# ZONING OF POLITICAL POSITIONS AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN SELECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS IN ENUGU STATE (1999-2019)

## IGBOKWE, Chukwuma Igbokwe,

Department of Public Administration, Enugu State University of Science and Technology Enugu, Nigeria.

## **Ezeodili Walter**

Department of Public Administration, Enugu State University of Science and Technology Enugu, Nigeria.

## **Eneh Maximus**

Department of Public Administration, Enugu State University of Science and Technology Enugu, Nigeria.

## ABSTRACT

This study examined zoning of political positions and good governance in selected local government areas in Enugu state. The specific objectives were to: investigate the extent to which power rotation affected good roads at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State, examine the effect of equitable representation on service delivery in the selected Local Government Areas, ascertain the challenges confronting political consensus on the quality of education at the Local Government Areas. Survey research design was adopted for the study. Population of the study was 1,505,948 based on the National Population Commission Projection for 2019 for the six local governments studied. The sample size of 316 was determined for the study, using Taro Yamani Statistical Formula. The study used questionnaire as the primary source of data collection. Three hypotheses were formulated and tested using t-test statistics. A two tailed significant at 5% confidence level was adopted. Findings of the study revealed that zoning of political positions was not strictly followed in the local governments of Enugu State, Zoning of political positions has no effect on quality service delivery in the Local Governments of Enugu State, Zoning of political positions

Journal of Policy and Development Studies (JPDS)

Vol. 13. Issue 4 (2023) ISSN(p) 0189-5958 ISSN (e) 2814-1091 Home page https://www.ajol.info/index.php/jpds

ARTICLE INFO: Keywords Zoning, Political Position, Good governance.

Article History Received 29<sup>th</sup> July 2023 Accepted: 12<sup>th</sup> August 2023

have encountered significant challenges in Enugu State. Based on the above findings the researcher recommended that Zoning of political positions should be strictly implemented at the Local Government level to put an end to agitations from marginalized communities, Political parties should consider the candidate that is popular among the local people and who can deliver the dividends of democracy to the people in their party primaries and in political appointments and that Political Parties should treat all the autonomous Communities within a Local Government equally, irrespective of their Cultural, Political, Economic and Population status.

#### **1. INTRODUCTION**

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

Politics in Nigeria had over the years been marred with ethnicity, tribalism, religious intolerance and electoral malpractice. This, led some patriotic elements in the country's polity to call for a modified and peculiar presidential system or arrangement which will enable peace, political stability and inclusive participation of all the regions in the country's politics. This is due to the feelings of the southern part of the country been marginalized as the presidential o $\Box$  ce had been historically clinchedonto by the country's citizens in the northern region, and the complexity of the Nigeria society. Nigeria's aspirations have been usually centered on how to develop a broad and universally acceptedframework for crisis free and equitable transfer of power including political participation, which willallow for the rotation of the six (6) key executive and legislative o $\Box$  ces among the six (6)geographical groupings as North East, North West, North Central, South West, South East, and South-South (Omoleke, 2013). The political elites have always accused each other of various anti- democratic actions that have brought the political system to a state of near collapse.

In order to fashion out a new formula to create a basis for equitable distribution of political power through the electoral process, one of such suggestions was the proposal for the principle of zoning system, although might not be democratic nor constitutional, it has enabled inclusion of diverse groups and interests in the sharing of political power.

Hence the birth of the Zoning Formula that was pictured to allow both the northern and southern region equal chances of producing a president, and was first adopted by the Shehu Shagari led second republic in 1979. The principle of 'zoning', implies a consensus sharing of political posts among regional tribal and

sectional group at all levels of the three tier of government in Nigeria. This became a major issue of consideration in allocation of political offices by political parties in Nigeria since 1999. Zoning appears to be a variant of the consolidative principle of elite coalition and 'proportional representation' (Okonkwo, 2015) An offshoot of this formula, and equallythe most sensitive, is 'rotational presidency', which ensures the rotation of power between the northern (Muslim dominated) and the southern (Christian dominated) regions of Nigeria and has doused political tensions.

