a result of tensions between the three major ethnic groups broke out as the Igbo's sought to secede from the nation state- Nigeria. The Biafran war ended in 1970.

At the end of the Biafran war, specifically between 1970 and 1979, Nigeria was again led by military Heads of State. General Yakubu Gowon, was Head of State and Government (1970-1975), until he was removed through a palace coup that brought General Murtala Mohammed into power. In about a year the head of state was killed through an unsuccessful military coup that saw his deputy, General Olusegun Obasanjo take over power and subsequently handed it over to a civilian government in 1979.

The second Republic came about when General Olusegun Obasanjo handed over power to the second Republic of Nigerian politicians in October 1979. The 1979-1983 National Party of Nigeria (NPN) led by Alhaji Shehu Shagari was sacked through a military coup (led by Major General Muhammadu Buhari) who governed the Nigerian Republic from December 1983 to August 1985. His term was short-lived when he was overthrown through a coup by fellow military men led by Major General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida. While in power, Babangida announced a prolonged seven-year transitional programme to democracy, which was finally derailed in 1993. The turning point was when the elections of 12 June, 1993, widely believed to have been won by Nigeria businessman, Alhaji M.K.O Abiola were annulled. With a threat of massive civil disobedience and no further room for deceptive manoeuvres, the Babangida government installed Ernest Shonekan as the civilian caretaker president in August 1993. Three months later, the then defence minister, General Sani Abacha seized power in November 1993 until his death, when a caretaker leadership was installed until civil rule returned at the turn of the century.

From the above it can be stated that 25 years of Nigeria's post independence period has been under military rule. Military rule by nature suffocates democratic tendencies as it does not nurture citizen participation, or embrace accountability but rather stifle and oppress civil liberties as the leaders choose including the suspension of the constitution. Given these long periods of military, this has bred a political culture rife with apathy and a lack of confidence in government's ability to cater for the non-privileged in society.

Nigeria's political quagmire has been complicated by the ethnic politics that have been utilised to turn the ethnic groupings against one another as in the case of General Babangida who sort to play the ethnic card after the annulment of MKO Abiola's election in 1993. When Babanigida annulled the 12th June 1993 elections, he followed up with a set of actions

aimed at restricting the political terrain, containing civil society and redefining the nature of politics based on manipulation, entrenched ethnic, regional and religious consciousness in the country (Wiseman, 1995: 80).

Having briefly sketched the context, an analysis demonstrates that Nigeria's first constitution, established a federal governmental structure largely as an attempt to accommodate the culture of diversity, as the nationalist fragmentation that had come through the pre-independence struggle (Almond & Powell, 1967: 294). The federal government which was run by the cabinet and the parliament was nominated by the dominant party in northern Nigerian, namely, NPC (Nigerian Peoples Congress). The other parties were effectively reduced to regional parties. In the East, where the Igbos were located, the NCNC (National Convention of Nigerian Citizens) led by Nnamdi Azikiwe was in charge. While in the West, where the Yoruba are found, the ruling party was known as the Action Group (AG), as was led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

What transpired in reality as a result of these regionalised governments, was that there developed at least two distinct administrative cultures and attitudes. There were two broad divides – the North and the South. Given the minority and majority politics, attempts to maintain the system were largely kinsmen based in that the Yoruba or Igbo man used whatever opportunities existed to recruit more of their people in order to shift the balance of power from the Hausa who, in turn, fought very hard to keep the system in their favour.

The Northern culture on the one hand was highly traditional in outlook with elements of strong religious influence. This is seen even in the present day Nigeria with some of the states having implemented the Sharia law while the Southern Nigeria outlook appeared more participatory, given the influences of their traditional political system, which was

government by discussion and consent (Almond & Powell, 1966:293). In present day Nigeria, what you find is a situation where governance issues cause further divisions making it a necessity to evolve a stronger IGR system that is able to absorb and manage those tensions. The need for intergovernmental relations as provided for in the Nigerian Constitution suggests that there are competing centres in the Nigerian polity. Hence an approach that identifies these power in the Nigerian society with a view to determining with whom they compete, for what reasons and how these can be mediated should remain the aim for the evolution of the Nigerian intergovernmental system.

Also with the North dominant at centre of government with underlying ownership rights, the West and the East focused their energies primarily in ensuring sustenance for their regional governments, as working for the federal government effectively meant working for the Northerner. Moreover, the religious differences were sharp as the North was Islamic and the West and south were largely made up of Christians.

While the tensions discussed above do exist, the administrative and managerial challenges still remain. For instance, the capacity of the public service and the level of civil society involvement make things even more complex in Nigeria. Given the multifaceted nature of the challenges that face the Nigerian Public service, the apathy and mistrust of the population signals that the public service rarely ever enjoyed popular support as a result of their record of lack of delivery record over the years. In order to address this lack of delivery, an intergovernmental system that strives for and attains a strong regulatory capacity, as well one that is competent to manage delivery has to be continually strengthened but even more so, such a system must strong elements of decentralization.

Nigerian IGR constitutional mandate

The act of classifying systems according to the geographical location of power results in three possible systems: confederal systems at one extreme, unitary system at the other extreme and the federal system in the middle. The unitary system concentrates power and authority at the centre, but the level of centralised power may differ from one system to another. And this is largely determined by the spheres of public policy that have been accorded by the constitution. In reality, the systems of government implement varying degrees of decentralisation. For instance although South Africa and Britain may be classified as unitary systems, South Africa has extensive elements that it has borrowed from the federalist mode of government.

Herperger (1991: 6) argues that Nigeria's federal constitution can be traced back to the constitution of 1954 which initially comprised three regions and then this was changed to four regions, with three regions in the South and one in the North. He adds that 'the original constitution provided for two lists, one exclusive to the federal and the other concurrent with residual powers lying at the regions', but this has been revised in the current constitution with its redrafting in 1989.

The Nigeria federalist system appears to follow the USA example where federalism is seen as a contract in which states join together to form a central government with limited functions. In Nigeria, the centre remains powerful, especially with regard to the function of raising and distribution revenue. However, states retain separate areas of independent action. For instance there are states in the North that have chosen to implement Sharia laws sighting independent actions as provided by the constitution. The Nigerian constitution has always been pro-consensus, which has been exploited by various stakeholders for various reason. The implementation of the Sharia provides an example. According to Soyombo and

Ogunlade (2001:56), ‘the Sharia issue is one of the constitutional issues that the constitution has not helped to resolve. Proponents and opponents alike have managed to come up with some kind of constitutional backing for their positions, interpretations and actions’.

In general, it should be added that while the constitution of some countries may be almost faultless on paper, the manner of implementation and interpretation does pose some challenges. Given the fact that the constitution shapes the landscape for governmental interaction, it is appropriate to engage in a discussion of the Nigerian constitution. As already stated, the Nigerian constitution has evolved from the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914, through to the Clifford’s constitution in 1922, the Richards’ constitution of 1946, the Macpherson’s constitution of 1951, the first republic constitution (1960), the Republican constitution (1963), the 1979, and the 1999 constitution that is hailed by Joye and Igweike as:

‘novel of constitutional making in Nigeria... largely because they spelt out the philosophical or ideological justification of the Nigerian state, the ideal goals and objectives for the attainment of social and economic order. They argue that spelling them out in the constitution provides a yardstick for judging the performance of any government. It invests them with the quality of constitutional directive to the organs of the states to inform and guide their actions by reference to the declared principles’ (1982: 48-49).

Elaigwu (1994: 40) notes that, in the Nigerian federal system, the powers of the federal, state and local governments are clearly spelt out in the 1979 constitution, specifically the second schedule Parts 1 & 2 (exclusive and concurrent lists). This delimitation of power is necessary to facilitate accountability and to minimise overlaps in governmental administration.

Chapter 1 of the 1999 constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria deals with the general provisions (see Appendix 1), while Chapter 2 (Appendix 2) spells out the fundamental

objectives and directive principles of state policy. Some of these provisions relate directly to IGR and these include:

- Section 14 (2c) notes that participation by the people in their government shall be ensured. This includes the interaction of the representatives of the people across all the levels of government in order to arrive at joint decisions for matters that affect all;
- Section 14 (3) notes that the composition of the government of a state, local government council or any of the agencies of such government or council, and the conduct of the affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be a predominance of persons from a few States or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies;
- Section 14 (4) notes that the composition of the government of a state, local government council, or any other agency of the council or government shall be carried out in a manner that promotes and recognises the diversity of the people within the area of authority and the need to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among all the peoples of the federation;
- Chapter 5 Section 80 (1) notes that all revenue or other moneys raised by the federation (not being revenue or other monies payable under the constitution or an act of the National assembly into any other public fund in the federation, and established for a specific purpose) shall be paid into and form one consolidated Revenue Fund of the federation;
- Chapter 6, Section 206 allows for the establishment of state civil service, in addition to the federal civil service (Appendix 3);

- Second Schedule (Part 1- Appendix 4) spells out the exclusive legislative lists while Part 2 (see Appendix 5) deals with the concurrent legislative list and the functions of Local government as spelt out by the constitution; and
- Chapter 6, Section 153 (1) pronounces the establishment of certain federal executive bodies. These are a Code of Conduct Bureau, Council of State, Federal Character Commission, Federal Judicial Service Commission, Federal Civil Service, National Defence Council, National Economic Council, National Judicial Council and National Security Council among others.

For the purposes of this work, some IGR institutional structures that have strong IGR relevance are discussed in the following section.

Nigerian IGR Institutional structures

In the Nigerian situation, the role that IGR plays has been recognised. The establishment of a number of institutions, some of which are discussed below, are viewed by Elaigwu, Logans and Galadima (1994: 54) captures as an attempt to ‘smoothen the raw edges of complex political arrangements’.

National Council of IGR

The key functions of the National Council of IGR as captured by Elaigwu *et al.* (1994: 54-76) are as follows:

- i. Monitoring the operation of the Nigerian federal system and recommending necessary improvements;
- ii. Studying such problem areas that would create or are likely to create tensions for the federal stem and making appropriate recommendations to the various levels of government or relevant institution;

- iii. Appraising the various dimensions of IGR and making recommendations as to how to
 - Improve efficiency in the administration of the federation
 - Improve taxes and ensure equitable distribution
 - Enhance cooperation among the three tiers of government (federal, state and local government) as well as among laterally units at all levels of government;
- iv. Studying and evaluating the functions and powers of the various tiers of government, in light of the changes in the federal system and making recommendations for adequate legislative and administrative acts as well as effecting necessary adjustments;
- v. Playing mediatory roles towards resolution of conflicts; and
- vi. Promoting the involvement of various institutions, the activities or functions which affect IGR at federal, state and local government levels of government.

National Association of Local Government

This body functions as an inter-local government structure for facilitating IGR and cooperation. This is achieved through regular meetings and exchange of ideas among Heads of Local Government (also called Local Government Chairmen). However, it should be noted that this body evolved in the defunct Western Region of Nigeria and has since struggled to attain a truly embracing and widespread federal character in terms of its outreach. The aims of this structure are to:

- i. Watch over the interests, rights and privileges of local governments as provided for by legislation and adhere to regulations made by the various governments, departments, or parastatals which may apply to local governments in one form or another
- ii. Obtain and disseminate information on matter of importance to the various local government areas
- iii. Serve as a consultative body signifying the representative opinion of Local Government throughout the federal Republic of Nigeria

- iv. Promote and protect the autonomy of local governments
- v. Contribute towards the improvement of local government administration
- vi. Study questions concerning the management, activity and the welfare of their citizens
- vii. Take such actions as deemed desirable in relation to subjects in which local government may generally be interested.

The Council of State

This body is provided for by the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It is a key structure for the management of IGR in Nigeria. It comprises of the current as well as some past key executive officers of the federation. The chairperson is the President of the country and the Vice President is the vice chairman. Other members include all past Presidents and Heads of state of the country, former Chief Justices, the Senate President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, all the governors of the states and the Attorney General of the federation. The functions are however very broad as they range from census, publications, information keeping, prerogative of mercy, the award of national honours, appointment of National Electoral Commission (NEC), matters pertaining to the Judicial Council, National population and advise to the president on any relevant matters.

The Federal Character Commission

This Commission is also provided for in Part 2 of the Schedule as contained in 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It comprises a chairperson and representatives from all the 36 states of the Federation as well as the Federal Capital territory – Abuja. The chairperson is appointed by the President and the appointment is ratified by the House of Senate. The key functions include:

- A mandate to work out an equitable formula (subject to the approval of the National Assembly) for the distribution of posts in the Public Service of the Federation and the

States, the armed forces, other government security agencies, government parastatals and companies

- Promote, monitor and enforce compliance with the principles of proportional sharing of all bureaucratic, economic, media and political posts at all levels of government
- Take such measures as necessary including the prosecution of the head or the staff of any ministry or agency of government which fails to comply with the federal character principle.

Understanding IGR: A South African perspective (in SADC sub-region)

The Southern African Development Community has been in existence since 1980, although it was initially known as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. It was formed in Lusaka, Zambia, on the 1 April 1980 after the adoption of the Lusaka Declaration and the treaty was signed by all participating heads of states. The main objectives were to promote political and economic well-being of member states.

The member countries included Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe (www.sadc.int/english/about/profile/index.php. Accessed: 3 March 2006). South Africa, since the demise of the apartheid government in 1994, has played and continues to play a prominent leadership role towards the attainment of the objective of the forum. South Africa recognised its economic prosperity is inevitably linked with the economic success of its neighbours hence the strategic objectives of growing regional trade and pursuing economic growth in the region is paramount importance.

Map 4.5 Map of SADC



Source: <http://www.sadc.int>. Accessed: 3 March 2006.

Emergence of IGR in South Africa – a historical overview

The emergence of IGR in South Africa can be traced back to the early nineteenth century with the amalgamation of the two British colonies (the Cape & Natal) being placed under a common governor who represented the British government in 1910. With the amalgamation under a common governor, the government system changed from a Westminster system (with centre and local authorities) to one that as three tiered.

Levy and Tapscott note that:

‘the origin of the contemporary system of intergovernmental relations in South Africa can be traced back to the South African Constitution Act of 1909.... which sort to accommodate the political identities of the four separate entities, the model departed from the two tiered Westminster system and interposed a tier of provincial government (comprising four provinces) between National and local government’ (2001: 3).

The provincial councils derived their powers from the relevant South Africa Acts but the real locus of power lay in the office of the administrator who was appointed as an agent of

the central government. The relationship between the states and the local authorities on the other hand was often conflictual (Levy & Tapscott, 2001:4). In the closing stages of the apartheid era intergovernmental relations, there were increased administrative inefficiencies, growing corruption and minimal popular legitimacy.

With the establishment of a democratic government in South Africa, the 1996 Constitution, addressed various the issues. The new constitution took into consideration the inequalities that had evolved over the years as a result of the discriminatory nature that the past South Africa governments had adopted. CODESIA negotiations considered the manner in which government will concentrate or devolve power in the new democratic state. Specifically, the question was, should the new democratic state be federal or unitary in nature?

Attempts were made to strike a careful balance, as it was argued that too much devolution of power would weaken the centre in an effort to create a new democratic society while too much centralisation of power at the centre could mean taking power way from the people. Ultimately, a unitary state with strong federal elements evolved and a new system of IGR alongside new structures were considered in order to enable service delivery. According to Levy and Tapscott (2001: 1), 'the ending of apartheid and the transition to democracy in South Africa brought with them fundamental changes to the form and function of the state. In particular, they brought a restructuring of intergovernmental relations and a redefinition of the responsibilities of the different spheres of government'.

South African IGR constitutional mandates

The nature of intergovernmental relations in South Africa has shifted considerably in the last few years with specific regard to the provision of the bill of rights, power-sharing mechanisms between spheres, the execution of assigned roles in the new democracy and the

promotion of cooperative government. A fundamental component of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is that the relationship of the spheres of governments is clearly spelt out as *distinct, interdependent and interrelated* (see Chapter 3 – Appendix 6) and the provision related to Public Administration in Chapter 10 (see Appendix 7) . It further requires the three spheres of government to function with a framework known as three principles of cooperative government. The above set the scene for a non-competitive governmental structure. However, given the fact that the intent captured in the constitution has to be made a reality and within the scope of intergovernmental relations, attention needs to be paid to the statutory bodies (with legislative backing) and non-statutory bodies (constituted by government for a specific task) as these can promote intergovernmental relations in the form of committees, boards or a range of other bodies (Kuye *et al.*, 2002: 45).

The following provisions of the 1996 South African constitution set the boundaries for its management. These provisions include:

- The respect of constitutional status, institutions, powers and functions of government in the spheres (S 41(1) (e));
- Non-assumption of powers except those conferred by the constitution (S 41(1) (f));
- Non-encroachment of powers and functions (S 41(h) (1)(g); and
- Mutual cooperation that seeks to reduce frictions and legal proceedings against each other (S 41 (1) (h)), S (239) & Section 41 (3).

From a South African legislative perspective, bodies that play significant roles in the intergovernmental relations framework include are the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces. The aim of promoting intergovernmental relations through the National Council of Provinces among others is to ensure that the distinctness of

governments is pursued in service delivery at various levels. In addition, the cooperative and interrelated elements ensure a national focus and provide clarity for each arm or sphere of government to ensure that the operations of each are smooth without necessarily overstepping their bounds. Beyond the legislative bodies that provide the framework for interaction, there is a host of other structures that exist to promote intergovernmental relations, most of which are discussed under the institutional arrangements for intergovernmental relations.

With the spheres of government being distinctive, interdependent and interrelated critics such as Klaaren (1995: 5) argue that cooperative governments could compromise efficiencies as the lowest common denominator invariably become acceptable standards. They can lead to excessive delay as governments work towards agreement. This may not be too far from the South African experience as the government of the day strives to find its own balance between autonomy and interdependence, centralization and decentralization, competition and consensus.

With regard to the institutional and structural arrangements to support IGR, it would appear that in South Africa, there is a clear attempt to direct all energies towards non competitive, cooperative governance through the intergovernmental relations forums and structures that have been created.

South African IGR institutional structures

The executive plays a major role in intergovernmental relations in all countries and intergovernmental mechanisms involve the executive arm of government making binding agreements, sometimes written and other times, through informal liaison with public servants. With regard the coordination and adjustment of administrative relations in various

countries, Opeskin (1998: 21) notes that this gives rise to several mechanisms for intergovernmental relations. In South Africa, the coordinating structures could be divided into two broad categories (Thornhill *et al.*, 2002: 106); structures established in terms of the constitution or other legislation and structures established by a decision of an executive or institution. Examples of these coordination bodies may be found within a particular sphere or may be located to function in across government spheres. These major intergovernmental relations forums include:

The National Council of Provinces

Although the name National Council of Provinces may suggest otherwise, the area of operation transcends all the spheres of government, namely national, provincial and local. The national Council of Provinces is made up of ninety members, with ten delegates from each province for a term of five years (Thornhill *et al.*, 2002:104). The ten delegates from each province comprise four delegates consisting of the premier or his/her representative and three special delegates. The other six seats are made up of party representatives through a proportional representative system. The body is set up by Section 42 (1) of the Republic of South Africa Act 1996.

A chairperson is elected from the delegates and is assisted by a Deputy Chairperson. These are annually rotated yearly among provinces. Other *ad hoc* members include cabinet ministers and their deputies as well as representatives of different categories of municipalities of the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) but these members may not vote.

