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BUREAUCRATIC DECONCENTRATION AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

The rural space in Nigeria has been challenged by poor development over the years. The local governments that are closest to the people and charged with delivering the dividends of development to their rural space have largely failed in this regard. This study examined the effects of de-concentrating the local government bureaucracies to the wards and its implication for rural development in selected states in Nigeria. The study was situated within the conceptual framework of Bureaucracy, Development, and Local Governance. The data for analyses were generated by adopting the Survey Research Design with a mixed-method approach. A total of nine electoral wards across Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers states were covered using the multistage sampling technique with a total of one thousand, one hundred and ninety questionnaires administered. Key informants' interviews were conducted in the selected states and the qualitative and quantitative data were respectively analyzed using the NVivo statistical tool and the Spearman's Rho Correlational Coefficient. The study found out that de-concentrating the Local Government Bureaucracy to the ward levels staffed by qualified indigenous personnel will improve development in the rural areas of Nigeria. The study recommends that parliaments in the sub-national governments in Nigeria amend the relevant Local Government laws to give legal backing to de-concentrated bureaucracies at the local levels of governance

Keywords: De-concentration, Development, Local governance, Local bureaucracies, Decentralization.

INTRODUCTION

There is a relationship between bureaucracy and development, especially in a developing country like Nigeria. According to Gbenga and Ariyo (2006), increasing the tempo of development in any polity must consider the various players in the system. The bureaucracy, being the engine house for the actualization of policies, privately or publicly, remains a major instrumentality that can drive development. Unfortunately, they noted, development has been challenged by the menace of corrupt practices. They stated that corruption has permeated many facets of

Nigerian society. According to them, several reforms aimed at making the civil and local government bureaucracy more proficient and result-oriented, have been carried out since independence but lamented that not much has been achieved from such reforms, attributing corruption as one of the factors that have affected the success of such reforms (Gbenga & Ariyo, 2006).

The bureaucracy plays a vital and significant role in the realization of governments' objectives and goals because its main function is to implement and accomplish the policies of the government, whether

local, federal or even global (Enahoro, 2016). At the epicenter of government at the local level, is the bureaucracy. According to Enahoro (2016), the duty of the civil service is to advise the political class on all aspects of governmental activities. However, previous reforms aimed at improving the service-delivery functions of the local government did not factor in the pivotal role of the bureaucracy. If therefore, the government at the local level still suffers service delivery problems and poor development outputs at their spheres or areas of control, in spite of the previous reforms that were undertaken to improve their efficient service delivery, then there is the need for a critical study of its bureaucracy. It is generally agreed that the bureaucracy remains the driver for effective, efficient service delivery and the vehicle needed to actualize developmental projects (Pepinsky, Pierskalla & Sacks, 2017). Governmental output at every level remains a function of its bureaucratic efficiency. This is because the bureaucracy remains the engine for the smooth running or otherwise of government (Goodsell, 2005). New demands, brought about by the growth of the local population with its complex characteristics have thrown up serious challenges of service delivery by local government. Consequent to the pressing demands on the bureaucracy at the local level to deliver on developmental goals to meet the aspirations of the people, the need for its further reform has become critical. This is with a view to positioning the bureaucracy to meet contemporary defined objectives. The local government bureaucracy in Nigeria, from its contemporary structure, organization, and operation exhibits most of the characteristics of the Weberian bureaucratic features. The operations and activities of the local government structure are presently centralized at the local government headquarters. The local government bureaucracy in Nigeria consists of a hierarchy of officials with specialized departments. Secondly, there is a clear-cut chain of commands from the Heads of Local Government Administration [HOLGA] to departmental heads, down to the lower-level staff.

However, Fatile and Ejalonibu (2015) argued that decentralizing the local government structure has the capacity to reduce poverty, facilitate a gradual increase in development efforts and promote collaboration between the government and civil societies. The World Bank Group (2011), in its report, posited that decentralization makes for better political representation among various political, cultural, ethnic, and religious groups in decision-making and removes the burden of routine tasks from top managers

at the center, leaving them to concentrate on policy. They agreed that decentralization would lead to creativity, innovativeness, and responsiveness by allowing local experimentation. Deconcentration, which is a form of decentralization, is best suited for this role.