Although the zoning system was primarily designed for the federal level, the system was equally adopted in state level and even local authorities for easy di□usion of government. Although the provision is not included in the constitution but political parties adopted it to pave way for transparency and fairness in governing. Hence, it is against this backdrop that this research seeks to investigate, zoning of political positions at Local Government level in Enugu state and its implication on good governance between1999-2019.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Zoning as a concept in Nigeria politics is aimed at ensuring political equity where the other politicalzones decline to aspire to a coveted political position to the advantage of the favoured zone. This concept became popular and acceptable to the major Political Parties in zoning positions in preparatory to the 1999 general elections. However, the Zoning arrangement appears to be more pronounced for Political Parties arrangement for Federal and State Positions while the level of implementation at the Local Government remains uncertain. Ethnicity, Religion, Population, Educational backwardness and other factors has dominated the argument on why the Zoning Formulashould not be done equitably. Some Political Leaders have argued that some tribes or race, based ontheir population or educational exposure should control the political positions than others.

The clamour for power rotation among communities within a Local Government Area has led to political crises that have attracted the attention of the State Government. Before the last local government election in February, 2022, some communities besieged the Enugu State Government House to protest the marginalization of their communities in nomination of candidates for Local Government chairmanship election. However, many residents of Enugu State majority of whom arerural dwellers have continued to cry out on the high level of bad governance at the local government level which reflects on high level of corruption, infrastructural decay, poor road networks, high levelof illiteracy, poor health facilities etc at the 17 Local Governments in Enugu State. After years of implementing zoning of political offices in Enugu State Local Government system, it is pertinent to ascertain its effect on good governance in these Local Government Areas of the state.

## 1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to investigate the relationship between Zoning of Political Office and Good Governance in selected Local Government Areas in Enugu State. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- 1. To investigate the extent to which power rotation affected good roads at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State.
- 2. To examine the effect of equitable representation on service delivery in the selected Local Government Areas in Enugu State.
- 3. To ascertain the challenges confronting political consensus on the quality of education at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State.Research Questions

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

The following research questions were raised to guide the study.

- 1. To what extent has rotation affected good roads at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State?
- 2. What is the effect of equitable representation on service delivery in the selected Local Government Areas in Enugu State?
- 3. What are the challenges confronting political consensus on the quality of education at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State?

## 1.5 Hypotheses

- Ho<sub>1</sub>: Power rotation has no positive significant effect on good roads in Local Government Areas in Enugu State.
- Ho<sub>2</sub>: Equitable representation of communities has no significant effect on service delivery at the selected Local Government Areas in Enugu State.
- Ho<sub>3</sub>: There are no significant challenges confronting political consensus on the quality of education at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State

# 2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

## 2.1 Conceptual Review

## Zoning

Zoning is one of the manifestations of ethnic nationalism in Africa (Salawu & Hassan, 2011). In common parlance, zoning of political positions means sharing, rotating, shifting or pushing of political positions(s) from one section to the other. It could be region based (from the North to Southor East and West or vice versa). Zoning could be ethnic based (among the major ethnic groups) andor religion based (between major religious groups). Chuba Okadigbo, a former Nigerian Senate President, noted that political parties in Nigeria adopted the zoning formula to ensure a rotational presidency and other major offices. He justified that this practice was aimed at promoting unity, political stability and economic growth in Nigeria. He further remarked that zoning was expected tomake all ethnic groups to feel as part of the federation and identify themselves with the Nigerian Constitution (Vanguard, 1989). The decision of Zoning was taken to address problems of hegemonism, marginalization and instability in the Nigerian polity. (Nwala, 1997 In Olaiya, 2017). The six geo-political zones were to serve as the basis of power sharing in Nigeria for executive,

bureaucratic, military and social offices. It also serves as the basis of locating infrastructure and industries as well as situating government units and departments. It is therefore seen as the sustainerof the Nigerian federalism. No wonder Nwankwo writing in Vanguard argued that "anyone who thinks that power will not shift in Nigeria under certain context (survival of various groups) is making great mistake and an enemy to the Nigerian federalism" (On the contrary, zoning is an undemocratic formula used by political parties to share power according to loosely-defined geographical zones that are not sanctioned by the electorates (Banjo, 2011).

#### **Good governance**

For the United Nations 'In the community of nations, governance is considered "good" and "democratic" to the degree in which a country's institutions and processes are transparent. Its institutions refer to such bodies as parliament and its various ministries. Its processes include such key activities as elections and legal procedures, which must be seen to be free of corruption and accountable to the people. A country's success in achieving this standard has become a key measureof its credibility and respect in the world. (Njoku, 2015)Good governance promotes equity, participation, pluralism, transparency, accountability and the ruleof law, in a manner that is effective, efficient and enduring. In translating these principles into practice, we see the holding of free, fair and frequent elections, representative legislatures that make laws and provide oversight, and an independent judiciary to interpret those laws. The greatest threats to good governance come from corruption, violence and poverty, all of which undermine transparency, security, participation and fundamental freedoms (Adegoke, 2014).