The creation of this body is grounded on the provision of the Constitution that allows for sphere distinction, interdependence and co-operation. This body thus, seeks to promote the interactions that exist as all provinces can be said to be symmetrical in their operations except when interventions are necessary. The structure has its own secretariat and makes arrangements to operate as effectively as possible within the prescribed framework such as the adherence to Sections 70(1), 70(2) and 75 of Act 108, 1996 (Thornhill *et al.*, 2002:3). In circumstances where there is a dispute with the National Assembly, the Mediation Committee is mandated to negotiate the terrain.

While an attempt is made to capture the salient roles of this forum, it is important to note that stakeholders lacked clear understanding of the expected roles and responsibilities and frankly admitted that they did not quite know where to “turn” in order to receive the clarification that they sought (Report of the National Council of Provinces, 1998: 4). The National Council of Provinces is a coordinating body that promotes intergovernmental relations at national, provincial and local levels. As a constituent part of the legislature, it may consider or initiate legislation that falls within its areas of functionality and pass or reject bills that are tabled before it, especially legislation relating to concurrency, that is, Section 76(3) of the Constitution (Kuye *et al.*, 2002: 2), and where necessary, it may propose amendments to existing bills.

The National Council of Provinces has a control mechanism for the various organs of government and ensures the execution of policy and administrative directives and the provision and utilization of the necessary resources to attain policy objectives (Gildenhuis & Knipe, 2002: 290-295). Thornhill (2002: 9) adds that, in executing administrative responsibility, the structure is charged with resolving any disputes that may arise.

The National Council of Provinces seeks to promote provincial interests in National Government and at the same time ensures that minimum functional and delivery standard exists across the country. When provinces do not meet the expectations in terms of their mandate to the people of the province, then this body actually ensures that sanctions and the interception of certain provincial powers are implemented through the application of section 100 (when a province cannot and does not execute executive responsibilities) and 139 (where a municipality cannot or does not execute executive responsibilities) should and when the need arises.

Execution of functions must be in line with the principles of cooperative governance as this provides the framework for the actions of the governance structures. The South Africa IGR system appears to have evolved from the European federalism that expresses solidarity, a shared commitment to a united society. As captured by Thornhill (2002: 39), it may require the provincial executive to appear before it and explain policy decisions and administrative actions thereby acting as an important avenue for information flow and enhancing communication processes. Pottie (2000:40) notes that the NCOP serves as bridge between national and provincial power, although the ability of the provincial legislature to structure and affect their power has demonstrated a rather mixed record. Below is a table reflecting a summary of the roles that the National Council of Provinces plays in strengthening intergovernmental relations.

Table 4.1 Summary of the roles of provincial members in the NCOP

Provincial role player	Roles and Expectations
Premier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Determine provincial interest in legislation ▪ Ensure effective participation and proper management of NCOP business ▪ Oversight function on provincial matters
Member of Executive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Provide channels of ripple effect on decisions made in the house ▪ Involve various stakeholders at various levels of the legislative process ▪ Promote flow of information when necessary
Speaker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Overall overseeing of the provincial communication and legislative processes ▪ Present and protect mandate from the province ▪ Qualify the provincial needs with regard to participation in the NCOP ▪ Monitor the participation and feedback from special delegates ▪ Ensure provincial mandates are carried through ▪ Follow programme implementation at provincial levels
Permanent delegates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participate actively and monitor priority bills, especially in Section 75 debates. ▪ Reporting

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Negotiate amendments with other provinces on Section 76 bills and seek common solutions to generic problems
Special delegates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enhance information flow after plenary briefings and sessions ▪ Negotiate, in conjunction with permanent delegates, a common position on issues mandated to them

Source: (Report of NCOP, 1998)

Budget council

The nature of this forum suggests that its mandate is clear and targeted. Although the budget council does not make decisions with regard to the allocation of funds, as this is the role of the treasury, it certainly does add value to the entire process. For instance, it provides an opportunity for skills transfer and capacity building. The budget council consults on a range of matters such as:

- Financial matters affecting provinces including budget, management of financial resources and fiscal related issues; and
- Any issues that the Minister of Finance has referred to the body for consultation and debate.

The budget council also informs provinces about policy directions, generates debates with a view to reaching some level of consensus (Levy & Tapscott, 2001: 101).

President's Coordinating Council (PCC)

The formation of the PCC in October 1995 was largely to enable the leadership of the provinces (the Premier and the Exco) to act in a cooperative and collective manner by giving

effect to policy, ensuring that development enabling standards are properly managed across the board and promote good governance through the strengthening of synergies between the national and provincial governments. According to Levy and Tapscott (2001: 89), some of the key responsibilities of this forum include:

- Oversight over integrated planning;
- Avoidance of interventions under Section 100 and 139 of the constitution;
- Containing the adverse consequences of the demarcation process; and
- Managing cross-boundary municipalities collaboratively.

Intergovernmental Relations Committee(s) of Ministers and Members of Provincial Councils (MINMECS)

This body seeks to facilitate and synthesise the activities of a specific sectoral minister at a national level and those of their respective nine MECs at a provincial level. The main functions of this forum according to Levy and Tapcott (2001: 91) include:

- To promote a common understanding of policy and strategic directions in a particular sector through targeted clustering;
- To encourage co-operation, alignment and coordination amongst levels of government;
- To inform policy and share and learn from each others' experiences;
- To management concurrent responsibilities; and
- To allow for a greater understanding of provincial peculiarities with an aim to enable the provision of appropriate support when and if necessary.

Presentation of selected IGR issues within selected cases in Nigeria and South Africa

This section seeks to profile selected IGR cases in Nigeria and South Africa. An attempt will be made to profile four cases per country as this provides the basis for a comparative study. The cases are presented within the framework of the public administration functions and in addition, the emerging issue(s) for that particular case is identified. The researcher has noted that although the case may have been presented with a particular public administrative function as guide, it appears that most of the challenges within the cases are not exactly linear in nature. This has necessitated that the analysis be undertaken in light of other insights that emanate from the cases, all of which are discussed in Chapter 5.

These cases presented relate to intergovernmental relations differently. In various instances the nature of the cases may focus on the management of IGR within a sphere or level of government, in other instances the case may relate to the management of intergovernmental relation across spheres and sectors or may even straddle relationships among spheres or level, and sectors including the non governmental organisations (NGOs) or a selected community.

Table 4.2 Nigerian case study 1: Service delivery in the electricity sector

<u>Nigerian Case study 1: Service delivery (electricity generation and distribution in Nigeria)</u>	
<p>Brief: Aimed at examining the manner in which the relevant agencies across the federal and state levels of government work together to ensure effective and efficient generation and distribution of steady power supply to the public.</p>	
Context / Key role players	Emerging complexities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal Government of Nigeria • State Governments • Local Government areas • Nigerian Electric Power Authority • Power Holding Corporation of Nigeria • Gas producing companies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Synthesise the generation and distribution efforts with regard to power supply • Vision and role clarification • Performance monitoring and evaluation. • Sector strategic leadership and coordinating capacity • Sustaining stakeholder engagement • Reorganization and alignment • Reporting and organising systems • Coordination mechanisms • Policy formulation and inputs channels • Policy implementation and evaluation • Leadership, ethics and accountability • -Effective budget utilisation

Table 4.3 Nigerian case study 2: Service delivery in the housing sector

<u>Nigerian Case study 2: Housing provision</u>	
<p>Brief: Aimed at examining the manner which the housing mandate of government is executed by all the three tiers of government, in a manner that ensures that efforts and resources are synchronized towards a common goal.</p>	
Context / Key role players	Emerging complexities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Development • State Governments • State Ministry of Housing Development • Local Government areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and alignment of Sphere planning frameworks • The extent and manner in which these plans contained and agreed at federal and state levels are devolved to various authorities and support given • Management of communication across all tiers of government in the federation • Project management • Reporting, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in place • Amongst others, the leadership and coordinating capacity of the sector to initiate and to ensure that sector plans are sustained • Sustaining stakeholder engagement

Table 4.4 Nigerian case study 3: Service delivery in the water sector

<u>Nigerian Case study 3: Water provision</u>	
<p>Brief: Aimed at assessing the efforts of the various tiers of government in providing water, a very basic need, to the populace. This need to deliver this function is even more vital given that safe water provision being identified as one of the UN millennium goals.</p>	
Context / Key role players	Emerging complexities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal Ministry • State Governments • State Ministry of Housing Development • Local Government areas • Water Utility Boards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Optimal utilization of resources including the need to attract right personnel • Political and administrative interface in the attainment of the desired state of affairs • Development, support and alignment of planning frameworks • Management of communication across all tiers of government in the federation • Project management • Management of service providers • Project coordination, reporting, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in place • Result oriented leadership and coordinating capacity of the sector initiate to ensure that sector plans are sustained • Interface with other related sectors e.g. Health

Table 4.5 Nigerian case study 4: Project initiation and management in the NDDC (Niger Delta Development Corporation)

<u>Case study 4: Projects initiation and management in the NDDC:</u>	
<p>Huge amounts of resources have been available for the upliftment of the lives of the mineral producing areas in the Republic of Nigeria. Over time, a number of projects have been initiated, most of which are perceived as wasteful. The extent to which the various projects have improved the livelihood of these people of the Niger Delta and the extent to which the tiers of government have taken advantage of the facilitative opportunity of IGR in the management of these resource areas is the subject of investigation.</p>	
Context / Key role players	Emerging complexities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All NDCC states • Ministry of Petroleum • Ministry of Environmental Affairs • Ministry of Finance • Ministry of Planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Even representation of key players (NDCC members) in the various key structures at both national and at local sites. Including access and control of critical resources • The role of the various sectors e.g. health, education, social development, public works etc. • Gender awareness and representation issues • Management of the relationship among the various tiers of government • Standardization of policy framework for training and recruitment • Management of feedback process for project success, effectiveness and efficiency

Table 4.6 South African case study 1: Housing Provision

<u>South African Case study 1: Housing provision</u>	
<p>Brief: With the a constitutional mandate to provide basic housing, the National and Provincial Departments of Housing have to work together to ensure that the targets are met by providing leadership on this matter for all spheres of government involved to ensure delivery. This case shows the intricate network and interdependence among and between spheres if the housing mandate is to be met. In the recent past, with government struggling to meet the targets that it had set and communicated to the people, there have been a number of demonstrations by the public over government’s delivery pace.</p>	
Context / Key role players	Some emerging Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nelson Mandela Metro • Eastern Cape Provincial Government • Buffalo City Municipality • Amatole District Municipality • Eastern Cape Department of Local Government, Housing and Traditional Affairs • National Department of Local Government • National Department of Housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The development of settlement plans requires the input of a number of sectors including health, education, social development, public works and so on. • The housing mandate cuts across all the spheres of government. In addition it involves category B and C Municipalities (within the Local government sphere) • Amongst others, the coordinating capacity of the Eastern Cape Department of Housing, Local Government and Traditional Affairs (DHLTA) has been investigated • Management of roles and a clear framework of operationalising the housing project, with regards to issues of resource allocation and budgeting, • To what extent the project has allowed for multi sector and sphere planning as well as an integrated planning approach (IDPs of local municipalities and district municipalities,

	<p>PGDP of the Eastern Cape and strategic plans of departments involved).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Communication management (horizontally, vertically, across spheres and across sectors)• Management of participation
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Table 4.7 South African case study 2: Functional integration across the DoH

<u>South African Case study 2: Functional Integration across the DoH</u>	
<p>Brief: Charged with a responsibility to deliver quality health care, the DoH sought to reorganize itself in a manner that will bring about comprehensive and integrated health care across all spheres of government. This required a strong coordination and alignment of processes in order to manage fragmentation across all national, provincial, district and local authorities.</p>	
Context / Key role players	Emerging Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local municipalities • District municipality • Eastern Cape Provincial Administration • DoH 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication (timeous and accurate) • Transparency and accountability • Alignment and Reporting • Oversight and control across various spheres • Budgeting for delivery • Interface with related sectors; Department of Education, Social Development especially on issues related to PHC • Politics and administrative dichotomy • Role of leadership in providing strategic direction for improved service delivery • Integrating sub-systems towards a common objective • Setting and adhering to national standards • Monitoring and reporting • Relevance of checks and balances

Table 4.8 South African case study 3: Programmes/projects coordination

<u>South African Case study 3: Improving policy implementation delivery through coordinated programmes /projects</u>	
<p>Brief: Government has sought to improve delivery through the utilization of programmes and projects to deepen the thrust and impact on policy implementation across various spheres. The Project Consolidate programme through the urban renewal project and requires spheres of government to work together in a coherent fashion on targeted projects.</p>	
Context / Key role players	Emerging issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Department of Provincial and Local government • Provincial government • Municipalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibility of “government” to meet tax payers’ expectations regardless of the sphere of delivery. • Improved need for efficient project implementation to meet service delivery imperatives • Communication management • Managing conflicts in IGR • Policy implementation and adherence • Planning (inter-sectoral) • Nepotism and corruption in the Public Service • Leadership in the Public service • Managing racial tensions in Public Administration • Politics and Administrative dichotomy • challenges of rapid urbanisation

Table 4.9 South African case study 4: Delivery in the agricultural sector

South African case study 4: Organizing for optimal delivery in the agricultural sector	
<p>Brief: The massive food programme is one of the key programmes in the Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture. The manner in which a programme, such as this, is planned and organized, is bound to contribute to its success or lack of it.</p>	
Context / Key role players	Emerging complexities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture • NGOs • DoA Service providers • Municipalities in the Eastern Cape • National Department of Agriculture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sector planning and optimal stakeholder involvement engagement is critical (including involvement of municipalities) • Systems development and maintenance • Integrating sub-systems towards a common objective • Setting of and adherence to national standards • Monitoring and reporting of plans and subsequent activities • Capacity to cascade plans beyond the PGDP and departmental strategic plans to delivery sites • Possibility of engaging other governmental departments towards a broader mandate such as the Department of Health and Social Development • Role clarification

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to sketch the context in which this research is located. The researcher reflected on selected IGR international cases from Switzerland, Australia and Canada. It appears that with regard to IGR arrangements, the local peculiarities always determined the manner and shape of IGR arrangements. In the African context, the research has broadly sketched the mode of governance and political and administrative organisation, from pre-colonisation and tracked the metamorphosis to the current status in the selected countries; Nigeria and South Africa. Nigeria and South Africa have both been selected for this study for a number of reasons, including the fact that these are well resourced nations (financial and human), and could lead the way in shaping and championing the turn around that is sought in most African countries. Also, an understanding of the governance challenges that face these diverse nations can become lessons for the rest of the continent.

The researcher has identified and presented IGR issues within selected cases from Nigeria and South Africa. These IGR issues identified, all fit within the key public administration functions such as policy making, planning, control, coordination, communication, staffing, budgeting and leadership. These issues will be further contextualised for better understanding, taking into consideration the guiding public service delivery in Nigeria (SERVICOM) and that of South Africa (Batho Pele). These would provide the focus of the in-depth analysis that follows in Chapter 5. In understanding the legislative and administrative processes that provide for intergovernmental interactions in the governance realm, the research suggests a great deal of complexity as the functions present themselves in multi rather than in single nodes across national, state (as they are called in Nigeria) or provinces (as they are called in South Africa) as well as with local government authorities or municipalities.

<p style="text-align: center;">CHAPTER FIVE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS OF SELECTED ISSUES WITHIN CASES IN THE NIGERIAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC SERVICE</p>

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to enable the researcher engage robustly with IGR (broadly within the context of country specific policies - SERVICOM in Nigeria and Batho pele in South Africa) as well as explore the issues and cases that have been presented in Chapter 4. This contextualisation providing an opportunity to critically analyse the cases, discuss the emerging trends, present country period-specific findings as well as present cross-country findings that have developed from the selected countries (Nigeria and South Africa). From the above, the lessons presented in this chapter should contribute to an improved understanding of IGR in African federalist and unitary states.

The Nigerian issues and cases exhibit some of the difficulties that several African countries have had to deal with. This relates to managing diversities in a federalist structure and embracing ethnic, cultural and religious tensions. Suberu (1999: 91) note that ‘Nigeria has emerged as the outstanding example in Africa of the federal- local institutions to contain disintegrative tendencies and to promote integrative processes at the national level... however, today, perhaps more than ever...the nature of Nigeria’s federalism has become precarious and contentious’. Nigeria is a power broker in the African region but more so in the sub-Saharan region. As a member of ECOWAS, it is perceived as wielding a lot of power (Ojo: 1999:119). The same argument can be made for South Africa, given that it wields a lot of power in the SADC sub-region and in the African region in general with tensions of race and class management that have emerged as a result of its history. Collectively, the two countries, given

the different government systems adopted, will assist the researcher capture and present a wide range of lessons.

One of the main objectives of any public service entity is to adequately develop its systems in a manner that best serves its citizenry. A number of reforms have characterized the Public service in both countries (Nigeria and South Africa). Ademolekun (1986: 159-160) notes that administrative reforms refer to systematic changes in the administrative system designed to lead to a more efficient and responsive administration. In South Africa and Nigeria, there have been several attempts to reform the Public Service and a lot has been written about these (Levy and Tapscott 2001, Nnoli 2004, Kuye 2006). The researcher, however, focuses on the current initiatives that shape Public service reform with a view to improve service delivery, using IGR. In South Africa, this key reform initiative is known as *Batho Pele* (see Appendix 8) while in Nigeria it is known as *Servicom* (see Appendix 9). This chapter analyses information related to service delivery activities and projects within the framework of the issues and case studies selected from various ministries and departments in Nigeria and South Africa and presented in the last chapter.

The Batho Pele initiative is about putting people first and aims to enhance the quality of services delivered in a manner that improves accessibility, efficiency and accountability to all recipients of public goods and services. And its key principles are: consultation with customers, adherence to set service standards, increased access to services, higher levels of courtesy, access to information about services, openness and transparency, the remedying of mistakes and failures, and the provision of value for money (Department of Public service and Administration, <http://www.info.gov.za/aboutgov/publicadmin/bathopele.htm>. Accessed: 23 May 2006).

According to the Office of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Servicom demonstrates the Government of Nigeria's service compact with all Nigerians. It is based on the principle that Nigeria can realize full potential if citizens receive prompt and efficient services from the state. It requires a show of commitment and renewal, consideration for all the rights of Nigerians to enjoy economic and social advancement, need to deliver quality services in a dedicated manner that is fair, honest, effective and transparent.

(http://www.servenigeria.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5&Itemid=6.

Accessed: 23 May 2006).

The researcher argues that in order to achieve the desired goals as outcomes of the specific country reforms (i.e. SERVICOM and Batho Pele), one of the critical elements that must be strengthened is IGR. This is even more so given that there has been increased interaction amongst and between spheres of government within a particular country, making IGR more complex, and intensive. Wright (1988:467) describes IGR as a 'huge complex building under continual construction and reconstruction. The edifice has no single deliberate overall design or consistent architectural motif. There is a non-stop remodelling and renovation, plus minor and major internal repairs; there is even selective razing and often whole floors and wings are added'. The study is therefore is not in search of an illusive universal model for IGR, rather an attempt has been made to understand the intricacies around the management of IGR, with a view to making interpretations that smooth out complexities and ensures improved coordination of the relationships among governments at different levels. Efforts should continually be geared towards harnessing the successes in the management of IGR and reflecting on some of the challenges as the cases presented in this study.