Ahmad, Devarajan, Khemani, and Shah (2005) argued that the motive of decentralization is the failure of basic services such as health, education, water, sanitation, etc. Therefore, improving service delivery in these areas is what drives decentralization efforts because these services are locally consumed; besides, they were also historically locally provided. Uhunmwuango and Aibieyi (2013) stated that every local area has its peculiar economic, physical, and social features and historical tradition, which are better understood by its people. However, because of the disconnect between the local government and the people, most local governments in Nigeria have been criticized for poor quality service and, therefore, cannot be counted among the high-performing local governments, even in the third world.

Haque (2013) posited that the decentralization of policies relating to the development of sub-national or sub-state institutions has been emphasized in some developing countries due to the numerous roles carried out by central and state governments. He further argued that socio-economic development must require the active involvement of the people. According to him, "resource mobilization necessitates local initiative and devolution of power is a pre-condition for a democratic model of governance". Manor (2011) opined that the vital role of sub-state governance on socio-economic activities requires that local institutions in the sub-state and their incumbent should be accountable to the local public. Haque (2013) identified the mechanism for accountability to include the elected officials, public hearings, local media, and scrutiny by the higher-level government, among others.

Haque (2013), observed major variations in the nature of decentralization to include:

§ Delegation: This, he explained, means the transfer of duties or functions to the sub-national or sub-state level of government but ultimate responsibility rests with the central authority.

§ Deconcentration is the transfer of duties or functions from the central bureaucratic body to their field agencies.

§ Devolution: Transfer of both functions and decision-making authority to sub-national or sub-state government.

§ Intermediation: Transfer of duties or functions to a self-help organization.

§ Privatization: The transfer of functions, duties, and responsibilities to the private sector.

Haque (2013), citing Uphoff, identified the criteria for decentralization by using two basic conditions: firstly, the location of the decision-makers (national, sub-national, or sub-state). Secondly, those to whom the decision-makers are accountable.

When decision-makers are located centrally and accountable to the central authority, it is centralization.

When decision-makers are centrally located but answerable to the local electorate, it is democratization. When decision-makers are located at the local level but are accountable to a higher authority, it is de-concentration. When decision-makers are located at the local level and accountable to the local electorate it is devolution. Haque (2013) concluded that among these classes, de-concentration and devolution are more relevant when it comes to accountability at the local level. According to him, in cases of field or local administration run by various ministries, the local level personnel are mostly accountable to their respective higher authorities. .

Consequent to the pressing demands on the bureaucracy at the local levels to deliver on developmental goals to meet the aspirations of the people, the need for its further reform has become critical. This is with a view to positioning the bureaucracy to meet contemporary defined objectives. This study was conducted in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers state. South-South region of Nigeria.

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OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study was to ascertain if de-concentration of the bureaucracy at the Local Government levels to the ward levels would improve its effectiveness in delivering developmental goals in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States. The study also examined if the indigenous staffing of de-concentrated bureaucratic positions at the ward levels will affect the achievement of developmental goals at the local level of governance in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

HO1: There is no significant relationship between the de-concentration of the bureaucracy at the local level to the wards and the achievement of developmental goals in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States.

HO2: There is no significant relationship between indigenous staffing of some de-concentrated

bureaucratic positions at the ward levels and the achievement of developmental goals at the local government levels in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Bureaucracy, Development and Local Governance

Eme and Emeh (2012) stated that the nexus between the bureaucracy, that is, Public Administration and national development is no longer relevant because of the various criticisms against the place of the public bureaucracy in fostering development at the rural level in spite of enormous developmental policies and programs that are deliberately rural-based in Nigeria. According to them, life in rural communities still remains unattractive.