For UNDP (2016), 'Good governance refers to governing systems which are capable, responsive, inclusive, and transparent. All countries, developed and developing, need to work continuously towards better governance. Good, or democratic governance, entails meaningful and inclusive political participation. Improving governance should include more people having more of a say in the decisions which shape their lives'. For the World Bank (2013), it is essentially the combination of transparent and accountable institutions, strong skills and competence, and a fundamental willingness to do the right thing. Thoseare the things that enable a government to deliver services to its people efficiently" (Paul Wolfowitz,2013).

African Development Bank (2013), defines 'Good governance in several ways. According to the 2000 Bank Group Policy on Good Governance, governance is "a process referring to the manner in which power is exercised in the management of the affairs of a nation, and its relations with other nations". The policy identifies the key elements of good governance as: accountability, transparency, participation, combating corruption, and the promotion of an enabling legal and judicial framework. While the definition of 'good governance' in used by some multilateral agencies has expanded, the link with development has remained central. The political components of governance are not just seen as 'good things' in their own right, but also because they promote development broadly defined.

## The Roots of Zoning of Political Positions in Nigeria

Although the idea of adequate representation of different ethnic groups in the Republic has been recurring since 1960, zoning of political positions in Nigeria officially dates back to 1979. It was first expressed by the National Party of Nigeria in the internal nominations for prominent federal positions. However, the zoning of political positions became pronounced after the debate of the

1994/95 National Constitutional Conference (NCC) established by Decree No. (3) 1994 (FRN Gazette, 1994).

According to (Nwala, 1997 in Olaiya, 2017), the think tank of the conference revealed serious inequalities in the distributions of political power and national resources in favour of the North and hence, adopted the idea of political positions zoning in Nigeria to secure Nigeria's federalism. Therefore, one may conclude that it is a history of inequalities and sectional domination in the sharing of political power and national resources in Nigeria in favour of the North that marked the origin of the idea of zoning of political position(s). Although such a conclusion may be right, it does not explain how sharing of political power can trickle down to the grass-root people, secure federalism and democracy as well as guarantee development of Nigeria. The 1999 Nigerian Constitution also emulated the zoning formula by prescribing the Federal Character principle in Section 14 (3). The Federal Character is about inclusion of the six geopolitical zones in the allocation of political and public sector appointments including the office of the President (Busari, 1989). (Nwala, 1997 in Olaiya: 2017) opined that, zoning is the political name for the constitutional principle of federal character. The essence was to tame the ugly incidence of ethno-regional domination in all human endeavors in Nigeria. The zoning of political position also finds expression in quota system. Public universities in Nigeria emphasize quota system rather than success in qualifying examinations for admission. Quota system also plays a central role for employments in public institutions in Nigeria.

Although Zoning principle is the most outstanding innovation of the 1994/95 National Constitutional Conference, President Obasanjo is arguably the father of zoning in Nigeria. In 1979, he was instrumental to the transfer of power to President Shehu Shagari (a Northerner). He repeated the act in 2007 by transferring power to President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua (a Northerner). Hence, the formerPresident rightly argued that if properly perfected and implemented, zoning propels values such as integrity, ethnic and religious tolerance, operation and accountability. It kills ethnic chauvinism which forms the basis of political engagement in Nigeria.

## **Local Government**

It is logically convenient to commence the review on Local Government by explaining what local government stands for. It is pertinent to state that the political arrangement of every nation determined what the concept stands for. No matter the type of political arrangements (unitary or federal system) adopted by a nation. Local Government according to Kyenge (2013) focuses on the transfers of political powers to local areas by involving the inhabitants in the provision of basic needs in their respective communities.

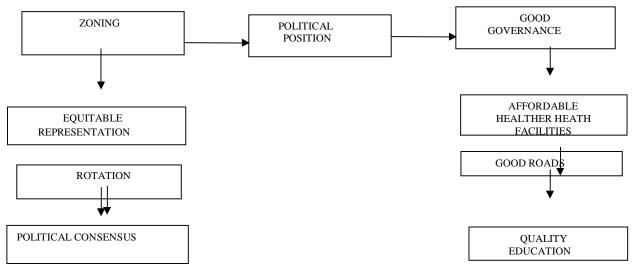
Specifically, Olisa et al. (1990) in Chukwuemeka, et al. (2014) and Udenta (2021) define Local Government as a unit of government below the central, regional or state levels established by law toexercise political authority through a representative council within a defined geographical area. The 1976 Local Government reform offered the most acceptable definition of local government in Nigeriaas follows:

Government at the Local level exercised through representative council established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas. These powers should give the council substantial control over local affairs as well as the staff and institutional and financial powers to initiate and direct the provision of service and to determine and implement projects so as to complement the activities of the state and federal government in their areas. And to ensure through the active participation of the people and their traditional institutions, that local initiative and response to local needs and conditions are maximized.