This inquiry is made against the backdrop that the quality of the Public service continues to assume an important role in any state (federal as in the case of Nigeria and unitary state as in the case of South Africa), especially as the quality of service delivery has implications for the achievement of economic and development targets, and influence the entire growth of the economy. While politically, there is a need for IGR, it is brought into effect administratively through processes like collaboration, cooperation and coordination.

Within that framework, this chapter seeks to analyse the workings in some selected departments and ministries with a view to determine if the value that IGR brings to the achievement of good governance, addressing service backlogs among others, has been fully explored. The study further highlights some of the critical lessons in the management of IGR in both selected countries under discussion, deals with period-specific issues and moves to identify common trends in and across countries.

Service delivery imperatives in the selected countries

The current political administrative system as set out by the 1996 Constitution in South Africa allows for significant control of the national government over the provincial government and of the provincial government over the local governments. Likewise in the Nigeria, the administrative system set out in the 1999 constitution, in addition, is also clear about the responsibilities that these sub-governments have to play with regard to the exclusive, concurrent and residual roles of the various levels of government (Schedule 2 of the Nigerian Constitution, Schedules 4 & 5 of the South African Constitution). These roles that provincial or state and local government authorities have to provide are in general grounded on the principle of subsidiarity which allows for government agency closest to the customers to deliver on a

particular mandate in some instances and in other instances, it is guided by the strategic importance that the government places on a particular function.

In Nigeria, the coordination of departmental activities appears to be of an organic nature while in South Africa, the government has committed to the cluster approach. Regardless of the project and programme emphasis, the aim of any approach that is applied is to manage a very real risk of fragmentation (The Machinery of Government, 2003: 35), to improve coordination and to strengthen implementation of services to the people of the country.

In the case of South Africa, the Constitution advocates that adequate support to be given to sub-governments in order to ensure delivery. The reality may be different and these discrepancies are analysed in relation to the cases presented and it may be argued that these functions continue to be cascaded to the spheres without adequately strengthening or ensuring that there is appropriate capacity as provided in Chapter 3 of the South African Constitution.

SERVICE DELIVERY IMPERATIVES: A Nigerian Public service critique

In understanding the management of intergovernmental relations, it is important to review the activities of public officials and these are inherent in the administrative processes that take place on a daily basis. Nnoli (2000: 44-45) notes that public administration is a pattern of routinised activities, involving decision-making, planning, advising, coordination, conciliation, arbitration, command and data gathering through which government carries out its responsibilities. In this section, the researcher provides an overview of the Nigerian public service, one of the critical contexts for the study, and proceeds to discuss the selected Nigerian IGR cases. Once these cases have been discussed, the researcher then proceeds to carry out an intensive analysis of the emerging trends in Nigeria as well as a periodic analysis of the nature of IGR in the country

Nigeria consists of the federal government, 36 state governments and 774 local governments, with extensive government machinery in all the three tiers of government making its executing agency a large big one with a complex structure. Over the years, several projects and programmes that have been initiated and commissioned have not necessarily been seen through to fruition. And this has brought about a concept called “abandoned projects”. Akobundu (1995: xxxi) notes that as chairperson of the projects monitoring and implementation committee, set up on the 29th December 1993, he was amazed by the magnitude of abandoned projects. A number of reasons may be available for the project abandonment. Firstly, there appears to be inconsistency between project planning and project implementation. For instance, the table below demonstrates that governmental spending in the transport sector should have doubled over the years, but the huge differential between the planned estimates and the actual allocation shows that the national plans could hardly be attained as the resources envisaged at planning and those actually allocated for delivery seem to be worlds apart. It could therefore, be argued that the planning exercise actually is futile, given the allocations in the table below.

Table 5.1 Pattern of government sector planning and actual budgetary allocations

Serial No	Plan period	Planning Estimates	Transport sector allocation	%	Land transportation	Air Transportation	Water transportation
1	1962-68	1,586.00	309.00	19.0	212.00	76.50	25.00
2	1970-74	2,051.00	472.40	23.0	360.00	51,30	13.00
3	1975-80	43,315.00	9677.50	22.0	8,025.50	801.30	850.80
4	1981-85	70,500.00	10706.60	15.0	9,092.00	653,10	961.50

Note: Figures are reflected in Billions and in the Nigerian Naira.

Source: Federal Ministry of National Planning, Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85, Vol. 1.

While resource availability might be an issue, a second problem is that of its efficient utilization with regard to the scarce resources allocated. This is because spending does not necessarily translate to project delivery on the ground. The public funds paid out to the relevant contractors do not translate to delivery on the ground, and yet complaints from the public are hardly addressed and issues of probity and accountability are disregarded with no recourse whatsoever for the contractors. The need to improve service delivery as a means to improving the socio-economic conditions of the citizenry is critical as non service delivery invariably translates to wasted resources and deprivation of the programme/project benefits that should accrue to the people. The table below suggests an arguably reckless manner in which government resources are being spent (from a comparative point of view) as it will appear that the general trend is to over-evaluate projects hence, scarce resources are not utilized efficiently.

Table 5.2 Comparative cost of government contracts

Project type	Nigeria	Algeria	Kenya
Residential building	350.00/m	313.00	132.00
Multi-storey office block	450.00	-	207.00
Single carriage-way road (two lanes)	294.000 per km	149,252 per km	105,353 per km
Dual carriage-road (4 lanes)	800,000- 1,200,000 per km	587,015 per km	278,961 per km

Note: All monetary estimates are in Nigerian Naira.

Source: Report of the ministerial commission on the causes of the excessively high cost of government contracts in Nigeria, Government Press Apapa, Lagos 1981, (Table 6.5) p 37.

While the above provides a sketch of the context of Nigerian Public administration, the cases that follow provide specifics and contextual understanding for the analysis of IGR with a view to providing insights in the management of IGR projects/programme implementation.

Nature of the selected Nigerian case studies (and inherent issues)

The Nigerian cases that have been selected for this study cut across the national, provincial and local government spheres. In all the cases presented, the interactions straddles across various sectors as this allows the researcher to present the complexities that are inherent in these activities. The cases (and their inherent issues) to be analysed, are linked to public administration principles and functions and cases studied as presented in chapter 4. The discussions are based on activities from the following Nigerian Ministries. These are:

- Ministry of Steel and Power (PHCN);
- Ministry of Housing and Urban Development;
- Ministry of Water resources; and
- Ministry of Petroleum Resources

Discussion of Case study 1: PHCN-Ministry of Steel and Power

Over the years, the electricity generation capacity of the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), now known as the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN), located in the Federal Ministry of Power and Steel, has been an issue of concern for all Nigerians alike. This is primarily because the availability of power (or lack of it) affects the lives of citizens, businesses and the public sector. The PHCN is the executing agency wholly owned by the federal government, with state offices requiring state government input to ensure delivery.

Part 2 (section 4) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Government of Nigeria clearly documents electricity provision as a concurrent function, allowing state governments to assist in the establishment, generation, transmission and management of electricity supply. The implementing agency was created by government Decree No. 24 of 1972, from the merger of

the previous Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, (ECN) and Niger Dams Authority (NDA). That Decree gave NEPA (now PHNC) the mandate to ‘maintain and co-ordinate an efficient and economic system of electricity supply for all part of the federation’. PHCN has 18 business units and eight electricity generating stations throughout the country ([www.nigeriabusinessinfo.com/energy htm](http://www.nigeriabusinessinfo.com/energy.htm). Accessed: 7 September 2006).

The level of electricity generation over the years has been less than desirable, with power shortages and blackouts the norm in all parts of Nigeria, especially in the urban areas where ageing infrastructure as well as facility overload, are common. This has made delivery inefficient. In the rural communities, there is little or no access to power supply despite the fact that local government, the state and national governments have committed funds for electricity supply and yet, very little can be shown for it.

This non-delivery in the electricity sector has warranted numerous comments from various scholars, such as Ikoiwak (1979:90) who noted that ‘electricity is not available to all sections of the Nigeria... it is only the very few who can afford generators that enjoy this aspect of modernization... there is no city in Nigeria that can boast of a continuous supply of electricity...’. Sadly, a statement made over twenty six years ago, still remains unimproved and remains an evasive industrialized dream to the Nigerian people as the power generated (as reflected in table below) indicates that the levels of electricity supply need to be significantly improved.

Table 5.3 Pattern of electricity generation and consumption in Nigeria (Million Kilowatt Hours)

Year	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
*% generated by NEPA	62.9	62.9	37.2	36.2	25.6

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, Economic /Financial Review, Vol. 16, No. 3. Dec 1998.

% reflected denotes the supply vis-à-vis the demand.

In the 2006 Presidential Budget speech, President Olusegun Obasanjo reflected that while enormous challenges still remain, government has made steady progress, with:

- peak generation power reaching 3,500mw (since August 2005);
- peak daily generation has held steady at over 3,000Mw) ;
- a significant improvement in terms of revenue collection (to an all time high of N7billion by the Power Holding Corporation of Nigeria); and
- providing seven Niger Delta Power Plants with a target to reaching 5,198Mw and by December 2007, 10,806 Mw.

It can be seen that the issue of resolving power-cuts is a national priority and hence it warranted mention in the Presidential budget speech (Budget speech of 6 December 2005) with a promise of improving the basic quality of life of Nigerians through investments in power, water and roads, and noting that in addition to the ministry budgetary votes, a further N15 billion resulting from the gains of crude oil will be invested in power supply. With a clear need to address power cuts with political and resource commitment, this is a move in the right direction. However, other governance elements still need to be introduced and managed to enable delivery. This delivery arrangement must recognize the value of informal and organic structures, as presented by IGR, and should be recognized and tapped into for delivery purposes. By means of intensifying consultation with various States and Local Government Areas (LGA), improving

coordinating mechanisms and enabling systems integration between administrators of various power authorities.

Given that this is a service that is collectively provided by the three tiers of government, a firm commitment on the part of government as reflected in this particular case could have a better chance of success if clearly communicated. The need for coordination (among all levels of government towards a common goal and coalitions with some of the stakeholder, such as the Nigerian Liquefied Natural Gas (NLNG), oil companies and energy generation agencies. This is process that may require inclusive and sound planning principles (as very often, policies are fraught with discrepancies and inevitably fail to achieve the desired results). Furthermore, sound leadership (both political and administrative) remains a serious concern.

What is required, is a leadership that is goal orientated and sincere in its attempt to improve the lot of the people, and can demonstrate this by ensuring that resources are effectively deployed and monitored, as majority of the projects are poorly executed and fail (Akobundu, 1995:4-8). The critical mix for project efficiency must include planning across spheres and levels of government, with commitment to building the necessary coalition, managed through effective communication, improved capacity and resource availability, the researcher argues will help delivery, reverse the perception that the leadership does not recognize the need for service to the citizens, manage misuse and diversion of project funds, as well as high levels of insincerity towards programme/project implementation. A turn around strategy is needed as the current perception is that there are numerous projects and programme that do not exist, but are said to have been budgeted for, with huge amounts of money being spent on these “ghost” projects.

Discussion on Case study 2 – Ministry of Housing and Urban Development

The housing role which is executed by the Federal Ministry of Housing and Urban Development as the principal driver is arguably one of the fundamental needs of any group of people. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, locates the housing competence as a concurrent function, allowing for concurrent roles with regard to the financing of industrial and commercial developments. And in terms of the housing policy, the UN HABITAT programme (1999: 27-28) notes the housing policy was primarily launched to address the housing needs in the country through restructuring existing institutions, reviewing all existing laws as well as increasing participation.

A fairly comprehensive legislative framework has been developed in this area and includes the Insurance (Amendment) Act 2005, the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria Act 2005, the Investment and Securities (Amendment) Act 2005, the Mortgage Institutions Act 2005, the National Housing Trust Fund Act 2005, the Nigeria Social Insurance Trust Fund (Amendment) Act 2005, and the Trustee Investments (Amendment) Act 2005.

At Present, in all three tiers government, there is government machinery (in terms of ministries and sections) that are dedicated to the improvement of housing delivery, although they largely take their cue from the federal ministry, whose vision is to facilitate the provision of decent, adequate and affordable housing for all Nigerians, in both the urban and rural areas in a secured healthy environment. Its mission is to establish sustainable housing delivery system that will ensure easy access to home ownership by the Nigerian populace in an environment where basic physical and social amenities are available.

(http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/fed_min_housing_urban_dev.aspx. Accessed: 7 September, 2006)

It can be argued that all three governmental tiers have gone about meeting their housing mandate in a sole rather than in a coordinated manner. The need for adequate housing has been necessitated by the large population of Nigeria, which is the largest black nation in the world, with a population of over 120 million citizens. This situation is aggravated by the migration trends that make the urban areas and cities extremely dense. Lagos state population, for instance, is currently estimated at over 10 million. This problem is further aggravated in one city states, as they tended to have more serious accommodation crisis due to the migration towards the only city in the state as in the case of Port Harcourt, the only city in Rivers State.

(<http://www.ngex.com/nigeria/places/states/lagos.htm>. Accessed: 7 September 2006).

Given the population pressures, it is evident that the provision of housing to millions of Nigerians will remain a public service challenge in the foreseeable future. However, the need to provide adequate housing has been hampered by the fact that, for so long, Nigeria's lack of reliable data on which relevant decisions can be based have been questioned over time, including the recent census of 2005. Balogun (1993: 123) argues that one of the serious defects in the development plan lies in the paucity of data in Nigeria making it extremely difficult to plan meaningfully. Even primary information relating to the population of the country still remains unclear as there has been no reliable census figure (the most recent attempt is also fraught with irregularities).

The inadequate statistics coupled with a disjointed incremental approach to policy and project implementation may have resulted in several failed projects and the implementation of policies needs to be comprehensively planned and managed, if the Public service is to meet the current challenges that face the nation. The weakness of the incrementalist approach is most

discernible; hence Balogun captioned this state of activities ‘the hit and miss approach’ (1993: 124).

The resultant effect of the inadequate data, required for planning means that facilities become over utilised, stretched and subsequently breakdown. Akobundu (1995:206) notes that regardless of the housing shortages, only 30% of the commissioned housing projects were finalized in Port Harcourt between 1983 and 1994. Despite the efforts by the Komo military administration to rekindle the vision of housing provision in May 1994, little has been achieved and the factors responsible for this low completion include:

- The resources available to government dwindled due to poor revenue within this period;
- The deregulation of the economy due to an increase in the price of petroleum products; stalled the ambitions of the government of the day, as prices of building material jumped astronomically;
- Available resources were concentrated on road projects because of the fast approaching rainy season (Akobundu, 1995:206);
- There was no clear project/programme plan; and
- Clear communication flow among all the relevant stake holders was lacking

While some of the factors above could not be easily resolved. The decentralization of the disbursement funds, which allowed each ministry to pay for projects directly, seems to have been a positive move. Previously payments were centralised through the Ministry of Finance and this provided an opportunity for unscrupulous elements to exploit the contracts prior to payment.

For efficient delivery on the housing mandate, the extent to which the right kind of skill is attracted and retained is vital for success. This includes ensuring that employees within the ministry are fit for their jobs (starting from the planning stages to the implementation stages) as well as ensuring that the private service providers or contractors, who have been partnered with government, have the capacity to execute the jobs satisfactorily. To ensure capacity enhancement of employees, Human Resource maintenance in terms of allowing officials to take responsibility and be accountable for their actions, rather than being rudimentary in their approach, will certainly assist in improving motivation and job satisfaction, all of which will assist in positioning the Nigerian Public service for service delivery. However, this has to be implemented alongside improved condition of service.

The management of other aspects such communications, coordination, administrative and political interface in leadership, project mentoring and evaluation as well as planning influence the outcomes of this case. Given that the Presidential Budget speech of 2006 ‘commits all the gains from debt relief, that is the federal government resources that would have gone to external debt service in 2006, amounting to N100 billion to poverty reducing expenditures including...housing’ (President Olusegun Obasanjo’s 2006 budget speech.), the stage is set. However, it is important to facilitate political and administrative interface as collectively these officials form the leadership that must steer delivery and account to the Nigerian people.

Discussion on Case study 3 – Ministry of Water Resources

In 2006, the President Olusegun Obasanjo (in his presidential budget speech) committed 4.4% of the total budget to the provision of clean water supply to the Nigerian people. The provision of clean water supply is seen as a basic service that is standard in most developed counties and is contained in the UN Millennium Goal (7) addressing the issues of environmental

sustainability. It is hoped that this goal will be met as it is specifically aimed at reducing by half (by the year 2015), the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water. However, the extent to which this can be achieved within the timeframes needs to be seen and will require government to reinvigorate the delivery mechanisms significantly. According to Akobundu (1995: 218), the water demand in a city like Port Harcourt is estimated at 252 cubic meters while the average water production is currently estimated at 32,208 cubic meters per day, and this means that only about 12% of the daily water needs are being met, hence the acute water shortages that are experienced in Port Harcourt, as with most Nigerian cities.

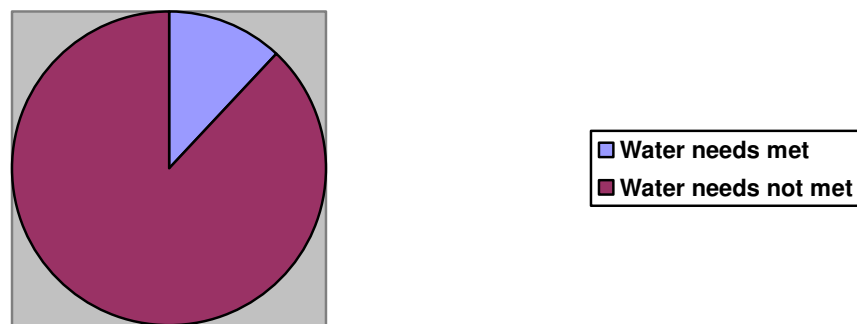


Figure 5.1 - Showing the current water supply in Port Harcourt

(Source -All states Trust bank commissioned report for Africa Development Bank Loan Project 1994)

The above figure represents the case for Port Harcourt city. This has forced individuals to venture into providing the services for themselves by building bore holes since the government has failed to provide acceptable levels of social and essential services, such as water provision as confirmed by the graphic representation below:

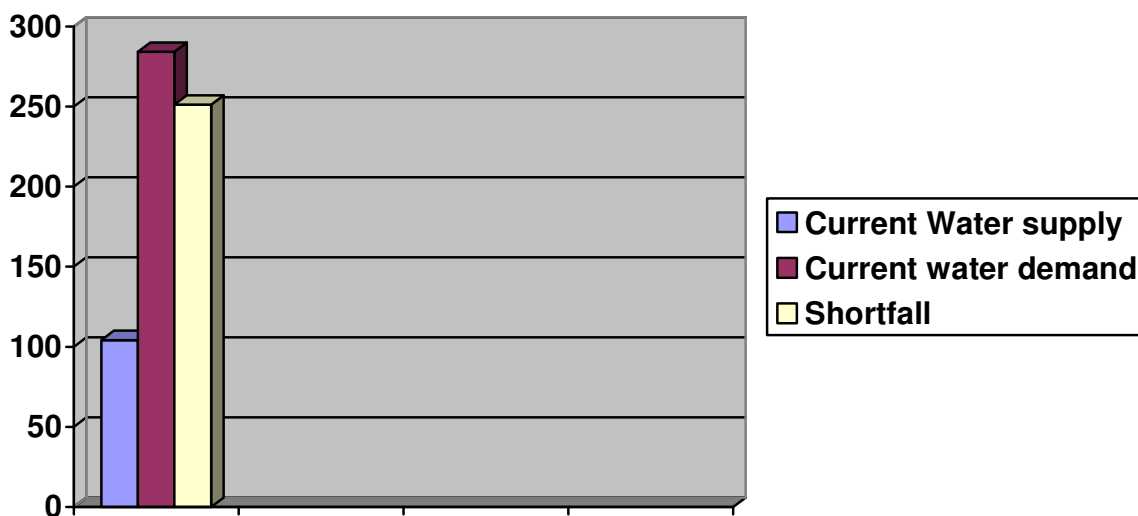


Figure 5.2 – Depicting the per cubic meter shortfall between demand and supply of water provision in Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Table 5.4 – Depicting the per cubic meter shortfall between demand and supply of water provision in Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Current water demands	Current supply	Short fall
284,196m ³ /day	104,160m ³ /day	251,988m ³ /day

(Source All states Trust Bank commissioned report for Africa development Bank loan project 1994)

A number of factors can be identified for the lack of delivery in water provision. The challenges include old infrastructure that is no longer serviceable, as most of the pipes have now worn out and need urgent replacement. According to Akobundu (1995:215-240), other issues include:

- Poor maintenance of serviceable infrastructure, leading to pumps always broken down;
- The culture that government property is no body’s property;
- Insufficient number of water boreholes and poor distribution networks and linkages ;

- Limited resources in terms of financial and man power needs, including the inability to attract and retain skilled personnel;
- A culture of non payment;
- Poor management styles;
- Employee morale at an all-time low; and
- Lack of accountability to the public by the water departments and boards who are supposed to be responsible for this service.