Abdulsalami (2010) posited that the roles the bureaucracy play in socio-economic development, especially in Nigeria includes, but is not limited to, security of life and property, infrastructural facilities, administration in areas of transportation, communication, water resources management, energy, ensuring freedom of movement and above all the preservation of the law and the maintenance of order. He further stated that the effectiveness, efficiency, and usefulness of these public services depend, to a great extent, on the nature and character of its bureaucracy. He concluded that the bureaucracy, therefore, plays a pivotal role in assisting the political class in the formulation, execution, and management of public plans, procedures, and guidelines designed to foster the socio-economic development of the nation and to promote nation-building. Abdulsalamim (2010) concluded that amateur politicians dominate the Nigerian political class and therefore such political immaturity puts a heavy task on the bureaucracy in ensuring the proper functioning of government. He further stated that the Nigerian political culture is characterized by:

1. Little awareness by the citizens about the work processes of government.
 2. The immaturity of the political class, which prevents the politicians from knowing the dynamics of holding political office. As a result of this, political office holders hardly articulate socio-economic problems of the society for agenda-setting in government.
 3. Apathetic and alienated masses who always do not expect anything from the government because of loss of confidence and betrayal of trust by the political class over time.
- Ifediora (2005) argued that bureaucratic corruption remains one of the critical factors that militate against

development in most Sub-Saharan African countries. While it is true that bureaucratic corruption can be found in developed and developing nations, its consequences are particularly more troublesome for developing nations with inadequately or poorly formed socio-political structures and weak economic institutions. He further stated that the distortionary effects on resource allocation have severely weakened and debased entire economies as important decisions are guided, not by prudent public policy, but by ulterior agenda. In countries like Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, and Kenya, bureaucratic corruption accounts for the unabatedly capital flight and the precipitous fall in real income (Ifediora, 2005). The consequences of corruption on the economies of developed and developing nations, according to Ifediora (2005), are well documented. In developed nations like Italy or the US, gains from corruption are generally recycled within the economy thus mitigating initial distortionary effects. In under-developed nations of Africa, however, ill-gotten gains are usually hidden in foreign banks, graves, overhead and underground tanks, private properties; highbrow, dilapidated, or invested in the economies of developed nations (Ifediora, 2005).

Ugwuanyi and Chukwuemeka (2013) stated that the bureaucracy in Nigeria operates under ineffective and corrupt political leadership. According to them, leadership corruption and ineptitude, for instance, affects the content and nature of policy in terms of its quality at formulation stages because in some cases policies are designed to satisfy the selfish and parochial interest of the leaders wielding political powers and also with a view to attracting public praises, even when such policies fail to address specific challenges and most times not implementable by the bureaucracy. Indeed, most policy-making goals in Nigeria are subordinated to the personal reward and parochial concerns of the political leaders wielding political powers with the result that the real development needs are rarely factored into consideration.

Okoli and Onah (2002) stated that trial and error or learning processes form the basis of policy implementation in Nigeria. In this context, plans and policies are arbitrarily implemented in some cases, abandoned or pulled apart midway because such policies and plans did not rely on existing data.

Makinde (2005) opined that in Nigeria, there are usually no comprehensive policy standards and objectives to guide the bureaucracy in its policy implementation activities and procedures. Gimba

(2016) stated that public policies at the local government levels are characterized by poor performance, dismal failures, and failed expectations that are noticeable in the community by persistent agricultural stagnation, hunger, poverty, diseases, unemployment, underemployment, poor housing, low life expectancy, high birth and death rate, malnutrition ignorance among others.

Andrew and Goldsmith (1998) see local governance as a replacement of the view of local government with a plethora of structures, procedures, and providers. Shah (2006) sees local governance as a much broader concept. According to him, it is the formulation and execution of collective actions at the local level. He further explained that it is direct and indirect roles of institutions of local government as well as roles of informal groups, community organizations, traditional institutions, and neighborhood associations in their quest for collective action. He concluded that local governance sets the framework for interactions between citizen and citizen, citizen and state, as well as decision-making and execution of local public services. In this sense, local governance can be said to be lacking at the ward levels of the local governments.

Kauzya (2002) situates local governance within the ambits of whatever governance that takes place at the community level; it could be by an NGO, a local government agency, a private sector enterprise, or traditional institutions. The central and guiding consideration of local governance can be located within the needs, priorities, interests, participation, and wellbeing of the local population. According to Kauzya, local governance entails many stakeholders and players, in the private sector, public sector, civil society, development partners, etc.