Under Nigeria's federal arrangement, Local Government is established as the third tier of government of fill in,

expediently, certain roles and activities best performed at the grassroots. Local Governmentconstitute the most critical level of Government at which the momentum to sustain, national development can be created. Bello-Imam (2021) noted that in some third world countries, Local Government is the only semblance of authority known beyond the traditional institution. Udenta (2021) sees Local Government as a system of Local administration under which Local communities and towns are organized to maintain law and order, provide some limited range of social service and public amenities and encourage the cooperation and participation of the inhabitants in joint endeavortowards the improvement of their conditions of living. It provides the communities with a formal organizational framework which enables them to conduct their affairs effectively and regulate the actions of their members for the general public good

## INDEPENDENT VARIABLE MODERATING VARIABLE DEPENDENT VARIABLE



#### Source: Research, 2022. 2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on Rawls's Complex Egalitarian Principles. John Rawls is thought to have reinvigorated political philosophy with strikingly original ideas during his forty years as a Harvard philosophy professor. He entwined together strands of political, legal and moral philosophy in his book A Theory of Justice (1971). His concern was to establish the basis of a just society, and his approach was perhaps labeled Justice as fairness. Rawls''s political'' conception of justice is workedout in a contractual procedure, where if parties bargain and agree on a fair procedure then they will accept the end product of that procedure; which means, they will accept the principles of justice without having to embrace any particular comprehensive religious or philosophical doctrine. Since he set to work out procedure of attaining a well ordered society, he therefore stretched these procedural principles to embrace political rights (liberty) and social benefits (economic shares and other social goods) to the advantage of all, especially the worst off group. And this end product, which he assumes to be the outcome of the rational deliberation of the contractual members, shouldequally be entrenched into the constitution; which is designed for a liberal democratic culture.

## **2.3 Empirical Review**

Related empirical studies were reviewed based on our three objectives.

## **Review the Extent of Power Rotation on Good Roads**

Nwozor (2014) wrote on power rotation and its implications for the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Analyzing the work through content analysis, he discovered that delimiting the Country in terms of North and South results in the creation of structural flaws that will drive and sustain politicaltension within the polity and pose a serious challenge to the consolidation of Nigeria's democratization.

Olaiya, Apeloko, Amanchukwu and Shiyandade (2014) did a work on rethinking zoning formula aspolitical panacea for ethic conflict and governance crisis in Nigeria. They used content analysis as atool of analysis. They found evidence of improved and strengthened ethic relationships, albeit politically. Olaiya, Apeloko, Amanchukwu and Shiyandade (2014) did a work on rethinking zoning formula aspolitical panacea for ethic

conflict and governance crisis in Nigeria. They used content analysis as atool of analysis. They found evidence of improved and strengthened ethic relationships, albeit politically. In a study by Aiyede (2014) on federalism, power sharing and the 2011 presidential election in Nigeria, the author sought to know if power sharing is a conflict management mechanism in Nigeria'spolicy. Using content analysis, the researcher found out that zoning with rotation principle is problematic as a long-term solution because it constrains the notion of free political competition and the uncertain outcomes that are central to democracy.

## Review of Effect of Zoning on service delivery in Nigeria

Kabuk (2015) researched on understanding the politics of zoning system in Nigeria: A purview of Raw's complex egalitarianism. Using the critical and expository methods of the analysis, the authordiscovered that as a result of the undue application of zoning principle and the ladder of regard for merit or competency in the application of federal character principle, standard and professionalism are compromised and endangered.

Ambali and Mohammed (2016) studied sustainable democracy and political domination; A rotational presidency among Nigerian ethic groups. Using content analysis by reviewing published and unpublished work of author, they discovered that rotational presidency lades democratic correction.

Awopeju et al (2016) worked on zoning formula and the party politics in Nigerian democracy: A crossroad for PDP in 2015 presidential election. They used content analysis as a tool of analysis andfound out the 2015 election in Nigeria that was lost by the then ruling party was as a result of the contentious zoning formula which the abandoned.