Water is a basic and fundamental need. It affects numerous other sectors including agricultural production and health provision. If not properly managed, it can lead to a complicated IGR challenge due to the impact it has on other sectors. The roles of all the three tiers of government in ensuring that this service is delivered must and should be intensified, and where possible, coalitions could be built with the other departments whose delivery outcomes are significantly affected by the lack of water supply (such as the health sector and the agricultural sector). It would appear that to date, attempts to address this issue collectively are yet to be fully explored.

With regard to coordination and integration, this case suggests that, it is imperative that all relevant stakeholders integrate their activities from the planning stages. Planning and execution in isolation may not assist in achieving ministry objectives, especially if the delivery is affected by other factors. For instance, the outbreak of water borne diseases could be proactively managed by sound leadership (political and administrative) through planning, joint policy formulation/implementation, joint monitoring and coordination, by the Ministries of Water Affairs and Health, thereby seeking ways to assist and facilitate clean water delivery. This may

require pulling the budgets together on specific activities in order to find optimal value for the resources available.

With integration of activities and continuous stakeholder consultation, the culture of accountability and reporting has to be entrenched by all spheres of government as it would appear that the abandonment of projects is a major problem in terms of ensuring service delivery. This abnormality (project abandonment) seems to be acceptable across all the tiers of government. Where government has failed to play its part, it must be held accountable and the senior official(s) involved, who may have played a part through their activity (or inactivity as the case may), must be made to carry the brunt. It cannot be business as usual when government expenditure has been wastefully deployed without the desired outcome. Furthermore, where service providers have fallen short, they should be adequately dealt with and government resources recovered and the contracts concerned should permanently blacklisted. With continuous monitoring among stakeholders and the culture of accountability instilled, reporting becomes non-threatening when required.

Lastly, with regard to the culture of non-payment, from the point of view of the citizen, one could argue that given that the services are really not provided, then charges and rates cannot be paid. The government must take the initiative to correct the practice and gradually the perceptions and culture of payment will be entrenched through acceptable levels of service provision and mass education of the public.

Discussion on Case study 4 – Ministry of Petroleum Resources (specifically with regards to the Niger Delta Development Corporation projects)

Since independence, there have been several attempts to put the Niger Delta Region on the path to sustainable development but these have not borne the desired results. As captured succinctly in the Niger Delta Master Plan (<http://www.nddconline.org/nigerDeltaMast>. Accessed: 24 May 2006). ‘The Niger Delta Region (NDR) has witnessed a number of attempts to influence the pace and nature of development in the area and improve the standards of life for its people. For the most part the legacy of these schemes translated into a picture of missed opportunities, low value for money and, not least, enormous disappointment for the communities of the NDR, whose hopes and aspirations have been raised and then repeatedly shattered’.

With offices in only nine oil producing states, namely Rivers state, Cross Rivers State, Abia state, Imo State, Akwa Ibom State, Delta State, Edo State, Ondo State and Bayelsa state and adequate funding, the expectations from the projects of NDDC are justifiably high. This oil rich area, also known as the Niger Delta Region (NDR), represents about 12% of Nigeria’s surface area. If service delivery could be improved in Nigeria, the regions enjoying the capital injection (through the NDDC) could easily be pockets of excellence but if this cannot be sustained in this region despite the resources available, then that spells even more doom for the country given that the region could at this point be termed “privileged”. The demographics of the NDR are captured in the table below:

Table 5: 5 – Demographics of the NDR

State	Land (Sq km)	Population
Abia	4,877	3,230,000
Akwa Ibom	6,806	3,343,000
Bayelsa	11,007	1,710,000
Cross River	21,930	2,736,000
Delta	17,163	3,594,000
Edo	19,698	3,018,000
Imo	5,165	3,342,000
Ondo	15,086	3,025,000
Rivers	10,378	4,858,000
Totals	112,110	28,856,000

Source: GTZ population projection based on the 1991 (Contained in the Niger Delta Master Plan <http://www.nddconline.org/nigerDeltaMast>. Accessed: 24 May 2006)

Following growing agitation in the region, the second republic politicians (1979-1983) set up a presidential task force that was to utilize 1.5% of the oil revenue for the developmental needs of the region. Although a bright idea, this proved to be ineffective and wasteful (<http://www.nddconline.org/nigerDeltaMast>. Accessed: 24 May 2006). With growing discontentment, it was reviewed and increased to 3% and OMPADEC (Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission) was set up to administer the funds. Again this was fruitless as it was riddled with corruption under the Babangida regime, from 1992 – 1999. A review of the failure of this agency showed that it had completed few projects, abandoned numerous others, incurred huge debts, and did not properly document its activities hence information was sketchy, as the organization generally suffered from loss of focus, official profligacy, corruption, excessive political interference, lack of transparency, accountability and high overhead expenditure, it failed dismally (<http://www.nddconline.org/nigerDeltaMast/> Accessed 24 May 2006).

With the advent of the third republic under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999 to date), OMPADEC was replaced by NDDC. The New NDDC was backed by the NDDC Act of 2000, which further increased the funding by 3% to 15% of the federal account. This institution has been properly capacitated in order to avoid the same mistakes as in the past. It is expected to effectively execute its programmes given that what is required is more than a name change.

The functions of the NDDC as provided by Part ii, section 7 of the NDDC Act of 2000, include:

- Formulate policies and guidelines for development in the region;
- Conceive, plan and implement programmes in line with above (including transportations, health, education, employment, industrialization, agriculture, housing and urban development, water supply, electricity supply and telecommunications);
- Promote physical and socio-economic development;
- Identify factors inhibiting the development of the NDR and assist member states with policy formulation, implementation and efficient utilization of resources;
- Assess and report on all its funded programmes; and
- Tackle environmental and ecological impacts and advise the federal government on pollution related issues as well as liaise with Oil companies on related matters

As contained in section 5 (dealing with financial provisions) of the NDDC Act of 2000, the primary financier is the Federal government, which makes a mandatory monthly contribution which will be equivalent to 15% of the federal account, in addition to 3% of annual budget of oil companies operating in the area. Expenditure includes administrative costs and contract/project fees, which must be approved by the legislature. Given the above, it is fair to conclude

that a significant amount of resources has been committed, with the NDDC having received N47 billion (Naira) from 2001 to 2003. It has awarded 700 contracts, with 358 (51%) completed for the same period (NDDC: 2005 <http://www.nddconline.org/nigerDeltaMast>. Accessed: 24 May 2006). And recently, President Olusegun Obasanjo allocated a further N21 million to the NDDC in the 2006 Presidential Budget speech.

The constitution gives all tiers of government rights to ownership and management of the resources in the country, for instance, Section 44(3) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria states that ‘control of all minerals, mineral oils and natural gas in, or under or upon any land in Nigeria or in, under or upon the territorial waters ... shall rest in the government of the federation and shall be managed in such a manner as may be prescribed by the national assembly’. The states are empowered in Section 16-2 (a & b) to ‘ensure that the material resources of the nation are harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common goal’, the Constitution also states that “it shall be the duty of local government council within the state to participate in economic planning and development of the area’. This suggests that all tiers must coordinate and plan jointly in accordance with the planning framework of Nigeria, if the resources are to be optimised.

Central to the NDDC’s success in terms of sustainable development is the need to ensure that stakeholders, particularly the communities (not individuals representing themselves) are part of the broader decisions that affect them directly. Considerable effort should be invested in building deep community participation, ownership and sustainable coalitions. Furthermore, the need to ensure that all tiers of government are part of the realization of the NDR vision is also critical. Hence, the NDP (Niger Delta Plan) is worth applauding, although the extent of

community engagement in finalizing the document remains to be seen in the form of ‘an open and transparent partnership between the NDDC, Federal, State and Local Governments, Private Sector, communities and civil society – a partnership that ensures that all the main actors have a stake in the future development of the region – will also facilitate then synergy amongst all the parties and optimize then use of scarce resources’ (NDR Master Plan, <http://www.nddconline.org/nigerDeltaMast>. Accessed: 24 May 2006).

In order to remedy this situation in Nigeria, the leadership element must be seen to be transparent and wastefulness across the levels must be curbed. Over-inflated contracts in Nigeria seem to be an acceptable practice and could actually be seen as the government’s “way” of redistributing resources to society. The manner in which the derivation fund has been administered over the years seems to buttress this point, with agencies ranging from Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI), to the 1.5% derivation fund committee which later metamorphosed into OMPADEC and now NDDC, with all these agencies spending huge resources and with little or no impact being felt by the oil producing communities, which they claimed to serve. This is arguably linked to the issues of ethics as it appears that political allies (now turned contractors) are rewarded at the expense of the communities. Akobundu (1995: 75) asserts that ‘in the era of party politics, the award of government contracts to top party chieftains is a normal occurrence’. The beneficiaries are usually financial contributors towards the victory of the party. Contract as thus regarded as “thank you notes” without considering the competence and abilities of the beneficiaries, to execute the jobs successfully.

A PERIOD-SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN NIGERIA

The myriad of complex intergovernmental relations related problems undoubtedly does translate into poor performance, in terms of meeting the development goals that the government must and is expected to meet. However, it should be pointed out that delivery, limited or non-delivery of services could be a translation of some underlying tensions, which may be country specific as well as context related. This includes the ability of the centre to relate to the periphery, or the nature of the relationship between the tiers, which could be of a “peer” status or a “parental” status, and could affect the IGR outlook. This outlook (which may be transformatory in approach) is a long term process that seeks to achieve the best results or outcomes through fundamentally different ways of approaching issues and problems, Vil Nkomo (1999: 87). An approach that the researcher is aligned to in this study, is that of Kuye (2006: 175), who captures the value of reflecting on a particular era, in any country, succinctly when he notes that ‘the public service in any country is never static. Rather, Public sector reforms must be seen as a living organism which changes with time and event ... transformation should therefore, be considered within more than one dimension, not merely as an organizational phenomenon’. The section that follows is based on Kuye’s insight above and reflects the Nigerian context in three distinct Eras, namely: Independence, military and post military eras.

Independence Era

The nature of British colonialism in Nigeria differed significantly from South Africa’s. It would appear that the aim of the colonialists in Nigeria as with most of their other colonies Africa, was to siphon off as much resources to the western world as the colonialist (the British) did not have any intention of residing in Nigeria largely because the natural conditions such as the weather

were too harsh for them. This fundamentally guided the manner in which the British governed the country. For instance, at independence, the country had practically no infrastructure, apart from a few railway lines that were primarily there to enable the British transport raw materials to the ports of exit. Furthermore, the British did little or nothing to ensure that a vibrant multi-cultural society emerged. Rather, where it suited them, Nigerians were administered in a divided fashion through the Southern and Northern Nigerian administrations.

A major lapse in the formation of the Nigerian nation state was the lack of unity. The Nigerian state was as a result not a coherent whole and since IGR which relies heavily of the relationship element, this weakness may resulted in the shaky start that has proved hard to stabilise, as most Nigerians tend to have a state or ethnic allegiance before national allegiance. The difficult relationship element was further complicated by the complexity of IGR as it had several levels, which are:

- National-state relations,
- National-state-local government relations,
- National-local government relations,
- Inter-state relations,
- State-local government relations, and
- Inter-local government relations, as identified by Ayoade (1982:13).

The underlying frustrations in these governmental relationships have been ethnically and culturally polarized, saddled by the politics of minority versus majority. The related frustrations have brought about some of the underlying tensions in the political as well as in the administrative terrain. What emerged in terms of IGR, was a system where the relations were

rather weak (*IGr* rather than *IGR*). This highlights the weak emphasis on the R- relationship). The divisive element is further entrenched by the religious divide with the north being largely Moslems and the south largely Christians further polarizing the country. Furthermore, the divides also include the urban/ rural divide, which sets LGAs against their larger urban settlements, especially if they cannot lay claim to the political leadership of the state.

In Nigeria, over the years, these governmental relations have tended to produce competing or conflicting interests, thereby producing minimal intergovernmental relations. This difficulty in harmonising these group/sub-society interests spill into the political system and these in turn erode the public service machinery, resulting in ethnic, minority and majority politics, as can be seen in Nigeria's various attempts at democratisation. It is pertinent to explore it's origins, given that it addresses the evolution of IGR in the Nigerian state. The evolution of IGR in Nigeria can be traced to between 1900 -1914, a nation administered as two separate nations (northern and Southern Nigeria), with each territory coming under the British rule at different times (Ayoade, 1982:18). With the existence of the protectorates, what emerged were distinct cultures, religious, governance systems that were largely distinct (sometimes competitive and conflictual). For instance, the Clifford's constitution of 1922 allowed for the North to be excluded from the membership in the legislature as it continued to be governed by proclamation of the Governor. This divide was further entrenched by the Richards Constitution of 1946 that constitutionally promoted regionalism. Further constitutions such as the Lyttleton Constitution of 1954, allowed for exclusive and concurrent list with subjects not categorised under the jurisdiction of the federal government. The 1957 constitutional conference highlighted the Niger Delta problems further categorizing them as a separate group to be provided for and dividing an already divided nation. A culture of a divided nation had been fully instilled.

This influencing the nature of IGR including Intergovernmental fiscal relations as the nation was saddled with ‘struggle between regions with each attempting to secure benefits for having more important natural resources’ (Ekpo, 2004: 12). As already stated, there were difficulties with regard to the allocation of resources, with regions accusing one other of enhancing census numbers in an attempt to attract more resources.

Post - Independence Era

With more military head of states (Akintola 1985:22) than civil ones (they include General Aguiyi Ironsi, Lt Col. Yakubu Gowon, General Murtala Mohammed, General Olusegun Obasanjo, General Mohamadu Buhari, General Ibrahim Babangida, General Sani Abacha), spanning over 20 years, the advent of military rule which was (supposedly) to get the nation on the path to development has not been without consequences. The impact of the military influences in public administration has brought about vices such as the use of cohesion in governance, abuse of state power and resources (Amuwo 1993:93). These vice have been deeply imbibed and have remained long after the last military regime and contributed to the culture of lack of accountability, lack of extensive stakeholder collaboration and engagement and stifled democratic virtues and values.

During the military era, attempts were made to further decentralise the nation and 12 new states were created from the defunct four regions in 1967. And in 1967, a further seven states were created, with two more in 1987 totalling 21 states in the federal Republic of Nigeria at the time and finally the number of states was increased to 36 in 1996 (excluding the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja). While it may be argued that creation of states has brought the government closer to the people, and reduced domination of one group by another, Gboyega (1999:240-244) notes that it has created a problem best described as “statism” (meaning a strong attachment to

the state as against the nation) adding that the Nigerian federalism has manifested in unnecessary confrontation with, attempts at destabilisation of governments controlled by rival political parties, deliberate obstruction of another level of government in the provision of certain services, unhealthy rivalry, and competition for allegiance of the people and the improper or dubious use of the instruments of security and coercion... thus basically Nigerian leaders have failed to manage intergovernmental relations appropriately or competently.

Other militarized characteristics that spilled into the realm of governance included governing by military provisions in the form of decrees, suspension of the constitution of the federation, changes in the structure and organization of the national planning machinery, and a definite trend towards centralization, with a more dominant role of the central government (Abdulsalami, 1977:81). Furthermore, the coercion that characterized the military regimes, did not quite allow for a healthy intergovernmental culture of debates, negotiations to develop, as policies were largely handed down from the top with no significant opportunity for input from the states or local governments, as invariably, the politically environment was heavily dominated by the centre. This position is easily illustrated by the 1995 annulment of the presidential elections which were widely believed to have been won by Alhaji MKO Abiola. The power of the centre was evidently too much for the collective will of the people (the state and the local governments) that wanted democracy to prevail.

This top down management style affected a range of programmes. The UNDP report contained in Niger Delta Master Plan (<http://www.nddconline.org/nigerDeltaMast/> Accessed: 24 May 2006) notes that

‘The greatest flaw in these poverty alleviation strategies is their top down approach. Then Federal authorities have taken all the initiatives. The state and Local Governments have been reduced to mere implementing agencies. Even here, their areas of manoeuvres

were extremely limited as autonomous institutions manned by people with extremely limited experience were set up. It is needless to add that the involvement of the supposed beneficiaries both in the conception and the implementation of the programmes were conspicuously negligible' (2001).

Post military Era

Ayida (1987: 58) observes that 'it is not easy to explain the collapse of essential services in Nigeria'. This statement is true not only for essential services but for service delivery imperatives in general, especially as it relates to the public service. Further arguing that inadequate water supply in all major urban centres, persistent failure of the electricity supply, breakdown of communication networks (notably roads), rapidly deteriorating social services can be traced to crisis in management at all the levels of government. To a large extent, inefficiencies may be due to poor state relations, which in turn may have been polarized by various factors, the obvious being ethnic and religious elements but beyond that there are the issues of resource control as can be pick up by the relationship that exists between the oil producing state and their non-oil producing states as well as the federal government. This issue of resource control was vital at the restoration of the second republic in 1979, with government quickly moving to promulgate the 1981 Revenue Act, with the distribution as follows: Federal government – 55%, State government – 35%, Local Government 10% (Ekpo, 2004: 21). And further necessitated the renaming of the Planning programme budgetary system which had been adapted in the 2nd republic to what was termed the Programme Performance Budgetary System with a clearer emphasis on performance and output (Omolehinwa, 1989:397-398).