IseOlorunkanmi (2014) situated the benefits of local governance within the success recorded by the Jama'a Forum in Niger State and the Joint Action Development (JAD) program in Anambra State. The Jama'a Forum, according to IseOlorunkanmi, held its meetings at the public square and sometimes at the Emir's Palace with the aim of meticulously arriving at the project agenda. According to him, this makes the people have a sense of ownership of the project and enforces democratic accountability on the part of the government. It also bridged the gap between the people and the government.

In the case of Anambra State, there was a collaborative effort between the state government, local government, the communities, and the various community associations with a view to providing rural infrastructure like roads, electricity, water, healthcare,

etc. The JAD program example was based on two principles – one, that members of the local communities are best suited to know their needs and two, that the development of the community requires local ownership, therefore a partnership of efforts by residents of the community and the local government brought about the successful implementation of local projects. The JAD project in Anambra State was very successful (IseOlorunkanmi, 2014).

IseOlorunkanmi (2014) is of the view that local governance makes for better improvement in local development and will help to ameliorate some of the problems of local government administration.

Methodology.

Primary and secondary data for this study were generated using the survey research methodology with a mixed-method approach. The study adopted the multistage sampling technique in nine electoral wards, located respectively in three senatorial districts of Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers state, south-south of Nigeria. The multi-stage sampling technique was used to

determine the sample size of the study. Using the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), voters register of 2015, to determine the elements who were 18 years and above, registered voters were randomly sampled from a local government in each of the senatorial districts. The local governments were further delineated into their various wards where the questionnaires were distributed to the elements in a sample size arrived at using the Taro Yamane formula. One thousand, one hundred and ninety (1,190) questionnaires were administered across the electoral wards in the three aforementioned states as follows; Bayelsa, 397, Edo, 396, and Rivers, 397.

The validity and reliability of the data were determined using the Test Re-test method. 270 of the questionnaires were re-administered, 10 in each of the same wards and almost to the same respondents in the selected states of Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers at an interval of a month. The reliability statistics, Cronbach's Alpha was used in calculating the 88, 90, and 88 returned questionnaires from Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers respectively as presented in tables 1-3.

Table 1 – Frequency Distribution Table of Respondents for Validity & Reliability Test

Sex (Gender)	States			Total no. of respondents by gender
	Bayelsa (%)	Edo (%)	Rivers (%)	
Male	48 (54.7%)	42 (43.8%)	53 (60%)	143 (53.8%)
Female	40 (45.3%)	48 (56.2%)	35 (40%)	123 (46.2%)
Total no. of respondents by state	88 (33.1%)	90 (33.8%)	88 (33.1%)	266 (100%)

Source: Field Data, 2018.

Table 2 – Case-Processing Summary for Validity & Reliability Test

		N	%
Cases	Valid	90	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	90	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Table 3– Reliability Statistics for Validity & Reliability Test

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.936	.936	20

The Cronbach's Alpha score, r , is .936, which points to a high level of reliability which makes the data of this study valid and reliable.

The qualitative data were derived from in-depth interviews with key informants at six local governments across the three states selected for the study. These key informants' were Heads of Local Government Administration (HOLGA) in the Local governments studied. Three of the HOLGAs did not participate in the interview, citing clearance challenges from their Local Government Chairmen. The questions of the interview were weaved around the two objectives of the study: to ascertain if deconcentration of the bureaucracy at the local government level to the ward levels would improve its effectiveness in delivering developmental goals and to also examine if the indigenous staffing of some deconcentrated bureaucratic positions at the wards will affect the achievements of developmental goals at the local levels of governance.

The quantitative data were delineated from the

questionnaires distributed to respondents in the three states studied. These were Edo, Rivers, and Bayelsa states. To elicit clear and unambiguous responses from the respondents, the dependent variable "development" was broken down into the following measurable attributes:

- Construction and maintenance of earth roads
- Provision of water supply
- Provision of health facilities
- Poverty reduction

The interview data from the key informants were analyzed using the NVivo Qualitative Data Analyses software to elicit both deductive and inductive thematic responses.

RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSES

Qualitative Data Analyses

The results of the NVivo Qualitative Data Analyses are hereby presented in line with the two objectives of the study.

Researcher: Will the de-concentration of the local government bureaucracy to the wards improve service delivery and development?

NAME	DESCRIPTION
Local government distance from the people	Themes showing the perceived distance from communities
Deconcentration as a basis for grassroots participation	Theme depicting that deconcentration would encourage grass root participation

Most Responses indicated that de-concentration of the local government bureaucracy was beneficial as the Local government authority was far from the people and would encourage grassroots participation. A respondent had this to say

...It will go a long way to improve service delivery at the wards because it will, in a way, form a basis for grassroots participation. It will help the communities in ensuring that projects are well done since we at the headquarters are not too close to some of the wards. It will also serve as close contact with the people at the ward level. It will be a good development if it can be

funded (key informant response)

The NVivo analysis on deconcentration indicates that the local governments are most distant from most of the communities; therefore, the deconcentration of the bureaucracy to the communities will form a basis for grassroots participation.

Researcher: Will it be desirable if the positions at the ward bureaucracy are staffed by qualified indigenes where feasible?

A sense of entitlement	Theme In response to indigenization as a strategy to improve service delivery
Qualification as competence	Theme showing attitudinal and cognitive acceptance of qualification as a needed boost for service delivery

Most respondents indicated that indigenization is a complex issue, which has to be moderated by the factors of qualification and the right attitude. Below is one of the responses.

...it is not advisable, in my opinion, for indigenes to occupy those offices. This is because indigenes are likely not to obey the rule of the bureaucracy because of the closeness to their people. My experience, for example, is that participants from particular areas hardly participate in seminars organized for them; they usually take things for granted. This attitude may likely be transferred into the decentralized ward bureaucracies.

The NVivo analysis here indicates that local indigenes staffing the deconcentrated bureaucracy will enable a

sense of entitlement and may be a strategy to improve service delivery. However, this is dependent on the qualification and positive attitude of the indigenes. If these two are taken into consideration, indigenizing the deconcentrated bureaucracy will be desirable.

ANALYSES OF QUANTITATIVE DATA.

Hypothesis Testing using the Spearman's Correlation Coefficient

Descriptive Statistics Justifying the use of Spearman's Correlation Coefficient as tool for Hypotheses Testing.

Table 4

	N	Range	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error
devpt_goal	1116	75.00	24.00	99.00	85.6810	12.78959	-1.302	.073
Indigenization	1116	16.00	4.00	20.00	16.0251	4.08072	-1.127	.073
Deconcentration	1116	16.00	4.00	20.00	17.4310	2.35840	-	.073
Valid N (listwise)	1116							

Table 4 indicates that the general responses of respondents to the two objectives are unevenly skewed to the left, therefore, it is appropriate to analyze the responses using a non-parametric test. The spearman rho is, therefore, aptly deployed in this regard.

Hypothesis 1 (HO1): There is no significant relationship between the deconcentration of the

bureaucracy at the local level to the wards and the achievement of developmental goals in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States.

Table 5 – Spearman's RhoCorrelations

			Devpt. Goal	Deconcentration
Spearman's rho	Devpt. Goal	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.921**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	1116	1116
	Deconcentration	Correlation Coefficient	.921**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	1116	1116

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5 revealed a strong significant relationship between the de-concentration of the local government bureaucracy along with ward level and the attainment of developmental goals. With the Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient as .921, the null hypothesis, stating that there is no significant relationship between de-concentration of the local government bureaucracy along with ward level and the achievement of developmental goals at the local government levels in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers state is hereby rejected.