Nkume-Okorie (2018) writing for Consultancy Africa Intelligence (CAI) researched on rotation and zoning; Extra-Constitutional frameworks for Nigeria's political stability. They did their analysis of the study using content analysis and found out that Nigeria's democracy has been resilient to some of the political tensions that would have otherwise torn it apart because of cooperation between regional political elites otherwise known as zoning.

# **Review of Challenges of Zoning of Political Positions on Quality Education**

Ezeibe, Abuda and Okeke (2016) did a study on zoning of public offices, liberal democracy and economic development in Nigeria. They used explanatory and descriptive methods of analysis and found out that the zoning arrangement promotes national cohesion and recognizes the right of the people to be a part of the system.

Terwase et al (2017) studied conflict resolution; the truncated zoning arrangement and the Buhari political Tsunami in Nigeria. They wanted to know the consequences of abandoning zoning formulain political arrangement in Nigeria. Using content analysis, they found out that zoning arrangement was truncated in Nigeria in 2011 national election. The consequences were dire. Many people were killed between 2011-2015; both private and public properties were also destroyed.

Ololajulo (2019) did a secondary study on eating with one spoon: zoning, power rotation and political corruption in Nigeria. Using content analysis, he discovered that though the practice of zoning has the capacity for maintaining peaceful political order, it has occurred more as an elites' strategy to negotiate continued participation in the political process and access to national wealth. It exemplifies a social mechanism of corruption and a perverted form of literal democracy.

Sakanko and David (2020) conducted a research on the effect of democratic zoning system on Nigeria economy: Evidence of Niger State. Employing descriptive statistics and multiple regressions as tools of analysis, they found out that the elements of democratic zoning vis-à-vis peace, equity, unity andjustice, has a positive and significant effect on the growth of the Nigeria economy.

## **3. METHODOLOGY**

This study shall employ the ex-post-facto research design which according to Kellinger, (1968) is the research in which the independent variable or variables have already occurred and in which the researcher starts the observation of a dependent variable or variables. He then studies the independent variable in retrospect for their possible relations to, and effect on, the dependent variable or variables

To generate data for this study we shall use both survey and documentary methods of data collection (mixed method). The survey design will be used in getting first-hand information from primary data elicited from the target population. To this end, the primary data for the study will be obtained through Questionnaires, which was designed to achieve the study objectives and test the hypothesis.

Based on the instrumentation and validity of the data, the number of respondents in six selected local governments, two from each senatorial zone of the Enugu randomly selected, stood at one million, five hundred and five thousand, nine hundred and forty-eight thousand (1,505,948), (NPC projected, 2022). Consequently, the sample size to be used for the data collection and analysis will be drawn using Taro Yamani (1968) formula for sample size determination, of which is a total of 316 represent the sample size of the population under investigation.

# 4, DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The researcher presented and analyzed the data collected from our respondents in this section. 316 copies of questionnaire were distributed to the respondents and 310 were returned representing 98.1% return rate. We used five Point Likert scale of Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Undecided (UD), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD) on the three research questions. They were rated 5.4.3.2 and 1. In addition, the mean score from 2.50 and above is accepted as been significant.

**Research Question One:** To what extent has rotation of political position been implemented at Local Government Areas in Enugu State?

S/N	Opti	SA	Α	U	D	SD	Tota	Mea	Decisio
	on			D			1	n	n
1	There is established agreement for rotation of political	130	155	5	10	10			
	positions among communities in the LGA's	42%	50%	2%	3%	3%	310	4.3	Agreed
2	Political Parties has distributed political positions based on the	120	150	15	25	10			
	Zoning agreement.	37%	48%	5%	10 %	3%	310	4.1	Agreed
3	Chairmanship position of the LGA's is	140	118	5	32	15			

# Table 4.1: Extent rotation of political position has affected good roads in Local Government Areas in Enugu State

	being rotated among the Communities						310	4.4	Agreed
	Communities	50	21	3%	10	50/			
		50	31	3%	10	5%			
		%	%		%				
4	Councillorship Positions in the	160	100	10	20	20			
	LGA's is being rotated among the								
	villages and	53%	31%	3%	7%	7%	210	4.1	
	clans that make up the Ward		/ -				310	4.1	Agreed
5	Supervisory Councilors and	120	130	10	30	20			
	other political appointment	_		_		_			
	are based on	38%	42%	3%	10	5%	210		
	Zoning agreement.	5070	1270	570	%	570	310	4.2	Agreed
	Grand Mean							4.2	

## Source: Research Data, 2022

The table above shows that the mean score of the questionnaire items 1-5 are 4.3. 4.1. 4.4, 4.1 and

4.1 respectively. All 5 mean scores are above the decision level of 2.50. In addition, the grand mean is 4.2 which is also above the decision level of 2.50. Therefore, the result indicates that rotation of Political Positions has been implemented to a high extent at Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

**Research Question Two:** How has equitable representation impacted on quality service delivery at Local Government level in Enugu State?