Even under the civilian regimes, IGR are still dominated by the centre. Suberu (1990:270) notes that the constitution placed "virtually the whole gamut of public affairs within the exclusive legislative competence of the centre. The Obasanjo regime has demonstrated its recognition of IGR as a mainstream activity of the federal government with its own ministry, a position which

is applaudable if properly managed. This move has uplifted the status of IGR to a fully fledged ministry with a responsible minister in the office of the presidency since 2003. The IGR Ministry's mission 'to provide sustainable framework for integrated planning and collaboration amongst the three tiers of Government for a more transparent, effective and efficient service delivery to the people' (Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, Youth Development & Special duties 2006 <http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/fed_min_inter_gov_aspx Accessed: 25 May 2006) This has triggered the establishment and re-evaluation of similar intergovernmental relation activities within some states with improved zeal and in fact the creation of state level ministries for example Lagos state (<http://www.lagosstae.gov.ng/ministry/ministry.htm>. Accessed: 23 May 2006).

Furthermore, the issue of re-orientating the public service towards a service orientated one requires mention, especially with the launch of the SERVICOM (Service Compact with all Nigeria) with five principles namely; Conviction (Nigeria can only realize its full potential if citizens receive prompt and efficient services from the state), Renewal (commitment to the service of the Nigerian nation), Consideration (the needs and rights of all Nigerians to enjoy social and economic advancement), Avowal (deliver quality services based upon the needs of citizens), and Dedication (provide the basic services to which each citizen is entitled in a timely, fair, honest, effective and transparent manner).

These signal the nation's entry into a critical phase and the initiative is unprecedented in the history of the country, where for the first time, government has taking the lead and educating the masses to stand up and rightfully demand quality service (<http://servenigeria.com/index.php>. Accessed: 23 May 2006) as well as actively seeking and growing intergovernmental relations as with the SLGP (State and Local Government programmes) aimed at enhancing capacity and

effectiveness of the state, local government, and federal levels, especially with regard to the formulation of policies and management of resources in the interest of the poor people (<http://www.splgnigeria.org/default.asp>. Accessed: 20 February 2006). This is a remarkable effort given that the issues of non-delivery, corruption, indiscipline and lack accountability of that has plagued the Nigerian Public service for so long have remained uncurbed because the public servants expected the people to be grateful for services that are due to them.

Overview of the South African Public Service

At the attainment of democracy, South Africa was presented with challenges around transformation (institutional and policy), dealing with the legacy of apartheid as well as shaping new and emerging challenges in line with the democratic and global environment (<http://www.infogov.za/otherdocs/2003/10>. Accessed: 29 May 2006). Since 1994, the South African public service has been responding to these service delivery challenges by exploring and implementing alternative methods of service delivery (Towards a Ten Year Review, 2003). These alternative methods have varied, Naidoo (2004: 218) notes that the use of PPP has been on the increase although it can be said to be in its early stages in South Africa, but more relevant to this study is the promotion of the cluster approach in the delivery of services.

In line with the policy objectives of South Africa, clusters were formed. The objectives include improved communication, coordination, cooperation and improved programme project implementation. These clusters included the Economic and Investment cluster, Government and Administration cluster and the Social cluster. This is a positive development towards responding to community needs by the South African Public Service. These cluster arrangements as well as other relational arrangements are guided by the IGR Framework Act (Act 13 of 2005), in order to give effect to section 41(2) of the Constitution. The Act aims to

facilitate efficient and effectiveness in the IGR system, promote relationships, and promote service delivery and development.

The structure of IGR ranges from national and provincial structures to local forums that seek to create a platform for coordination, communication, allow for monitoring of the performance of various structures while improving synergy efforts by enhancing and promoting cooperative governance. Given the above, it is critical that the relationships be regulated, and one of the ways to ensure delivery is to develop basic standards and norms that can be used as benchmarks during implementation.

These new initiatives are indicative of innovative service delivery initiatives. However, the present study suggests that a clear understanding of the social, political, economic and cultural profile of such a community is necessary to understand its specific characteristics and needs. It is also essential to analyse the resources already available within a country, and to determine how these can best be used to promote service delivery (Naidoo, 2004: 221). The analysis below addresses these issues.

The South African Public service prior to 1994 was one that was aimed at excluding the black race from several of the state provisions. Most of the informal settlements were backs resided were either without or with substandard basic amenities such as housing, water, electricity, roads, clinics, etc. A bold move has been deployed to ensure that all citizens especially those from the previously disadvantaged are systematically catered for. This can be picked up from the expenditure patterns of the government since 1994. The graph below demonstrates government commitment to the pro-poor agenda and invariably an increase in the level of activities in the department concerned.

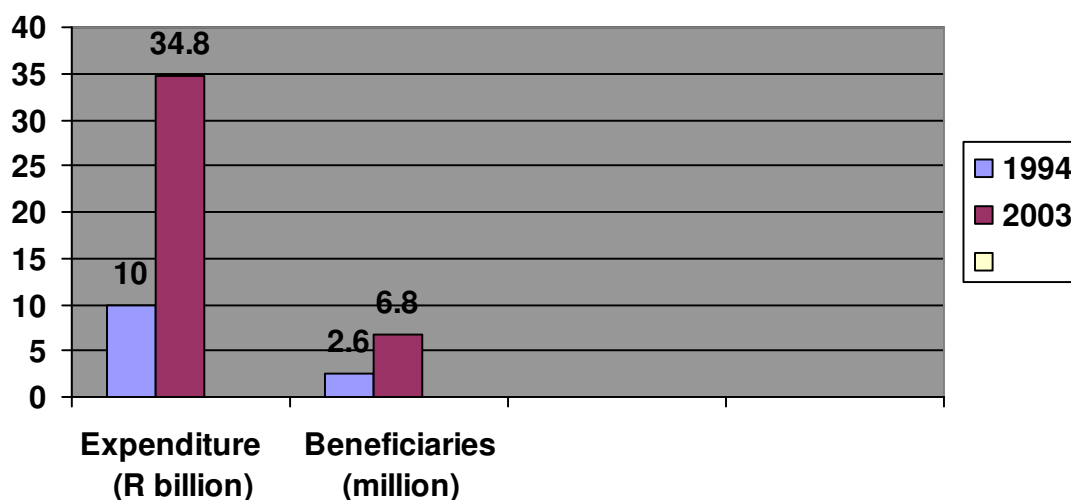


Figure 5.3 Graph showing income-poverty alleviation patterns from the Department of Social Development

Source: Adopted from Towards Ten Year Review 2003.

From the information above, it can be derived that owing to the new democratic dispensation of 1994, there have been clear attempts to ensure government is more inclusive and seeks to meet the needs of all South African people regardless of race/class. Governmental spending has increased significantly over the past few years in the social sector and arguably across other sectors given that in 1995, approximately 28% of households and 48% of the population was living below the estimated poverty line (Towards a Ten Year Review, 2003: 17). The government has incrementally and significantly increased expenditure (as reflected in the diagram above) in social grants to alleviate poverty by targeting various needy groups such as the elderly, children, orphans, etc. In addition to increased social grant expenditure there was also an increase in social infrastructure of all types.

This can be further illustrated in the provision of education as reflected in the table below which reflects that there has also been a significant increase on the numbers of children and youth that are accessing these services:

Table 5.6 Department of Education enrolment figures

Education	Period	Enrolment
Enrolment (early childhood development or ECD)	1999-2002	Increased in number from 150 000 – 280 000
Primary school enrolment	1995 – 2001	Increased by 95.5 %
Secondary school enrolment	1992 – 2001	Increased by 85%

Source: Towards a Ten Year Review (2003: 19)

The figure and the table above seem to suggest that the demand for government services has increased. This is in line with the provisions of the Constitution of South Africa, and this means that departments are to ensure that processes are in place to ease the increased delivery pressure as there can be slow delivery if not properly managed. This readiness by the Departments of Social Development and Education is vital in the areas of planning, policy formulation, policy implementation, financial planning, reporting, and managing issues of resource scarcity, amongst others. Over the years, a number of projects have been introduced by several departments and they range from successfully to poorly implemented programmes. Research indicates that public service programmes vary in efficiency (Towards a Ten Year Review, 2003: 19).

In order to regulate the delivery, the new democratic dispensation has developed a number of legislative framework including the Constitution, and Acts notably amongst them is the Public Financial Management Act (PFMA), and the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act, Public Service Transformation Act, and the National planning framework. The fact that the citizenry has become involved in governance through partnerships that seek to improve their quality of life is highly commendable, an example is the ‘*Vuk’ uzezele*’ programme which has improved the quality of governance as the citizens have become partners in shaping their future rather than waiting for government to deliver what they deem fit.

The goal is to build a model public service that delivers on its mandate. And a number of principles were identified in the State of the Public Service Report 2005. These included the need to promote high ethical standards, efficient utilization of resources, a shift towards a developmental approach in Public Administration, improved service provision, participation in policy making, accountability, transparency, human resource capital maximization and representation of the Public Service. A critical issue is policy making and its implementation, thus, the report notes that ‘the key challenge of the public service posed by the pursuit of this principle is ensuring clear knowledge of who is responsible for what at any stage of policy formulation, implementation and execution and where the buck stops’ (State of the Public Service Report, 2005:30).

Nature of the selected South African case studies (and inherent issues)

The South African cases that have been selected for this study cut across the national, provincial and local government spheres. In all the cases presented, the interactions straddles across various sectors in an effort to showcase some of the intricacies that have enabled the researcher make deductions that assist IGR work better. The issues and cases studied add value to the

subject matter being studied and as outlined in the previous chapter, have been selected from the following South African departments that specifically deal with improving the quality of life of the citizens of this country as well as ensuring sustainable development and livelihood:

- Department of Housing;
- Department of Health;
- Department of Local Government; and
- Department of Agriculture

The value that IGR brings as a facilitator is to enable departments to successfully execute projects and improve service delivery. Hence, Naidoo (2004: 219) notes that there is a significant shift away from the classical public administration in South African public service towards a model that focuses now on collaborative partnerships and alliances to improve service delivery. This view is also endorsed by van Niekerk, *et al.*, (2001: 256) who argue that this collaborative approach is vital as government alone cannot deliver on its extensive mandate but should rather focus on work with relevant partners to ensure that all the expectations that fall within its scope are met.

Discussion of Case study 1: Department of Housing

Housing is a basic need for all human beings and in that regard, the South African Constitution promotes human dignity (Section 10 of Chapter 2- Bill of rights) and further guarantees the right to have access to adequate housing (Section 26 of Chapter 2 on Bill of Rights). In the South African Public Service, the national Department of Housing determines finances, promotes coordination, communicates and monitors the implementation of housing policy and

human settlement (South African Yearbook, 2005/06). Over the years from 1994 to 2006, a number of policies have been put in place to govern the housing delivery in South Africa.

The basic policy that guides the activities of this department includes the 1994 White Paper on Housing and the Housing Act 1997 (Act 107 of 1997). Other significant are the Home loan and Mortgage Disclosure Act 2000 (Act 63 of 2000), the Housing Consumer Protections Act (Act 95 of 1998), the Prevention of Illegal Eviction and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act (Act 19 of 1998). Lastly, the government's comprehensive housing plan for integrated sustainable development is cabinet's approved framework for housing programmes and addresses poverty related issues by improving people's lives. Priority for the Department of Housing still remains the redressing the housing imbalances in the housing sector.

While it is clear that a lot has been done in terms of putting the policy framework together, the test would be the successful implementation of housing projects, given that South Africa seeks to leverage the opportunity that housing presents in terms of job creation, stimulating the economy, combating crime and promoting social cohesion. In order to achieve the targets that the department has set for itself, the Housing White Paper requires collaboration among the three spheres of government, the community and the private sector.

The roles of the National Department of Housing largely concern:

- Planning, resource provision, development, of policy framework, (around land development
- Development of standards, systems, resource mobilization,)

- Monitoring and evaluation, (as delivery responsibilities had to be devolved to both provincial and local authorities) (IDASA, 2004:23-24).

While the provinces have to contend with the issues of:

- Resource regulation
- Managing the delivery
- Coordination

Lastly, while housing is not a municipal function, municipalities still have a critical role to play in the following areas:

- Identification of land for housing projects
- Identification of beneficiaries
- Acting as a developer of the housing projects
- Providing internal infrastructure for the housing projects
- Owning and renting houses for low income households.

The Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) requires local government to seek ways to cooperate with the other spheres in terms of ensuring optimal utilization of resources as well as finding solutions to some of the issues (DPLG, 2002). However, the National and provincial governments remains accountable for the goals that are to be met hence Chapter 10 (See Appendix 7 containing Sections 105 and 08) promote clear monitoring arrangements through standard setting which should be established by the relevant minister while the provinces are charged with the responsibility of monitoring the performance of the local authorities. This

allows the province to intervene (Section 139) when it appears that the local government authorities are struggling and cannot cope with or meet the expectations.

The roles as listed above require all spheres of government to be in concert with one another if the goals are to be met. The National Department thus depends on the provinces to assist it by setting provincial targets and setting parameters for delivery and managing the housing budget, while the local government determines their housing needs, and identifies land for housing projects, regulated land use and development within their jurisdiction. This arrangement is in line with Chapter 3, Section 41 of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

In terms of the practicality of the above principle of interdependence, the Housing Act allocates specific roles to the minister, but it is expected that these roles will be executed in consultation with the provincial minister as well. These roles include determination of broad delivery goals, monitoring performance across all spheres, developing the capacity to deliver as well as manage funding. In 2005, a number of riots broke out across the country as citizens were dissatisfied with the slow pace of service delivery. This meant that there was a need to strengthen IGR to ensure delivery in the housing sector. The key stakeholders in this IGR web included the National and Provincial Departments of Housing, Department of Local Government, Municipalities, Provincial and National government. Thus, it can be argued that if the IGR systems concerned with Housing delivery had been stronger, those riots could have been averted through timeous monitoring, re-focusing and adequate intervention.

The government's agenda of providing basic housing has been promoted, and resources have been increasingly committed over the years to meet the desired goal, but there have been implementation challenges which must be understood as resulting from the apartheid system of

government. Between 1994 and 2003, a total of 1985545 subsidies were approved for an expenditure of R24.22 billion resulting in 6 million citizens having received housing for that period (Towards a ten Year Review 2003: 25). Table 5.2 below, reflects some housing activities from Department of Housing (Pocket guide to South Africa, 2005/2006. <http://www.gcis.gov.za/docs/publications>. Accessed 29 March 2006).

The information contained in Table 5.2 below indicates that between 1994 and June 2005, housing subsidies to the value of R24.22b were approved and a total of 1.7 million houses were provided to more than seven million people. Clearly, some progress has been made in this regard, but the housing riots of 2005 also indicated dissatisfaction among the masses. This could have been due to the fact that the ANC has always used the lack of adequate housing for electioneering purposes; and this has, in turn, put the Public service, but more specifically, the Department of Housing, under immense pressure to deliver on those promises (Second Economic and Social Rights Report, 1998/1999).

Table 5.7 Department of Housing expenditure and service delivery patterns towards elimination of asset capital poverty

▼ Lead programmes: housing and land programmes ▼ Since 1994 these programmes transferred R50billion of assets to poor households		
Housing	Period	Quantity
Subsidies approved	1994 – 2003	1.985m subsidies approved for an expenditure of < R24.22b
Subsidies: women	1994 – 2003	49% of all subsidies
Housing received	1994 – 2003	6m citizens
Transfer of deeds	1994 – 2003	481,373 (Discount Benefit Scheme) with an approximate value R24b

Source: Towards a Ten Year Review (2003: 26)

Over the years, there has been an increase in expenditure that has largely been the result of the government's demand orientated delivery approach as a strategy for poverty alleviation, job creation strategy, increasing access for wealth creation, combating crime, promoting social cohesion, bridging the divide between the first and third world housing patterns (South African Yearbook, 2005/06: 405). Furthermore, access to housing and the provision of secure accommodation is an integral part of the government's commitment to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life for the people of South Africa.

One of the major constraints in housing delivery is the lack of capacity. This includes the need for an efficient workforce and the installation of appropriate technology, equipment and systems for monitoring, evaluation and reporting purposes. The Department of Housing

continues to assist provinces to ensure effective and efficient implementation of the National Housing Programme (SA Year Book, 2005/06: 408).

At the core of delivery in the housing project is the need for a strong commitment by all spheres of government to ensure that delivery takes place. This is so because to the masses, it does not matter that the project is led by the Department of Housing. The issue is that the services have not been delivered as expected. This may require a number of proactive steps. First, it may be important to review the management and delivery systems, including structural and functional arrangements; secondly, efficiently and speedily implement and monitor agreed activities such as the national waiting list data base; thirdly, clarify roles at agreed project intervals; fourthly, continuous policy review and analysis; fifthly, build in a strong reporting system that functions as an early warning mechanism and finally, manage dispute resolution by setting up an appropriate mechanisms and monitor adherence to the code of conduct. As noted in the (Housing MINMEC statement 2005), it is also important to acknowledge that communication is a basic human right, and communicators from all spheres of government must work together to ensure that ordinary citizens (illiterate and literate) are informed of government housing programmes and the various solutions and subsidies that are available.

The impact that emerging elements such as effective structural arrangements, role clarity, policy evaluation, capacity, communication, coordination and effective reporting can have, (if not properly managed) can result in poor service delivery hence. In a joint media statement on the resolution of the Nelson Mandela Council Housing Problems, the Housing Minister, the Eastern Cape Premier, the Eastern Cape MEC for Housing, and the Nelson Mandela Metropole Mayor noted that ‘The parties acknowledge that there was lack of adequate and effective communication among all stakeholders including the affected communities....While the metro

has made considerable strides in building capacity in the area of housing delivery, capacity still remains a challenge. Therefore, the three spheres of government have agreed to work together to address this issue' within the framework of IGR.

(<http://www.housing.gov/content/media%20Desk/Press%20Releases/2005/24%20M>. Accessed : 23 May 2006).

Discussion on Case study 2: Department of Health

The Department of Health is charged with the responsibility of providing quality health care for all South Africans (White Paper for the transformation of Health system in South Africa, 1997). In order to achieve this ideal, there is a crucial need to develop a comprehensive health system that enables access to basic health care. This is a constitutional right (Section 27 of Chapter 2 on the Bill of Rights), and more especially, the access to public primary health services. This is even more important given that a significant percentage of the population lives below the poverty line and depends on the government to meet their health needs. Naidoo (2004:226) notes that the Department of Health is 'committed to reforming their ideals of professionalism, accountability and the provision of acceptable quality services to citizens'. IDASA (2004: 21) argues that 'with the recent promulgation of the National Health Act, the health sector is facing a major transition associated with the views as to how powers and functions should be shared between spheres of government'. One of the tools for achieving the above (comprehensive and integrated health care system) is the Functional Integration (FI) of the department's activities across all spheres of government.

The FI programme was adopted by the Health MINIMEC (Minister and MEC's of all provinces) in July 2002 (National Cabinet Press Release, 2002). Functional integration is a structured cooperation and collaboration between provincial and local health authorities and

seeks to decrease fragmentation and duplication and to increase efficiency and effectiveness in health service delivery. FI consists of alignment of inter-sectoral activities between the Department of Health and other sectors such as the Department of Education and Social development. More importantly, the integration of Primary Health Care (PHC) services across the spheres and within PHC services (Department of Health, 2002) is integral to the FI programme. A number of programmes have been launched but priority programmes have been concerned with improved Primary Health Care, especially for women and children. This includes programmes, such as the immunization programme, which has been successful and has led to the elimination of deaths due to measles and the incidence of polio, the reduction of infant mortality rate, school nutritional needs through the food fortification programme, antenatal, maternal care, and management of HIV/AIDS related illness.