Hypothesis 2 (HO2): There is no significant relationship between indigenous staffing of the de-concentrated bureaucratic positions at the ward levels and the achievement of developmental goals at the local government levels in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States

Table 6 – Spearman's RhoCorrelations

			Divot. Goal	Indigenization
Spearman's rho	Devpt. Goal	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.907**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	1116	1116
	Indigenization	Correlation Coefficient	.907**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	1116	1116

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6 shows that there is a strong significant relationship between indigenization of staff of the bureaucratic positions at the local councils and achievement of developmental goals at the local government levels in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States with the Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient of .907. The null hypothesis, which states that there is no significant relationship between indigenous staffing and the achievement of developmental goals at the local government levels in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers state, is hereby rejected.

FINDINGS

The first objective, of this study, which was to determine if the deconcentration of the bureaucracy at the local government level to the wards would improve its effectiveness in delivering developmental goals in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States, was achieved. The result of Spearman's Rho Correlation analysis of the hypothesis derived from it, .921, indicated that de-concentrating the bureaucracy to the ward level has the capacity to improve its effectiveness in delivering developmental goals. Similarly, the NVivo analysis of the in-depth interviews supported the findings of the questionnaire. The NVivo analysis on de-concentration further indicates that the local governments are most distant from most of the communities; therefore, de-concentration of the bureaucracies to the communities will form a basis for grassroots participation. The second objective of the study was to determine if indigenous staffing of some deconcentrated bureaucratic positions at the de-concentrated ward bureaucracies will affect the

achievement of developmental goals at the local level of government in Bayelsa, Edo, and Rivers States, was also achieved by measuring the hypothesis derived from it. The Spearman's Rho Correlation coefficient of .907 indicated a strong relationship between indigenization of some of the de-concentrated bureaucratic positions, especially at the ward levels, and the achievement of developmental goals. The result of the NVivo analysis of the in-depth interview further revealed that local indigenes staffing the de-concentrated bureaucracy at the ward level would enable a sense of entitlement.

This study has established a significant relationship between the de-concentration of the local government bureaucracy along with ward level and the attainment of developmental goals. This is in line with Hague (2013) who had posited that de-concentration and devolution are more relevant when it comes to accountability at the local level. Wraith (1984) sees the local government as offering the community some official arrangement, which enables them to effectively manage their affairs for their general good. While the prescription of Hague (2013) and Wraith (1984) are generic and blurred in nature, the findings of this study brought their prescription into very sharp focus. The study also confirmed the report of the World Bank Group report (2011) that decentralization makes for better political representation among various political, cultural, ethnic, and religious groups in decision-making and removes the burden of routine tasks from top managers at the center, leaving them to concentrate on policy. The report also posits that decentralization would lead to creativity,

innovativeness, and responsiveness by allowing local experimentation. Bureaucratic de-concentration, which is a form of decentralization, will no doubt enhance service delivery at the local levels of governance. This study also upheld the submission of another World Bank Group report by Ahmad, Devarajan, Khemani, and Shah (2005). They stated that the motive of decentralization is the failure of basic services such as health, education, water, sanitation, etc. Therefore, improving service delivery in these areas is what drives decentralization efforts because these services are locally consumed; besides these services were also historically locally provided. Responses from the interviews also indicated that the de-concentration of the local government bureaucracies to the ward levels will be beneficial to the local government authority. This, according to the key informants is because the local government headquarters, where the bureaucracy is presently located are far from the people. Besides, de-concentration will also encourage grassroots participation. De-concentration of the bureaucracy to the ward level will bring about optimal service delivery and development.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study established the need for the local government bureaucratic structures that are presently centralized at the local government headquarters to be de-concentrated to the wards for the effective implementation of developmental projects. Since the incidences of development are operationalized at the wards, the need for proximate ward bureaucracies charged with the implementation of developmental goals at these micro levels has become necessary to fast track the actualization of developmental goals. The ward bureaucracies if properly constituted and staffed by qualified indigenous personnel will be positioned to implement developmental policies.

The study, therefore, recommends that States Houses of Assembly in Bayelsa, Edo, Rivers, and other states in Nigeria should also take steps to amend Part VI of the 2000 Local Government Bye-Laws, which provides for the creation of executive councils, to accommodate a four-man bureaucratic structure at the ward level. This should be termed 'Local Government Ward Executive' to give legal effect to the de-concentration of the bureaucratic structure up to the ward levels.

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