Table 4.2: Equitable representation	impacted	on	Quality	Service	Delivery	at	the	Local
Government Areas in Enugu State.								

S/N	Option	SA	Α	UD	D	SD	Total	Mean	Decision
1	Zoning has facilitated	50	30	30	130	70			
	RuralInfrastructural								
	development	17%	10%	9.7%	47%	21	310	2.0	Disagree
	in the LGA's								d
2	Zoning of Political	40	60	10	120	80			
	Positionshas contributed to								
	improved Healthcare	16%	20%	4%	47%	21%	310	2.1	Disagree
	delivery by the								d
	LGA's								
3	There is significant	28	20	10	120	132			
	Agricultural development								
	in the LGA's as a result of	12%	8%	4%	35%	44%	310	2.0	Disagree
	Zoning of Political								d
	Positions.								
4	Zoning of Political Positions	60	40	8	112	90			
	has minimized the rate of			-					
	Political Crisis at the LGA'S	20%	16%	3%	35%	28%	310	4.0	Agreed
5	Zoning has Impacted	20	40	8	102	140			
	Positively on the general								
	administration of the LGA's	8%	16%	3%	28%	48%	310	2.0	Disagree

					d
Grand Mean				2.4	

Source: Research Data, 2022

The table above shows that the mean score of the questionnaire items 1-5 are 2.0, 2.1, 2.0, 4.0 and

2.0 respectively. All the 5 mean scores are below the decision level of 2.50. In addition, the grand mean is 2.4 which is also below the decision level of 2.50. Therefore, the result is that equitable representation has no significant impact on Quality Service Delivery at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

**Research Question Three:** What are the challenges confronting political consensus on quality of education at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State?

Table 4.3: Challenges confronting	political	consensus	on	quality	education	at	the	Local
Government Areas in Enugu State.								

S/N	Option	SA	Α	UD	D	SD	Tot	Me	Deci
							al	an	sion
1	Imposition of	150	100	5	13	20	310	4.0	Agre
	Candidates by some								ed
	influential	52%	35%	2%	5%	8%			
	Stakeholders								
2	High Population	170	80	10	12	16			
	advantage by								
	some Communities/	59%	28%	4%	5%	6%	310	4.1	Agre
	Clan within								ed
	the LGA								
3	Ancestral/ Migration	140	100	8	20	20			
	History of								
	Communities within	48%	35%	3%	8%	8%	310	4.1	Agre
	the LGA								ed
4	State Government	100	100	10	48	30			
	Interference								
		35%	35%	4%	19%	10%	310	4.0	Agre
									ed
5	Political Party	90	70	20	58	50			
	preference of								
	Candidates	31%	25%	8%	20%	17%	310	3.0	Agre
									ed
	Grand Mean							4.4	

## Source: Research Data, 2022

The table above shows that the mean score of the questionnaire item 1-5 are 4.0, 4.1, 4.1, 4.0 and 3.0 respectively. All the 5 mean scores are above the decision level of 2.50. In addition, the grand mean is 4.4 which is also above the decision level of 2.50. Therefore, the result indicates that there are various challenges like imposition of Candidates by the influential stakeholders, State Government interference etc. impeding political consensus by communities at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

# 4.1 Test of Hypotheses

The independent Samples/Test is a parametric test. The test is used to know the statistical significance of the individual parameter. Two –tailed tests at 5% significance level are conducted. A test statistic is a statistic (a quantity derived from the sample) used in statistical hypothesis testing.

**Decision Rule:** Accept null hypothesis if the value of the t-statistic is greater than 0.05, otherwise reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis.