In line with the constitutional mandate, the success of these programmes is based on a system that is alert and responsive to the changing needs and circumstances in South Africa. The FI approach was a response to a health system that appeared fragmented, inefficient, poorly coordinated, overlapping functionality, and manifesting differences in conditions of service between the provincial and local health authorities (Elabor 2006, Discussion)

In an effort to provide adequate health care, municipalities which previously provided services under the provincial exclusive list are now required to enter into service level agreements, especially with regard to Primary Health Care delivery (IDASA, 2004: 21). This arrangement appears to be a reversal of the decentralization process, although there has been some space to allow for a district health system as the provinces execute the monitoring roles. Most services of a primary health care nature are now largely the responsibility of the provincial government and ways have to be sought to realign the functions to meet communal health needs. This is where

FI assists the department to meet its objectives. The value of alignment and the strengthening of the Health care system are even more vital given that the department is facing challenges meeting (among others) the Millennium Development goals (goal 4 is on decreasing infant mortality rates) as contained in the South African millennium Development Goals Country Report 2005 and reflected in the table below.

Table 5.8 Number of registered infant deaths, South Africa, 1997-2003

Year	Males	Females	Un-specified	Sub-Total	*Total	%
2003	14 249	12563	232	27 044	318287	8,5
2002	16 639	14 723	376	31 739	367 689	8,6
2001	15653	14 242	464	30 359	38 902	7,9
2000	15807	14 256	369	30 432	413969	7,4
1999	15955	14 481	3184	30 750	451 936	6,8
1998	19070	17 151	382	36 603	499 268	7,3
1997	97373	8741	2137	186926	2887654	6,5

Source: Statistics SA: Mortality and causes of death in South Africa, 1997-2003.

* Number includes adult deaths for the periods

From the table above it can be deduced that there was a rise in the percentage of infant deaths (except for 1999), suggesting that Department of Health has to put in appropriate strategies in order to manage this trend. 'As an important step in developing an integrated health service, the fourteen existing health departments were amalgamated into a single health system. Disparities in health services were reduced although not yet eliminated' (Naidoo, 2004: 229). Among other problems, fragmentation, duplication and inequity with regard to the provision of health services may be detected. Furthermore, there are contradictions between the District Health System (DHS) and the Provincial system and what exists in reality is a scenario where there are two power authorities for health services in any district. Municipalities manage and fund the environmental health, while the provinces are responsible for all other primary health care services (IDASA, 2004: 22). Despite the above, it should be noted that provincial governments

cannot deliver this function independently of the municipalities given that the municipalities have a better understanding of the history and context in which such services are delivered.

A host of governance and operational issues can be put forward as some of the IGR blockages that may be hindering health care service delivery from an Intergovernmental relations point of view. There has been a general move to decentralize functions appropriately, but the Department of Health must ensure that the governance structures that in place, such as the hospital boards and the clinic committees, are fully functional. Other systemic issues include issues of budgeting/financial accountability, system readiness for policy implementation, coordination, communication, capacity issues, training, inadequate technical expertise, skills shortages. Furthermore, other ‘challenges have been identified with regard to leadership of the Department. In the Health summit of 2001, the minister indicated that policy implementation issues with regard to slow service delivery are critically affected by leadership decision and leadership commitment’ (Naidoo, 2004: 243).

Discussion on Case study 3: Department of Provincial and Local government

The Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) coordinates and assists local government and provinces to deliver on the assignments that has been devolved or delegated to them. The assignments that are devolved to the municipalities may be “general” in nature, wherein all the functions are transferred to the local governments across the country, or they can be “specific”, wherein only specific municipalities receive the function. The assignments that are of a general nature usually require the passing of legislation while the specific ones are usually through agreements between the role-players (IDASA, 2004: 6-7).

With regard to the legislative framework for operation, it can be stated that the overall policy and regulatory environment of local government as well as those of provincial administration are progressive, sound and comprehensive. At the municipal level, this includes the Municipal Systems Act, Municipal Structures Act, Municipal Public Finance Act while most prominent in the provincial level is the Public Financial Management Act (PFMA). All are supposed to assist managing the challenges, the success at implementation does vary as challenges persist in- at various sites. With regard to assignments of a general nature (such as housing), there have been challenges despite the fact that the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) developed a framework or mechanism for transferring responsibility between spheres, as reflected in the table below:

Table 5.9 Framework for the transfer responsibility between spheres

Activity	General Assignments	Specific Assignments	Delegation
Legal provision and the medium for the transfer	Section 9 of the Systems Act. Assignment by legislation	Section 10 of the systems' Act. Specific assignment by agreement	Section 238 of the Constitution. Delegation by agreement
Function assigned	Part A functions	Legislative plenary powers and Part A functions	Legislative plenary powers and Part A functions
Method of assignment	Legislation	"Agreement " and proclamation	Agency agreement
Procedure for assignment	Section 9 System Act	Section 10(1)(b) and 10(2)(b) and 99/126	No procedure required
Applicable finance legislation	Division of Revenue Act	Division of Revenue Act	Public Finance Management Act
Examples	Housing Act and South African Police service	No existing cases	Guateng-Sedibeng agency agreement

Source: DPLG (2002)

(Note that plenary functions are functions under the sole control of the national government)

Notable among the challenges that persist is issue of policy implementation, with regard to service delivery, especially as it affects the manner in which spheres collectively and individually contribute to the achievement of national goals, delivery or the non delivery of services. Within that framework, “project consolidate” was launched as a practical programme of engagement and interaction by national, provincial government and local government for the period 2004-2006 (<http://www.projectconsolidate.gov.za/doc>. Accessed: 23 May 06). It is hoped that this consolidation plan will be transformed to a sustainable in this phase (from the year 2006 and beyond).

The success of the consolidated phase should finalise the significant and substantial intergovernmental relations work undertaken prior to the 2004 elections. The governance system needs to be refined and the IGR work must be finalised and operationalised in order to stabilise the IGR system and strengthen unified state action. The coordinated actions of national, provincial and local government must be substantially strengthened and be undertaken differently in key areas of delivery. ‘Local government and provincial governments will thus become direct beneficiaries of a stable and predictable IGR environment’. (<http://www.projectconsolidate.gov.za/doc>. Accessed: 23 May 2006)

The aim of Project Consolidate is to deepen the thrust and impact of policy implementation and deliverables at the local government arena by ensuring that national and provincial governmental, alongside relevant stakeholders support local government delivery objectives. In addition, the approach includes working with provinces in the PGDPs and these in turn will assist with the development of a more coherent Integrated Development Plan (IDP), systematic monitoring and evaluation, attention to policy matters and identifying critical areas need assistance from national and provincial spheres.

The Project Consolidate taps into the Municipal Infrastructure Grant. This grant aims principally to provide basic services to the poor and ensure economic benefits through the infrastructure provided. For the purposes of this study, the specific programme in the department that has been utilised to facilitate an in-depth understanding is the Urban Renewal Project. The special integrated presidential project for urban renewal was identified as one of the first presidential lead projects. It is hoped that the following will accrue from the programme:

- commercial spin-offs as investor confidence grows in some of the neglected townships;
- job creation as a result of the above;
- improved infrastructure will be improved (upgrading of hostels and building of houses);
- provision of social amenities (community centres, child-care facilities, schools, clinics sports field, libraries, post offices and so on.)

In the Eastern Cape, Mdantsane in the Amatole District (Buffalo City Municipality) has been selected as one of the sites for this programme. The programme is driven by the Buffalo City Municipality with support from the District Municipality, the Eastern Cape Provincial office, the Department of Provincial and Local Government, as well as other departments rendering social services, such as housing, education and health. In practice, a complex IGR web develops and requires sectoral inputs and commitments (which could be locked in the form of Memorandums of Understanding) within the framework of the improved service delivery.

Joint planning for ownership and commitment from all participating spheres of government remains vital. Sound planning is essential to the success of development initiatives if these are to result in the effective provision of services. The constitution identifies “municipal planning”

as a function of the local government. This can be assumed to include the planning for the municipalities' own functions as well as those that may have been assigned or delegated. The Integrated Development Plans (IDP) serve as the strategic document guiding planning and development and the quality of the IDPs have varied from one municipality to another, from one province to another (IDASA, 2004: 12-14).

Also significant in this case are issues about clarity of roles through effective communication, a need for improved leadership and strategic direction through a stronger administrative interface between the politicians (who are the vision crafters) and the administrators (who are the implementers). For DPLG to achieve its goals and especially in the case discussed in this study, there has to be a strategic fit in terms of the vision of the political leadership and that of administrative leadership. The nature of political and administrative interface should be smooth rather than rocky in order to achieve the desired progress. This requires a detailed understanding of the respective roles and clarifications of who does what may be necessary from time to time.

Discussion on Case study 4: Department of Agriculture

The Freedom Charter crafted on the 26 June 1955 had a number of provisions for a new and democratic South African State and these include the theme of a developmental and caring state that seeks to improve the livelihood of millions of its people, particularly the poor and marginalized. Agriculture is one of the mainstays of the economy and, in this regard, the Department of Agriculture (DoA) is poised to plan and deliver quality veterinary services, communal and agricultural initiatives, land care, soil management and the development of agricultural human resource and these functions are critical across all the spheres of government. The DoA's key objectives are:

- Ensuring access to sufficient safe and nutritious food ;
- Eliminating Skewed participation and inequality in the sector;
- Maximizing growth, empowerment and income in the agricultural resources and ecological systems; and
- Ensuring knowledge and information system.

(<http://www.nda.agric.za/docs/vision.htm>. Accessed: 14 June 2005).

The Legislative framework is fairly well developed and includes the Animal Health Act, Act 7 of 2002, which promotes animal health and control of animal diseases; as well as the importation and exportation of animals and health schemes. Some of the executive authority with regard to the provisions have been signed off to province Other relevant acts include the Animal Improvement Act, Animal Diseases Act and to date, a series of policy documents have been developed in the department to give effect to some of these acts. These documents include Drought Management Plans, Strategic plans, Agriculture Black Economic Empowerment (AgriBEE) framework, Agricultural marketing, Agricultural policy, amongst others (<http://www.nda.agric.za/publications>. Accessed: 14 June 2006).

The importance of veterinary services makes it one of the core strategic programmes in the Eastern Cape DoA as the department seeks to promote animal health so as to safeguard human health and animal welfare, by controlling animal diseases of economic and zoonotic importance, as reflected in the table below.

Table 5.10 Budgetary items in the DoA, Eastern Cape

Programme description	Composition of employees	Goods and services	Transfers and payments	Capital	Total
Administration	R137,653, 000	R 101,674,000	R11,043,000	R1,209,000	R251,579,000
Eginning services	R52,147,000	R26,681,000	R3,238,000	R1,166,000	R83,232,000
Resource Plkanning and management	R135,130,000	R128,015,000	R80,510,000	R0	R343,655,000
Verterinary services	R69,115,000	R31,783,000	R243,000	R100,000	R101,241,000
Research and Techn. support	R24, 635,000	R21,526,000	R91,000	R0	R46,252,000
Agricultural economics	R6,479,000	R2,769,000	R21,000	R0	R9,269,000
Structured training	R13,612,000	R7,885,000	R12,861,000	R83,000	R34,441,000
Grand total	R438,771,000	20,333,000	R108,007,000	R2,558,000	R869,669,000

Source: MEC of the EC DoA Policy Speech (2006: 9)

The Eastern Cape is very significant in the South African agricultural commercial sector which is responsible for agricultural produce as well as the communal farmers. The communal farmers are assisted with various veterinary services for which demand is always on the increase. This access to livestock allows the department an opportunity for inspectors to carry out an early detection of diseases that may be too costly to eradicate (EC DoA Strategic Plan Doc, 2006:55).

In the Eastern Cape, some of the programmes aimed at improving the quality of veterinary services includes the dipping tanks and the livestock dams (Eastern Cape DoA, 2005: 29).The DOA also recognizes that intra-departmental planning and coordination of economic and social clusters is essential to achieve the provisions of Schedules 4 & 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and in be accordance with Section 104(1) (b) of the Constitution (Eastern Cape DoA Strategic Plan, 2006: 13).

For the purposes of this case study, the foot and mouth breakout provides an interesting case of how governments and effectively work together to address a particular challenge. This IGR web

consisted of the DoA Minister and officials, the KwaZulu Natal Provincial Executive, the Mpumalanga DoA provincial executive, the Eastern Cape provincial executive, The Minister of Trade and Industry, the department of Health officials, the Department of Finance, the South African Defence Force, and a host of other stakeholders. Given that the outbreak was sudden, the leadership had to be decisive and strong with regard to the steps that were most appropriate to be taken.

The success of the management of that outbreak was largely determined by stakeholder consultation and involvement in building the right coalition and commitment among parties as well as joint planning. Furthermore, efforts were put in place to ensure that there was a strong administrative and political interface through the involvement of Premiers and MECs in the affected provinces. The implementation was well coordinated, monitored and evaluated; role clarification and communication strategies concerning the management of the outbreak were efficient and broad as the consequences would have been catastrophic.

A PERIOD-SPECIFIC ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In this section, an analysis of the IGR trends is carried out locating emerging issues within a time specific context so that the discussions that follow are not engaged in a vacuum, but take cognizance of the fact that change in governance cannot be objectively presented without the period in question. Three distinct eras have been identified for the purposes of this study and they are the apartheid era, the new democratic era (1994) and the era of democratic consolidation (ten years into the new democracy).

The apartheid era

‘The South African Act, 1909, provided for the establishment of the Union of South Africa. With this Act the former colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State were incorporated into a new Union of South Africa, composed of four provinces with their own legislatures. The agreement reached by the National convention of 1908/09 provided for the seat of legislature in Cape Town, the seat of government in Pretoria and the seat of Judiciary in Bloemfontein. The Head of State was the Governor- General, representing the British Monarch. An Executive Council, colloquially known as Cabinet, acted as the government under a Prime Minister’ (Kuye, 2006: 176).

This above governmental setting provided the framework for intergovernmental relationships in the then Union of South Africa and subsequently in the Republic of South Africa from 1961 (effected by Act 32 of 1961 and Act 110 of 1983), all primarily within a unitary styled government allowing for three tiers of government that were segregated on racial grounds. This resulted in the fragmentation of government departments to administer the affairs of the different groups. What evolved was a government that paid attention to the development and facilities of the white race (and their areas of settlement) with a reverse treatment in areas that were occupied for by the black race, effectively creating a nation of two economies.

The challenge for government and a legacy of apartheid has been how to manage these distinct systems, with one section arguable of a first world and the other of a third world nature. Furthermore, it can be argued that the investment on the ground in terms of the apartheid government’s provision of infrastructure was of very high standards as the settlers had no intention of leaving South Africa. This could be seen as positive in the sense that it provided the framework to propel development which most other African countries lacked as the colonizers in those countries had no intension of settling and never saw themselves as settlers and hence had no commitment to propel development. Any infrastructure of development that was put in place was largely to assist them attain their agenda which in most cases, was to redirect the

resources from the African countries to their own country. In real terms, the relationship that the South Africa government had with its territories, differed from the nature of the relationships that it had with the rest of the homelands and this created huge distinctions and divisions in terms of service delivery systems, processes and programmes.

The dawn of a new democratic era

As a result of the fragmentation catering for the different racial groups, the task of synergizing became a huge challenge for the new democratically elected government in 1994, with as many as 53 departments in the central administration and about 60-82 departments in the self governing Bantustans territories (Kuye, 2006: 177). With a range of governance challenges such as resource limitations (human, financial and otherwise), issues of conflicts between race and class leading to mistrust, and other systemic crises such as corruption, policy contradictions and related issues, the new government of the day, had to find a way to reinvent the machinery of government and to provide the desired levels of service to all South Africans.

With delivery challenges in practically all sectors and departments, the South Africa Public Service of 1994 had to move the divided nation forward given that the dawn of democracy provided a window for a new beginning and integration. This translated into the building of a new nation and alongside related challenges emerged. Firstly, this necessitated the further development of a series of governing frameworks through several acts and policies, all of which set the tune for the delivery of services. In fact, the New South African Democratic Government excelled in terms of putting together the Constitution as well as other government and sector specific plans and policies.

Secondly, was the nature and quality of planning was crucial. Over the past few years, there has been an attempt at institutionalising the planning activity with products at the local sphere called the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and at the provincial level called the Provincial Growth and Development Plan (PGDP). However, the extent to which both the IDP and PGDP strike a balance and coordinate delivery in terms of attaining an Interface between the planning documents still needs to be seen. The IDP and PGDP are plans that contain the strategic goals of the province as well as those of the municipality. Over the years, these plans have taken cognisance of the political pronouncements from the President's state of the nation address as well as the premier's address. These speeches in turn, have borrowed their philosophical stance from the manifesto of their political parties. However, it would appear, the three spheres of government national, have struggled to sustain a shared focus.

This planning problem has also been complicated by the fact that in some instances, deconcentration has been made without an adequate policy framework to support the activity. This warrants more attention. The need for comprehensive planning in South Africa cannot be overemphasized given the fact the South Africa, as already stated, comprises of both first and third world infrastructures. A situation which was brought about by the manner in which authorities systematically orchestrated selective public services machinery, which basically provided for the privileged racial group and completely negated those of the so-called disadvantaged groups.

Thirdly, the lack of a legislative framework to manage IGR interactions post-1994 posed a huge challenge. While the design of legislative framework in various sectors is applaudable, since the masses wanted and needed services to be delivered urgently, government had to implement

simultaneously. It should have also developed an IGR framework and given it the backing provided by Acts of Parliament. Obviously some implementation challenges were encountered for different programmes. For instance, with regard to most social services, people required identity documents to be able to access the available facilities (such as health, housing, child support grant, old age grant and voting rights). This meant that a web of IGR had to evolve as a department's ability to delivery rested on cooperation with other departments. Furthermore, the IGR web was further complicated by the need for cross-border services in provinces, such as the Western Cape Province, to address issues which included cross border theft, service delivery, and competition for resource. Tom (2006) notes that in the Eastern Cape Province, residents of border towns cross to KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Province to access services such as health and this does impact of the budget of KZN Department of Health as budgeting, which may have taken in the KZN did not factor in this kind of voluntary migration, and this led to IGR challenges that had to be resolved without an appropriate IGR guideline as there was no IGR Act at the time. The best that government could have done was to fast track the need for guidelines to manage IGR in the country.

Fourthly, there are issues concerning the delegation of responsibilities, to ensure that the sphere expected to execute has the appropriate capacity to deliver. For instance, housing is a national competency, but this cannot be delivered directly by the National Department of Housing. So the National Department uses the Provincial department as an agency to deliver and gives them a mandate as well as a conditional grant to deliver on the departmental objective. However, should that not be enough, they must continually monitor progress and see to it that the objective is met this includes capacity building. The provincial agency may have to deal with issues such as who is best able to deliver the project and set the ball in motion and develop appropriate systems to manage the process, but it cannot execute this on its own. It must work

within the municipality with regard to the land that may be available for the current project as well as ensure that the building project is in line with the Municipalities IDP. Hence, the issue of monitoring and providing remedial support to various stakeholders in the process of delivery has been less than satisfactory.