Hypothesis One: Rotation of on good roads at Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

				Value Test = 0		
					95% Confide Intervalo Difference	of the
Hypothesis	Т	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Lower	Upper
Zoning of political positions was not strictly implemented in the selected Local Government Areas in Enugu State.	0.64	11	.011	1543.02000	12007.2096	15228.1 304

## Table 4.4:One-Sample Test

# Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the test of hypothesis above using one sample test-statistics, based on the decision made accept null hypothesis if the value of the t-statistics is greater than 0.05 from the result; the value of the t-statistics (0.64) is more than 0.05 hence we accept the null hypothesis and conclude that Rotation of political positions was not strictly implemented at Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

**Hypothesis Two:** Adequate representation has no significant effect on service delivery by political officers at Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

# Table 4.5: One-Sample Test

				Test Value = 0		
					95% Confid Intervalo Differen	of the
Hypot hesis	Т	D f	Sig. (2- tailed)	Mean Differen ce	Lower	Upper

Zoning of political positions has no significant effect on service delivery by political officers in the Local Government Areas in Enugu State.	0.052	1 1	.011	11.68222	4.9085	12.455 9
--	-------	--------	------	----------	--------	-------------

#### Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the test of hypothesis above using one sample test-statistics, based on the decision made accept null hypothesis if the value of the t-statistics is greater than 0.05 from the result; the value of the t-statistics (0.529) is greater than 0.05 hence we accept the null hypothesis and conclude that Adequate representation has no significant effect on service delivery by political officers at Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

**Hypothesis 3:** There are no significant Challenges against political consensus by communities at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State

#### Table 4.6: One-Sample Test

		Test Value $= 0$								
					95% Confidence Interva of the Difference					
Hypothesis	Т	Df	Sig.	Mean	Lower	Upper				
			(2-tailed)	Difference						
There are no significant										
Challenges against Zoning of Political Positions at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State.		11	.000	5.03486	4.7421	13.8116				

## Source: Field Survey, 2022

From the test of hypothesis above using one sample test-statistics, based on the decision made accept null hypothesis if the value of the t-statistics is greater than 0.05, from the result; the value of the t-statistics (0.031) is less than 0.05 hence we rejected the null hypothesis and conclude that There are significant Challenges against political consensus by communities at the Local Government Areas in Enugu State

#### 4.2 Discussion of findings

The findings of this study is discussed based on the hypotheses as follows;

## Hypothesis 1

From the responses it was clear that the Rotation of political positions were not strictly adhered to at the local government level the way it was complied with at the state and national levels. In Enugu State, the common practice is that the Governor has the overriding powers to determine or influence the candidates for elections or appointments for political positions at the Local Government. It has been a common practice in Enugu State for major Stakeholders to meet with the State Governor to either request that a particular candidate (s) be accepted by him for appointments or elections for political offices at their various Local Governments. On other hand, the meeting could be for the state governor to present his anointed candidate for the stakeholders from the Local government hence directly or indirectly discouraging other contestants for the position(s) from continuing in the race.

# Hypothesis 2

Findings from this study has shown that from 1999 till 2015 residents and indigenes of the selected communities decried bad governance and poor provision of democracy dividends by virtually all the past and present Local Government Chairmen, Councilors and Supervisory Councilors. These leaders are representing various communities that make up the Local Government. The common views of the respondents were that almost all their leaders are corrupt and have failed irrespective of which communities they come from.

## Hypothesis 3

Responses from this study shows that some communities have used population, ancestral Political and Economic advantages to influence their natives to be nominated for appointments and elections in the Local Government thereby preventing communities from reaching consensus on candidate for the ruling party.

#### 5. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 5,1 Summary of Findings

The findings of the study revealed that two null hypothesis was accepted while one was rejected in line with the decision rule.

- 1. Rotation of political positions has no positive significant effect on good roads strictly adhered to at the Local Governments Areas in Enugu State.
- 2. Equal representation has no significant effect on quality service delivery at Local Governments Areas in Enugu State, hence people crave for good and credible leaders irrespective of their political affiliation and where they hail from
- 3. Political consensus has no positive significant effect on quality education in Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

## **5.2** Conclusion

The zoning principle which was adopted by political parties mostly at the federal and state level was not strictly adhered to, to the same political parties at the local government level. While some communities have had more than one slot of the Chairmanship position, some communities believed to be politically disadvantaged based on their ancestry/migration background are yet to have a slot of the Council chairmanship. However, this study revealed that resident of the study area lamented heavily on bad governance by even their own kinsmen in power. This negates the agitation for power rotation. Even where power was rotated, merit was slaughtered on the altar of political patronage and godfatherism practice.

## 5.3 Recommendations

With regards to the above findings, the study made the following recommendations:

1. Rotation of political positions should be strictly implemented at the Local Government level

to ensure good roads.

- 2. Political parties should consider the candidate that have popularity among the local people and who can deliver the dividends of democracy to the people in their party primaries and in political appointments.
- 3. Political Parties should ensure political consensus that will enhance quality education in Local Government Areas in Enugu State.

#### REFERENCES

- Adamolekun, L. (2016). *The Idea of Nigeria: Two Challenges—Unity in Diversity and Prosperity*. Convocation Lecture Delivered at Lead City University, Ibadan, Nigeria
- Akinola, A. O. (2014). Rethinking Deregulation of the Nigerian Downstream Oil Sector. UPEACE Africa Policy Series, 1, 55-64.
- Ambali. A.R. & Mohammed, A.L. (2016) Sustainable Democracy and Political Domination: A Rotational Presidency among Nigeria Ethnic Groups. *Journal of Administrative Science*, 13 (1). 1-12
- Aiyede, E.R. (2014) Federalism, Power Sharing and the 2011 Presidential Election in Nigeria. Journal of African Elections, 11(1). 31-53
- Awopeju, A., Adelusi, O., & Oluwashakin, A. (2016) Zoning Formula and the Party Politics Nigeria Democracy: A Crossroad for PDP in 2015 Presidential Election. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2 (4). 51-72
- Eme O. (2014). *Human Cost of Boko Haram Activities in Nigeria*, 2004-2014. Germany: Lambert Publishers.
- Ezeibe, C., Abada, I., & Okeke, M. (2016) Zoning of Public Offices, Liberal Democracy and Economic Development in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(3). 327-336
- Fasoranti R. (2014). Nigeria Preparing for War, Not Election. Silverbirdtv.com/news,
- Kamal O & Bello U. (2014). Democracy and Succession Problems in Nigeria: The Fourth Republic Experience. An International Journal of Arts and Humanities, 3 (3). 47-60
- Kabuk, V.S. (2015) Understanding the Politics of Zoning System in Nigeria: A Purview of Rawl's Complex Egalitarianism. *Bassey Andah Journal*, 7 (8). 139-153
- Liebowitz J & Ibrahim J. (2013). A Capacity Assessment of Nigerian Political Parties. *Democratic Governance for Development (DGD) Programme, UNDP, Nigeria.*
- Nkume-Okorie, N.O. (2014) Rotation and Zoning: Extra- Constitutional Frameworks for. Nigeria's Political Stability

- Nwozor, A. (2014) Power Rotation, Ethnic Politics and the Challenges of Democratization in Contemporary Nigeria. *African study Monographs*, 35(1). 1-19
- Ogundiya, I.S. (2018). Political Corruption in Nigeria: Theoretical Perspective and Some Explanations. *The Anthropologist Journal*, 11(4). 281-292

- Olaiya, T.A., Apeloko, D.O. Amanchukwu, I.N., & Shiyanbade, B.W. (2018) Rethinking Zoning Formula as Political Panacea for Ethnic Conflict and Governance Crisis in Nigeria. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4 (26).Pp. 1-14
- Ololajuls, B.O. (2016) 'Eating With One Spoon': Zoning, Power Rotation and Political Corruption in Nigeria. *African studies* 75 (1). 153-169
- Omodia S. (2016). Election, Governance and the Challenge of National Integration in the Nigerian Fourth Republic. *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 5(2). 21-37
- Opeyemi A, Siyaka M & Opeyemi A. (2018). Power Sharing Conundrum and the Challenges of 2015 General Elections in Nigeria. *International Journal of Development and Economic Sustainability*, 2 (3). 9-21
- Robinson, J.A., (2013). The Political Economy of Clientelism. Scandinavian Journal of Economics, 115(2). 260-291.
- Sakanko, M.A., David, J. (2020) The Effect of Democratic Zoning System on Nigeria Economy: Evidence of Nigeria State. *Etikonomy*, 17 (1).Pp. 139-153
- Smith, B. C. (2003). Understanding Third World Politics: Theories of Political Change and Development. New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan
- Terwase, I.T. Abdul-Talib, A.N., & Zengeni, K.T. (2017) Conflict resolution: The truncated zoning arrangement and the Buhari Political Tsunami in Nigeria. *Journal studipemerintahan*
- Yagboyaju, D. A. (2019). Corruption, Democracy and Development: Lessons for Africa and Asia. A paper presented at the seventh annual Ibadan Sustainable Development Summit Marketing Sustainable Development Goal Work for People. University of Ibadan, Nigeria.