Fifthly, the issue of coordinating and synthesising policies also deserves mention. The department of housing is therefore charged with and must deliver on its responsibility with regard to the development of relevant policies, planning through a process of determination of priority needs, budgeting, project managing, monitoring and setting a sector specific strategic framework. Over the years, the people of South Africa have become increasingly impatient with waiting for services to be delivered to them. And the researcher wonders if IGR could have played a facilitative role in the equation through synchronising the various delivery structures across the spheres and across departments. It may be argued that a weak link in the delivery chain could also have been the issue of non-compliance and adherence to the existing sectoral framework with the visible weakness being the elements of oversight, monitoring and evaluating progress.

Sixthly, the effectiveness of coordinating structures could impact on government delivery. An analysis of the legislative provisions and existing structures of intergovernmental relations from a coordinating point of view suggests that a lot more still needs to be done. The existence of structures especially *ad-hoc* structures that have been constituted by government to iron out some of the delivery issues, is misconstrued as a ploy to witch hunt and are resisted because they seem to warrant suspicion on the part of one of the spheres of government involved in particular activity, usually the provincial or local spheres (Tom: Discussion, 2006). For instance in the case of the Interim Management Team set up to assist the Eastern Cape Provincial

Government in 2003. It appears that senior managers were weary of the intentions of the audit. What is inherent in this trend, is that a lot still needs to be done to build trust among and between the various spheres/tiers of government and that the issues of consultation and communication if not properly addressed within the framework and the management of IGR initiative, will be problematic.

Consolidation era (10 years into the new democracy)

President Thabo Mbeki (State of the Nation report: 2005) noted that ‘The state has made progress in recent year in improving policy coordination both with and across the spheres, but these efforts need to be consolidated with greater attention being focused on implementation...more attention needs to be given to overseeing or managing the delivery process’. The policy framework had been laid for the desired development, notably the *Batho Pele* principles (White Paper of 1997) that fundamentally sought to re-engineer the manner in which services are delivered to one that had a strong customer focus. The principles are consultation of users of services; setting of service standards, increasing access, ensuring courtesy, providing more and better information; increasing openness and transparency; remedying mistakes and failures and getting the best value for money.

These principles underpin the quality of service that is desirable from a government point of view, but the extent to which this has been translated into government programmes still needs to be seen. While, there have been pockets of success, a lot still has to be done in terms of improving delivery to the people in this consolidation era.

Cross country analysis

In all forms of government (Unitary, federal, confederal), there will be some form of relationship between the national government (centre) and the regional government (periphery). This relationship could be in the form of deconcentration, decentralization or the devolution of roles as mandated by the constitution of the country. In the selected countries, the relationship between the federal, state or local governments (in the case of Nigeria on one hand) and the relationship between the national, provincial and municipal government (in the case of South Africa, on the other hand) has significantly demonstrated that the nature and management of these governmental relationships can affect service delivery.

With a weak or ineffective IGR mechanism, one level of government may result in government's inability to achieve the ambitious objectives that government is expected to meet given that decentralization or devolution is inevitable. In this regard, Ademolekun (1999: 50-52) argues that the necessity for decentralisation in modern governments accrues from:

- The need for governments to be visible at all levels and be accountable for delivery or non-delivery of services;
- the failure of the centralized state to achieve balanced socio-economic development provides a strong push towards the decentralization option;
- an understanding of the context by local administrators ensures that information available is current and appropriate decision is taken.; and
- understanding the needs of the people in the area.

The analysis of all the eight cases engaged suggest that effective management of IGR requires a mix of critical elements such, as commitment, communication, coordination, capacity, Planning, Policy, project management, leadership. IGR management, as underpinned by the

crucial elements identified are presented in Isioma Ile's (2006) configured figure and formula below:



Figure 5.4 Emerging trends impacting on the management of IGR in selected cases

$$\text{Successful management of IGR} = \mathbf{C} + \mathbf{3C} + \mathbf{3P} + \mathbf{L}$$

Where:

C = commitment (and a critical element hence it stands alone);

3C = communication, coordination, capacity;

3P = project management, planning, policy management; and

L = leadership.

These elements are discussed in some detail below:

1 Commitment

This relates to the will of the political and administrative class to achieve a common goal. This element provides the springboard from which all other elements must depart. Suberu (1999: 91) succinctly captures Nigeria as ‘a federation of enormous sociological and cultural diversity ... the federations peculiar volatile character derives from its vortex of combustible regional, ethnic and religious cleavages’ which has been categorized along various divides. In addition, the military and civilian divides must be considered as the Nigerian nation, has since independence been governed by several military regimes and fewer democratic regimes. The nature of the centralist structure that has emerged over time has made the centre very attractive and this has further been strengthened by the fragmentation of territories through the creation of several weak states, whose input has generally been minimal.

In the South African scenario, the researcher argues that cooperative government would count for nothing if provinces and local governments are being told what to do. This further reinforces the divides of centre and periphery, making it extremely difficult for players to commit to a common course. What has evolved is a weak relationship between spheres, where level of commitment across all provinces and municipalities cannot be said to be uniform. What has emerged from both countries is that the nature of intergovernmental relations is IGr (with a weak emphasis on relationship) rather than IGR, ultimately, this level of commitment is translated to weak deliverables.

2 Communication, Coordination and Capacity

2.1 Communication

This has to be effective to have the desired impact on service delivery. An effective communication is one that ensures that the message intended is received to by the receiver. In

the public service, the executive and administration must communicate better as this builds trust within the sector Levy and Tapscott (2001: 88), as service delivery is affected by diminished trust among public officials, and plummeting legitimacy in the relations between citizens and the executive (Wright, 1988:43). Within that framework, building social partnerships must be understood as a process of trust production (Boguslaw, 2002: 47-48). The reliance on the effectiveness of communication within and across government levels/spheres could lead to high levels of cooperation in the public service, as national, state, local governments and citizens, collectively form a problem-solving group, bringing about increased trust and refined relationships through communication.

Again, the value of communication is critical given that with all relationships conflict and contentious issues have to be worked through, and in this regard, Rapoo (1995: 25) notes that ‘conflicts between the tiers of government is not necessarily a threat to democratic order; on the contrary, some would see it as a sign of healthy pluralism and as evidence that the system is succeeding in creating the competing centres of power that are essential to democracy’. However, it needs to be proactively managed through open and transparent communication processes, given that IGR has in fact played a facilitative role in the governance arena. Mokgoro (1996: 83) argues that it has ‘succeeded in assisting the process of governance rather than inhibiting it’ and improved communication could increase these gains of IGR.

2.2 Coordination

Coordination has emerged as one of the critical elements that could improve the chances of service delivery success. Given that the delivery in the realm of public service is anchored by the devolution of responsibilities away from the central centralized delivery institutions (Kaul, 2003: 23). Macrae and Pitt (1985: 197-198) note that in order to attain strategic effectiveness in

government activities, the key is in seeking harmonization in the management of bureaucratic or governmental complexities, which can be brought about by sound coordination across the various spheres/tiers through integrated strategies resulting in better efficiency and effectiveness, benefits of economies of scale, resources optimization, striving towards attainment of minimum standards, managing overlaps, ensuring alignment of processes and promoting skills transfer from capacitated entities to weaker entities.

Nnoli (2000: 48) indicates that lateral organisation of government institutions makes coordination of the activities of the various ministries and departments an important part of IGR. Within the activity of coordination, there are other activities, for example, budgeting and development planning that have to be dealt with as mechanisms for inter-ministerial coordination and these can be achieved by the activities and decisions of the cabinet. This implies that the state has to harness the totality of the various networks to ensure the benefits of economies of scale, a position even more important given that the White Paper on Local Government (1998:38) emphasizes the formal and informal character of IGR that must occur.

In South Africa, Chapter 3 of the 1996 Constitution promotes cooperative governance among the spheres of government. However, 'it can be argued that the architecture of the new democratic state is in place, yet in many areas of service delivery, the performance of the public service requires much improvement' (Towards a Ten Year Review, 2003:75). Similarly, Premier of the Eastern Cape Province (<http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2006/060> /Accessed 29 of March 2006) noted that:

'A lot still has to be done to actualize government vision. In growing the efficiency of government, the thrust has been to strengthen the centre through sustained co-ordination and intention. Particular attention has been focused on harmonizing the three spheres of government towards seamless service delivery. The programmes bundled the Provincial Growth and Development Plan (PGDP) have provided fertile ground for effecting this

form of integrated planning and implementation. Many lessons have been learnt and it is getting easier. However, more work lies ahead to fine tune the provincial model and to make sure that IGR structures are functional and bear tangible fruits. In particular constructing integrated development plans that embrace the delivery plans of all three spheres of government, including public entities must become the new way...’

2.3 Capacity: The management of manpower, budgeting and training needs have remained an enormous challenge as a result of the capacity limitations that are faced by both countries. The Nigerian Minister for Internal Affairs (1986: 11) openly admitted that his department was understaffed, resulting in capacity shortages that affected delivery. In the South African situation, the transfer of mandate without a corresponding transfer of funds together with an assessment of the human resource capacity of various spheres to deliver may have led to the government’s inability to deliver at times. This situation is such that the blame cannot be laid squarely on one of the spheres, but is one that all spheres must take responsibility for and work together, taking advantage of any IGR opportunities that may be present or even creating them in order to meet the expectations of the people. Furthermore, with regard to human resource capacity, both the IGR audit and the presidential review commission of 1998 recognised the importance of intergovernmental human relations as a political approach towards managing tensions in government (Levy & Tapscott, 2001: 11), as poor IGR coordination is frequently a problem of capacity and management rather than purely one of procedure. What this suggests, is that appropriate capacity has to be developed with regard to recognising the value of the human/individual element in the management of IGR. The skill of managing human relations in IGR is thus critical, alongside capacity to spend funds allocated efficiently and effectively, using strengthened capacity building systems with due regard for issues around ethics and accountability.

3 Project management, planning and policy management Planning

3.1 Project management

While a lot has been achieved, efforts still need to be intensified to ensure that the huge delivery needs are met in both countries. The delivery challenges hinge on the performance of all levels of governments with a need for operational efficiency and effectiveness. Systems that ensure that resources provided are effectively and efficiently utilized with the aid of project implementation may be critical, so is the development of appropriate monitoring tools. In this context, Akobundu (1995: 8) notes that in Nigeria, ‘we do not appear to have fashioned out a systematic and clearly defined approach towards project implementation, let alone imbibing the culture. All efforts at ensuring effective project-monitoring have generally not yielded any meaningful results’. Furthermore, while it may appear that monitoring and implementation make logical sense to be located within the same agency, (as they complement each other), this may not be the route to go, as separation of the roles could allow for greater levels of probity and accountability of resources deployed. The need for improved project monitoring and evaluation certainly remains one of the challenges that the present governments in Nigeria and South Africa have to grapple with and find solutions or management strategies.

In this regard, it is crucial that project management be strengthened through effective monitoring of implementation especially with regard to developing data base of tried and tested project partners who may be from the private sector. These needs to be monitored in a bid to manage unscrupulous contractors who may defraud government; and systems have to be put in place to ensure that such elements are blacklisted as a deterrent to others.

3.2 Planning

In order deliver on promised and expected services, Oshisami and Dean (1999: 88) note that for the system to work there must be adequate contact between those who plan and those who are responsible for both budgeting and implementation. This makes the element of joint planning and consultation with relevant stakeholder a delivery imperative. With three spheres/tiers of government in both countries, the structure makes planning a very complex task, requiring effective communication and coordination. Ayida (1987:30-32) argues that for planning to be successful, the following elements have to be successfully managed:

- The will to plan
- Statistics
- Budget
- Coordination
- Research and development.

The above may not be adequate but should also take into consideration the technical planning apparatus. In Nigeria, planning has been problematic as 'past census were not only exaggerated but claims were made that goats, camels and sheep were counted along with human beings (Ajayi, 1985:9). A position which may have also contributed to a number of failed projects in South Africa due to inaccuracies of data or information and which in turn ultimately affects service delivery.

Planning therefore plays a pivotal role in ensuring the success of intergovernmental relations. In South Africa, the Government has since introduced a National Planning Framework to enhance areas of strategic policy prioritisation and to improve the policy decisions of government

(Towards a Ten Year Review, 2003:13). At provincial level the Provincial Growth and Development Plan has sought to drill down some of the governmental goals which, in turn, give direction to the Integrated Development Plans (IDP) but the question arises: is this enough given that there may be value in a bottom up approach as the system is still struggling to find integration which would have been an outcome of joint planning?

3.3 Policy management: The development of a policy framework and its management is important. In South Africa, the IGR Act only came into being in 2005; this meant that most of the interactions (although broadly promoted by the constitution) did not have the appropriate guidelines and muscle to make things happen. Macrae and Pitt (1985: 197-198) note that in order to attain strategic effectiveness in government activities, alignment in the management of bureaucratic or governmental complexities, which can be brought about by a sound policy framework and implementation strategies, is vital.

In the Nigerian case, (given that Nigeria had been under military rule for over 22 years) the style that has emerged is one that stifles democratic elements, such as participation on the part of officials and citizenry, a culture of inclusivity, and lack of equity. With the struggle for state power by the different polarised units, Udoji (1975: 157-166) argues that ‘there is a growing desire for participation at all levels and that local government has an important role in fostering rapid economic growth. Participation will thus, decongest the centre and thereby free national leaders from the onerous details as well as bring management close to the site of operation’. He adds that the problems are how best to reconcile central government’s responsibility for policy direction, manage the tensions and to ensure effective performance amidst participation from all relevant stakeholders in order to reach a consensus that is acceptable and that the people can lay claim of ownership to.

It is argued by Amond et al (1996: 44) that the system propensities approach, which determines a government's legitimacy rating by citizens is more likely to be more effective in making and implementing policies and in overcoming hardships and reversals in most modern societies. This includes the extent to which the political and administrative systems are open, and participation is high in public debates that shape the future. This leads to clear policy directions that serve the public good and promotes accountability. Instead of leaving politicians with little reason to hold back their own interests, given that elections take place periodically and are not able to sufficiently restrict politician's selfish behaviour, the institutional conditions have to be designed so that stronger incentives are imposed on politicians and governments to fulfil citizen preferences.

4. Leadership: The weak relationship among the various tiers or spheres of government needs strategic leadership across the political and administrative domain. This issue of striking a seamless interface between the political and administrative domains still remains an area of challenge for both Nigeria and South Africa. In the Federal Republic of Nigeria, leadership across the tiers of government are expected to play complementary roles. (Ayida, 1987: 40-42) notes that 'role played by the federal government civil service in nation-building is essentially the role played by the state in the state civil service in the overall development of their respective states and the local government civil service in their respective areas'. In the South African case, it appears that the Mbeki leadership seems clear on its vision but there seems to be a dislocation between that top level of leadership and the middle/administrative leadership. Consequently, there remains several challenges with policy implementation and frustrations over the pace of delivery that President Mbeki has pointed out two years in a row in his state of the nation address (for 2004 and 2005).

Other elements related to leadership such as corruption by senior officials suggest the need to uphold ethical standards. If left unchecked, corruption will spread and become entrenched, a situation which is usually difficult to reverse. This is a complex problem that nevertheless has to be tackled as attitudes and values of both political leaders and appointed officials at the different levels of government has influence the substance and style of IGR (Adamolekun, 1999: 104).

Within the framework of the governance principles, public officials must be publicly accountable and responsible for their activities. Both countries require accountable and responsible leadership that is committed to rooting out bribery and corruption in high and mighty places as indicated by David-West (1985:9), a former Nigerian petroleum minister who noted that ‘one heard about illicit oil, people making millions in oil, but a lot of the unethical behaviour were from people who were privileged to be in the corridors of power or who were linked to the seat of power. The attitudes and value of some public servants is disturbing with allegations of corruption and accountability queries almost becoming the order of the day with several cases, including the sacking of the Deputy President and a range of non-delivery issues such as the housing dissatisfaction that led to several country wide riots in 2005. In Business Report of 15/06/06, SCOPA (Standing Committee on Public Accounts) is reported to have slammed the manner in which the housing grant was administered. The parliamentary financial watchdog – SCOPA noted that about R2.5 billion has been handed out as subsidies since 1994 from which the Auditor General’s investigation identified R323 million as having been spent on irregular applications. This included monies that were granted to employees who were earning salaries well above the subsidy assisted group, to people who had died, to people with invalid ID documents, duplicate payments, applicants under the age of 21. These inefficiencies were largely due to a weak system, as administrators could easily override any objections that the

system had put forward. ‘These overrides talk to the heart of the matter, it is not a problem of capacity, it is a problem of system, it is an attitude, it is designed for corruption’ (Dreyer, 2006: 1).

The nature of the leadership is also critical. For instance, it is clear that Nigeria has endured more military than democratic rulership since independence. This history has suffocated democratic and good governance principles such as accountability and responsiveness to the needs of the population. Ethical principles have been replaced with values that are autocratic in nature such as curtailment of constitutional rights and guarantees and massive corruption, and others. In essence, the country’s leadership has exploited the resources of the country (effectively playing the exact role of the colonisers) for their own advantage and at the expense of the ruled. Given the deep-rooted unspoken leadership philosophy (of governments serving the ruled), it is little wonder that the general perception is that the public service in Nigeria is not there to serve but to be served.

Chapter Summary

Clearly, there may be different benefits and challenges in the management of IGR in various countries; however, some critical elements that underpin the success of such management have been identified and discussed as these will strengthen systems and enable the achievement of the desired goals, minimize overlaps, create synergy and higher levels of harmony among sub-systems, bring about the effective and efficient utilization of resources, improved coordination and integration.

This chapter outlined the trends that have emerged from the cases presented and discussed the

findings within the context and the different era's in each country. With the aid of a section on across-country analysis the findings were synthesised, with the critical variables for the management of intergovernmental relations (across unitary and federal states) being presented.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

South Africa and Nigeria can be termed giants of the African continent given that they have played and continue to play prominent roles in the political and economic forums in the continent. This is further demonstrated in the leadership role both played with regard to the re-emergence of the former OAU into the new AU (that is visibly pan African in nature), the OMEGA plan, the conceptualization of the NEPAD, the promotion of the Peer Review Mechanism and the Millennium Development Plan, among others initiatives. Clearly, the leadership demonstrated by both countries in the programmes reflected above suggests to the broader global community that efforts are being made to ensure that acceptable democratic, economic, political and corporate governance is promoted continentally and of course nationally (in the respective countries).

Chapter One introduced discussion concerning the nature of the research and provided the background to the study. The history of both selected countries as power houses in their respective sub regions and the African context have been discussed, and Nigeria and South Africa's role as visible and emerging power brokers among developing countries was explored. The significance of the research as well as the objectives have been clearly outlined, with a research question posed to provide focus for the work. The explanatory overview of critical concepts have also been explored, and these enabled the researcher to ground the work within the origin of IGR in an African context but more specifically, the study has focused on both countries and lastly a mind map reflecting the breakdown of each chapter was outlined.

Chapter Two focused on the methodological issues that guided the execution of the research study. The approach selected, which is qualitative, has been rationalised, with the value of the case study method which was deployed having been adequately discussed, given that this method suited the research activity which needed to take into consideration context specific issues for which the case study method provided. The value of the case study approach has however been enhanced by the utilisation of the triangulation approach that incorporated the historical and ethnography methods. The value of the triangulation was critical as attempts have been made to minimise errors. No singular method measures perfectly, whereas triangulation allowed for complementarity. The information gathered for this research has been utilised using the content analysis method that seeks to establish and identify trends, allowing such trends arising from the findings to be aligned in a manner that makes deductions emerging from the study, feasible.

Chapter Three, examined relevant literature in the form of theoretical approaches that underpin the study of intergovernmental relations. The systems approach and functionalist approaches were singled out and adopted for this study as they provided understanding of intergovernmental relationships in a coherent manner. The researcher was also carried out an in-depth discussion of the Public Administration principles and functions that govern governmental processes irrespective of contexts or system (federalism in the Nigerian context and unitarism in the South African context). With increasing pressures to meet public service expectations and to improve service delivery in post democratic South Africa and in the Nigerian Third Republic, the current activities of the public service in both countries provided the platform to determine the extent to which public administration principles in the management of these decentralised states was important and attainable. In that regard, governmental systems in both countries have been discussed in detail and an overview of the

public administration approach that IGR must take cognisance of was provided through discussions on planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting.

Chapter Four focused on analysing the IGR concept in greater detail. With the aid of the funnel approach, the researcher started from a global perspective, discussed the impact of globalisation on governance and moved on to profile the selected countries with a view towards show-casing the IGR trends from an international angle. The countries profiled from an international perspective were, Canada, Australia and Switzerland. Having provided broad strokes on what works, how it works, eminent challenges that exist, the researcher further developed a justification for the study as there was room for improvement even in the so-called developed countries.

Next, Nigeria and South Africa were profiled and due consideration was given to the historical and socio-political context of countries, the structures, the facilitative role of IGR in development and current delivery imperatives. Some of the IGR complexities such as the management of structures, the inevitability of overlaps, the need to strike a balance between independent and alignment between government units, emerged. The apparent need to reassess the value of coordination in IGR arrangements in terms of its efficiency and effectiveness were discussed. And finally, the context was further narrowed to key pre-selected cases in the Nigerian Public Service (Ministries of Power and Steel, Housing and Urban Development, Water Resources and Petroleum Resources) and the South Africa Public service (Departments of Housing, Health, Provincial and Local Government as well as Agriculture) cases profiled in the selected countries were introduced in the study.

The focal point of Chapter Five was to critically analyse the information that emerged from the cases presented in the previous chapter, in greater detail. This required a discussion of service delivery imperatives and an overview of the Public service in the selected countries. With an overview of public service delivery in the countries presented, the researcher proceeded to analyse the case studies from which a discussion resulted, with emerging trends carefully identified and the extent to which they can facilitate or hinder delivery in a particular department or ministry was explored. This pattern was repeated with each case and trends identified each time. This analytical approach assisted the researcher identify the critical elements for IGR management. Furthermore, the researcher carried out a period specific analysis of the nature of IGR in both countries given that each era had possibly different governance attributes/character as some level of change was constant and inevitable. This assisted in understanding the key contextual issues. In the South Africa cases, the period for analysis were the apartheid period, the new democratic period, and the era of consolidation (10 years after democracy) while the Nigerian context was categorised as the independence, military and post military eras.

Finally, the researcher carried out a cross country analysis, which showed that the elements needed for successful IGR management in both unitary and federalist systems were largely the same and linked to the functions of Public Administration. These elements have been captured into a formula as: **C+ 3C+ 3P+ L.**, namely: commitment which provided the basis for success of all the other elements such as coordination, communication, capacity building, project management, planning, policy management and leadership,

Chapter Six provided a summary of all the chapters of the study from Chapter one to Chapter six, as well as the major findings with regard to managing and utilising the facilitative element of intergovernmental relations in governance, especially as an opportunity for fostering improved service delivery. The study then concluded with recommendations that may provide further insight into the management of IGR.

The thrust of this research was to determine “To what extent Public Administration principles underpin the management of intergovernmental relations in Nigeria and South Africa? This required an understanding of the extent to which the selected countries had managed IGR, in a manner that is consistent with Public Administration principles and have promoted service delivery. Against the background, it is hoped that the management of IGR can be improved, because to the citizen it does not matter which level or sphere of government is meant to execute a particular role; the important point is that desired needs are adequately met.

Recommendations

The nature and state of the management of IGR in the selected countries could be more effective if properly managed given the need to meet the challenges of the public service. In this regard, a number of issues have been identified and possible recommendations for the resolutions of the issues identified are presented below.

Issue 1: The nature of IGR could be weakened if the relationship element in IGR is not strengthened with due consideration to the peculiar socio-political relationship tensions that may have existed or still exist in a particular country.

Recommendation: The very nature of IGR suggests that the understanding of human relations in terms of class, racial, ethnic or religious tensions that exist in various societies should not be underestimated. Rather they should be taken into consideration in an effort to strengthen relations across spheres or levels of government. The South African 1996 Constitution advanced a cooperative government model, where spheres interact and cooperate with one another on a continuous basis, in mutual trust and good faith. In the Nigerian situation, levels of government are expected to co-deliver on various functions and this requires collaboration. In both instances, service delivery attainment could benefit from stronger relationships between the spheres or levels of government. This requires acknowledgement that spheres/tiers of government are not without peculiarities (racial, class, ethnic, religious and so on). An understanding of the background with visible attempts being made to manage these power relations will ease some of the challenges and manage the conflicts, harness the benefits of diversity and address some of the difficulties that governments face.

As governmental objectives have to be met, the emphasis should be appropriately placed on relationships and is legislated in certain instances. *IGR* reflects this emphasis relationship, rather than *IGr* where the relationship is secondary. This understanding of the role of relationship management in IGR and the eminent benefits that could be derived should thus drive countries to reinvent approaches that will best suit their particular needs. Any approach adopted in terms of the management of IGR, should be multi dimensional/hybrid as a single approach, such as the transactional approach (as is currently the practice in both countries) is insufficient. This hybrid approach by contrast, with stronger relational emphasis should be considered as it will help manage the current gaps that are evident in the management of IGR in the selected countries. Ultimately, officials, politicians and, in fact, where possible civil society should work

together to develop stronger relationships, which over time will be beneficial for a long time to come.

Issue 2: Service delivery challenges may sometimes arise owing to lack of political and administrative interface between the vision crafters (politicians) and the vision implementers (the administrators).

Recommendation: While it may be expected that the politicians and the administrators work together towards the achievement of governmental goals, this does not always simply fall in place and tensions between the political and administrative heads very often affects the pace which services are delivered to the public. Firstly, what is required is that intergovernmental consultations and collaborations need to recognize the value of role clarification in the business of government and take advantage of opportunities to clarify these roles as they will minimise the negative effects that affect IGR mechanisms. Secondly, government has to continually seek ways to improve communication strategies between politicians and administrators. If this is proactively managed, it will over time build trust, diminish conflict, lead to higher levels of effectiveness and ensure the workability of the emerging IGR system. These issues of role clarity and effective communication should assist not only the relationships within specific departments, but across departments and ease tensions that arise in relationships across spheres and tiers of government.

These strategies of promoting role clarification and effective communication strategy will require openness through dialogue with various targeted institutions, in addition to the further opening up of policy processes, improved stakeholder involvement, participation and promoting accessibility of opportunities for social dialogue for citizens. These elements form part a

comprehensive strategy that must be considered prior to drawing up regulatory guidelines and should be promoted in both formal and informal avenues, so that debates which could deepen democratic governance and strengthen IGR in particular, are not stifled.

Issue 3: The fact that a framework for cooperation and collaboration does exist in the IGR framework, does not imply that the provisions will be properly implemented and service delivery will be effective and efficient.

Recommendation: The framework for delivery is only effective if it is implemented properly and monitored. Firstly, very often, those who have the insight into implementation are left out and their insights are lost. Attempts should therefore be made towards the comprehensiveness of various policy stakeholders utilising the systems approach, as this promotes alignment and ensures that implementations may benefit from the vision crafters. For instance, if implementers are in touch with policy crafters, feedback obtained during implementation could be adequately channelled and could lead to reassessment of various aspects of a policy decision and subsequent modification of the policy. This would add value to the policy process and bring about policy innovation through their expert insights into the subject matter. This should lead to the proactively management of current situations where very often the legislative framework and the policies have been put in place, but there is a disjunction between the desired state of affairs and the ability of the current status quo to translate the plans into action and achieve the vision set.

Secondly, the issues of implementation, monitoring and evaluation have emerged as weak links in service delivery in both countries. The strengthening of project monitoring and evaluation related activities should ensure that there is a timely review against agreed standards to ensure

that expected outcomes will be met. In several of the cases profiled, the need to strengthen project evaluation and to develop a database of tried and tested private sector partners in a bid to manage unscrupulous contractors (who have defrauded government), has become clear. Project monitoring will also enable the development of a rating system and ensure that unscrupulous elements are blacklisted as a deterrent to others. This will complement the activities of relevant agencies to manage corruption in the public service. It may be useful to separate the implementation and the monitoring agencies. This would ensure that standards are up held and people are held accountable should they fail meet the agreed targets.

Furthermore, research could assist with impact assessment of such programmes. Monitoring and evaluation tools in the public service of both countries have to be closely overseen and strengthened with the aid of management tools including performance indicators, agreed service standards and service level agreements.

Issue 4: Lessons from the management of IGR are not properly harnessed and taken advantage of to improve governance.

Recommendation

Over the years, there have been lessons that could be taken advantage of in the current IGR systems, and the act of organising research activity could be fundamental and play a crucial role in helping government harness the lessons. What seems to emerge, is that there is not enough stocktaking of the successes and failures in the systems. Inadequate research in intergovernmental relations may greatly affect improvement efforts and in this regard, a fully funded institute of IGR may be critical as its main mandate would be to document and share what works, what does not work and why. The IGR research centre should be fully funded,

effectively administered, visible to the public and should provide support to agencies of government in order to improve service delivery. In Nigeria, although an Institute of IGR exists, its effectiveness could be improved with appropriate government support and funding. If IGR research is properly harnessed and placed in the public domain, it will assist in improving services as the wheels of knowledge will not be reinvented and it will add value to the monitoring activities of senior officials and executives through in-depth analysis and timeous reporting of topical issues.

Issue 5: Officials and politicians alike are deployed into these IGR structures and expected to function optimally without any training/orientation in preparation for the roles that they are expected to play.

Recommendation: The quality of IGR management rests on the quality of managers who are expected to drive the processes. The extent to which these IGR players are capacitated and orientated to meet the expectations is crucial for success. While the players may have the technical skills required for the specific IGR structure or task, other softer skills such as their ability to manage relationships and resolve conflicts may be crucial. These softer skills will assist in managing tensions that are bound to arise in teams, and could be attained through a range of options, including mentoring, coaching, training and quality enhancement techniques, such as quality circles.

A critical element which has to do with capacity requires the re-orientation of the entire civil service. In this regard, the *Batho Pele* philosophy and the SEVICOM as commendable, but governments must make every effort to ensure that these are translated into practice. The efforts to establish the right or desired culture should be embraced in the IGR interactions and visible

for all to see. The capacity enhancement strategy adopted must be comprehensive and include human resource development as well as human resource maintenance strategies of the entire public service as, generally, salaries are not attractive, morale is low, and this invariably affects performance in service delivery.

Issue 6: Without the desired level of commitment from officials, (especially with regard to programme and policy implementation) service delivery will not be at the desired level, resulting in limited attainment of goals.

Recommendation: The commitment of key officials in the management of IGR is essential and will assist in the attainment of government service delivery objectives. The commitment of officials can be improved through a more participatory approach to governance. This requires involving people in the decision making process and ensuring buy-in. The buy-in in turn will strengthen commitment and the officials will take ownership of the processes and collectivity they will form the critical mass for a vision community (at all management levels of government) that propels governments vision. The commitment of the officials in any IGR activity will need to be grounded in the systems approach and requires understanding that, to the public, government is an integral whole and not a set of departments, so it does not matter that a service was not delivered by a particular department, to the public, government is government.

Thus commitment grounds everything else as it build stronger teams that focus on common goals, and will require strong and convincing leadership that should be cascaded to all levels of management through the development of a vision community, including middle and junior managers and is not only relevant to the top management only.

Issue 7: A lot of effort goes into programme articulation and development, but not enough effort goes into ensuring that the context is ready for implementation and on implementation, the system begins to show signs of stress.

Recommendation:

Given that the best programmes, projects, policies will fail if the appropriate systems are not in place, it is important that more effort be spent at forecasting some of the possible challenges that may crop up on implementation. This will require the anticipation of possible challenges, extensive stakeholder engagement, proper planning and a proactive approach to problem solving. Although driven by top management, care should be taken to ensure that input is gathered from all relevant groups and levels of government. The input will assist in instances where roles have been decentralised. The need to ascertain systems readiness prior to implementation is important and may result in different spheres/levels of government implementing at different paces, depending on their readiness, however, the levels/spheres of government that are implementing must assist the others (not yet implementing) through administrative support and capacity transfer.

Issue 8: The levels of ethics, accountability and professionalism exhibited in the government activities (including the management of IGR) need to be improved and tackled decisively in an effort to improve the quality of leadership.

Recommendation: There is a dire need to re-orientate the public officials to promote a change of attitudes and ethos across countries. The drive to build and strengthen the public service must include re-training. In order to carry out governance mandates effectively, the state must invest heavily in programmes that refocus the ideals and attitudes of officials and politicians alike

towards service. The challenge ahead with regard to public service reform and the provision of better services within the framework of *Batho Pele* (South Africa) and SERVICOM (Nigeria) can only be rewarding and positive if there is an attitudinal change among officials. In Nigeria, the level of moral decay is alarming as people who have defrauded government are accepted and in fact applauded as having forcefully taken their “rightful” share of the national cake. This demonstrates a negative shift in societal norms but, sadly, such people are embraced by their communities.

Leadership does play an important role in reshaping the values required for nation building, managing conflicts and competing interests as well as giving direction that is required by the Public Service. Given the role that IGR can play, if its management is championed by the leadership of the country, it is important that leadership demonstrates unequivocal commitment to system reform and to the improvement of administrative processes. Such reforms must be led by the central government in order to provide the necessary vision for all the other levels or spheres of government to plug into and thereby create the required vision community for governments’ programmes. This emphasises the value of sound leadership, first at the centre and then at the other spheres/tiers of government given that tensions always exist, and thereby assisting IGR management to overcome complexities and the inherent challenges that governments contend with in developed or developing countries.

Issue 9: The facilitative nature of IGR is not fully harnessed as a result of poor planning and coordination among spheres or levels of government thereby hindering service delivery.

Recommendation: Coordination ensures that the totality of intergovernmental relations networks are harnessed to the developmental needs of the state. Effective IGR management

requires managers to provide the central coordination that will ensure that outcomes of many separate activities become complementary to other developmental projects. In this way, the state should ensure that economies of scale are achieved as they tap into lessons that would otherwise have been lost, with the wheel of knowledge being recreated each time, a process which is very inefficient and could benefit from better integration of services. In the Nigerian case, a principal element with regard to the lack of integration across the various levels of government could be very easily linked to accessibility to political power as there are deep-rooted divides in the country (which has not been assisted by the federal character clause as provided for in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which may have sought to promote inclusiveness of all sections). IGR coordination therefore requires integration of role players to achieve a unified action and proactive management of the challenges of synchronisation through improving staff competencies. The latter may be limited to amongst others problems solving skills and information availability and utility in decision making.

Very often, in the public service, it has been demonstrated from the cases profiled that planning needs to be more integrated and structured to bring about the desired benefits in coordination. The need for adequate planning and subsequent integration is important for all developing countries. In South Africa, the emphasis has been to plan, plan, and plan. The key is to ensure that these plans are well integrated into the objectives of the organisation, be it local municipality or the department and also to ensure that the plans are implemented as envisaged and not tackled as a stand-alone activity. In this regard, more effort is required to forge synergy within the National plans: Provincial Growth and Development Plans as well as the Integrated Development Plans. In the Nigerian case, a culture of planning has to be rekindled with a genuine involvement of stakeholders such that the planning process derives the benefits of both

the top-down and bottom-up approaches of planning. Central to this is the involvement of local governments in planning forums as a planning weakness at this level will exclude vital attempts at involving the people.

Issue 10: The nature of IGR in the selected countries has been somewhat shaped by the nature of the governance systems in these two countries over the years; visible efforts must be proactively refocused towards the attainment of the new democratic ideals, now embraced in the two countries.

Recommendation: The nature of IGR is shaped by the nature of governance systems that have been employed in a particular country. In the Nigerian context with many more years under military administration than the civilian administration, the nature of has imbibed some of the traits of militarised institutions, such as the provision of inadequate opportunities for consultation. Therefore, what has emerged is a governmental system that is centralist and dictatorial in nature. The present government must make a strategic and calculated effort to open more opportunities for debate that promote and deepen democracy on the IGR front as well as in all areas of governance. Furthermore, IGR systems that are designed proactively and continually reviewed and adjusted, with due consideration to various linkages with the broader government delivery structure as well as its functionality will be better able to respond to public sector challenges.

In South Africa, following the 1994 democratic elections, the government has been faced with a challenge of servicing the entire nation as against the previous government that selectively serviced some areas and was very fragmented. The adoption of a unitary styled government,

strong elements of federalism (which promotes cooperation amongst spheres in Chapter 3 of the 1996 Constitution) should create space for bottom-up approaches in governance. In practice, however, it has emerged that a big brother approach is evident as policies are largely top-down and do not quite factor in regional inequalities.

What has emerged in the Nigerian system is a federalist system, with military and unitary characteristics. Although there is division of power among the various levels of government, the centre has remained very strong with the proliferation of states making the individual states even weaker. In South Africa, a unitary state with federal characteristics has evolved. This mix of characteristics in both countries is increasingly blurred as both countries have three spheres or levels, operate different systems, and yet, struggle to manage decentralisation. The effectiveness of government therefore does not lie on systems, but the manner in which the decentralisation which is inevitable in all systems is managed and the extent to which civil society holds government accountable for service delivery or lack of service delivery.

Areas for further research

The study of IGR provides exciting opportunities for further research. This research has detailed and explored the issues relating to the administrative processes that are critical for the management of IGR in any given state, regardless of the governance system selected. Further investigation on the role of the arms of government in the management of IGR, especially the with regard to the judiciary and legislative arms providing regulatory functions that effectively support the executive, could be beneficial to the future study and management of IGR.

A further area of attention that did not form part of the scope of the present research would be an examination of global IGR trends, particularly testing the legislative provisions of different

countries against actual current practices. On a continental level, a pan Africanist study would also be necessary for an in-depth analysis of the role of colonial governance structures that have continued to be reflected in present-day systems, and the extent to which they have negated indigenous systems that would have evolved naturally. Such an investigation could consider the fact that colonial systems created false nation-states (nations with several nations) and may be complicating the effective management of IGR. Finally, the fact that both selected countries are Anglophone may warrant comparative study of IGR management trends across the Francophone countries of Africa.

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