

The London School of Economics and Political Science

**The Lagos Model and the Politics of Competing
Conceptions of Good Governance in Oyo State,
Nigeria 2011-2015**

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Declaration

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Abstract

In the context of international agendas to transform African States from a state of corruption to good governance, Oyo State's transformation in 2011 provides an apparent fairy tale case study. For eight years, the state was synonymous with violence and 'godfatherism', but Governor Abiola Ajimobi's election in 2011 brought the promise of transformation, in line with the Lagos Model, based on the highly celebrated example of nearby Lagos State. This thesis draws on six months of in-depth qualitative fieldwork in Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, to show how the Lagos Model in Oyo State leveraged international conceptions of good governance to pursue a political strategy of autonomy from central government, whilst building on long-held progressive political ideas in Yorubaland. However, the Lagos Model faced competition from populist opposition, who drew on the failings of the Lagos Model to meet popular conceptions of good governance. Key themes in popular conceptions of good governance are: progress, legitimate leadership and economic benefits. This thesis analyses the tensions within the Lagos Model's response to these themes and uses empirical material to reveal how these tensions play out in practice. The ways in which Ajimobi was required to respond to numerous competing conceptions of good governance complicates the initial theoretical framing of a binary between corruption and good governance.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Professor WS Richards
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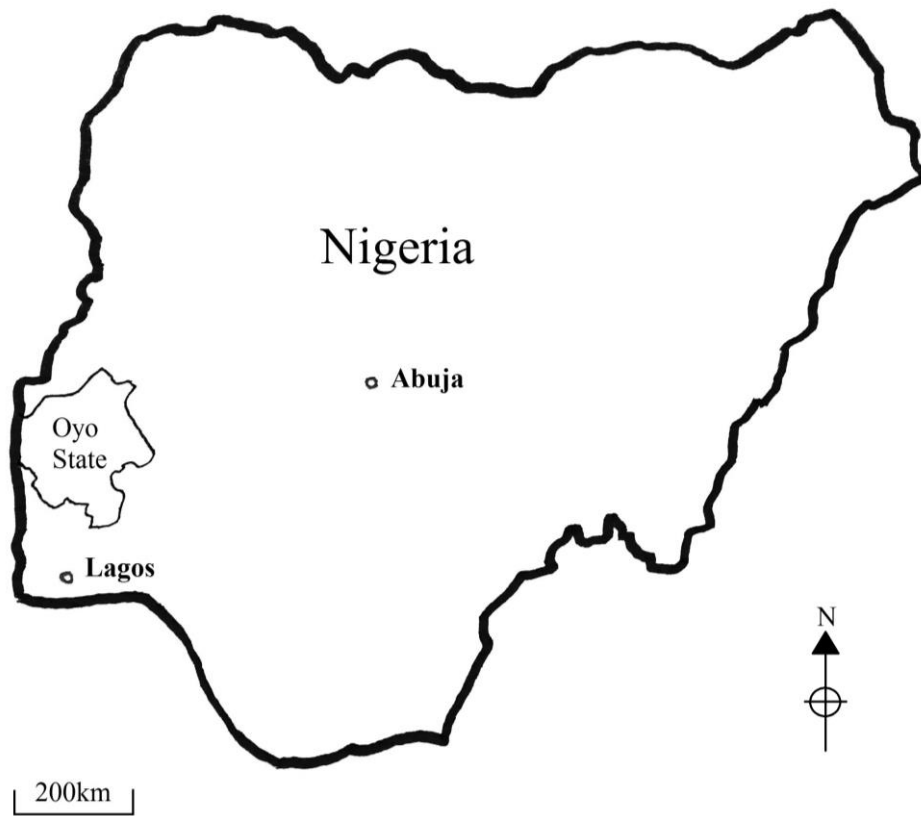
Pg. 153 Figure 2 An example of a modern market in Ibadan

List of Abbreviations

AC	Action Congress
ACM	Ajumose Coalition Movement
ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
AD	Alliance for Democracy
APC	All Progressives Congress
APPP	Africa Power and Politics Programme
BI4P	Bureau for Investment Promotion and Public-Private Partnership
CDC	Community Development Council
CDU	Community Development Unit
DAGS	Director of Administration and General Services
DFID	Department for International Development
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative
HLA	Head of Local Government Administration
HOA	House of Assembly
IGR	Internally Generated Revenue
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KAI	Kick Against Indiscipline
LASTMA	Lagos State Traffic Management Authority
LAWMA	Lagos State Waste Management Authority
LGA	Local Government Area
LSE	London School of Economics and Political Science
MDA	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
NADECO	National Democratic Coalition

NEEDS	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
NEPAD	New Economic Partnership for Africa
NIE	New Institutional Economics
NPM	New Public Management
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPC	Oodua People's Congress
OSSEMAT	Oyo State Socio-Economic Management Team
OYCSDA	Oyo Community and Social Development Agency
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SEEDS	State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
UPN	Unity Party of Nigeria
WGI	World Governance Indicators
YES-O	Youth Employment Scheme of Oyo

Maps of Study Area



Map 1: Oyo State in Nigeria



Map 2: Oyo State

Chapter 1 - Introduction: Oyo State's Transformation and the Standard Story of Corruption to Good Governance in Nigeria

1. Nigeria: From Corruption to 'Good Governance'

Dr Kayode Fayemi, a poster-boy for the Action Congress of Nigeria took office as Governor of Ekiti State in October 2010, after a court ruled that he was the true winner of the 2007 election (*PM News* 2010; Eribake 2010; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2013a). In office he rejected the corruption and embezzling of state funds that had characterised previous administrations. He committed to the policies advocated by the international conception of good governance: reducing the budget deficit, reducing reliance on oil revenues and increasing government effectiveness (*Premium Times Nigeria* 2013b; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2013c). At a time when federal engagement with international institutions was stalling, Ekiti entered a new era of close collaboration with the World Bank, who lauded Fayemi's achievements in education, fiscal responsibility and his track record of implementing donor programmes. He assembled a team who had track records of working with various international agencies including DFID, UNDP and the World Bank (*Channels TV* 2013b; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2013d; 2013e; *Channels TV* 2013a).

Four years later, in the 2014 gubernatorial election, Fayemi was beaten by Ayo Fayose of the PDP. Fayose represented the money-driven politics that had so characterised Nigeria. He was impeached in 2006 and was placed under investigation for corruption by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, who mounted a case against him for stealing at least N416m whilst in office, including buying a Mercedes Benz for his mother (*Premium Times Nigeria* 2013f; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2014a). Coming into the election campaign, Fayose faced outstanding allegations of both corruption and murder and following the election there were reports of extreme electoral misconduct (Gbadebo 2014; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2014b; 2014a; 2015a; *Sahara Reporters* 2015). Months after his election, thug-rule had returned, with men linked to the Governor invading a court room where a case against Fayose was being heard and violently attacking judges and litigants (*Premium Times Nigeria* 2014c).

The 2014 election campaign was marred with violence and some elite supporters of Dr Fayemi were intimidated into silence (*Premium Times Nigeria* 2014d). Whilst the election suffered from misconduct, there were grounds to believe that Fayose nonetheless had significant support among the population. This opened the possibility that the conception of good governance offered by the likes of Fayemi was not necessarily what the majority of people on the ground wanted or considered to be good governance.

The New York Times described the situation surrounding the 2007 election in the following Manichean terms: “Mr. Fayemi’s campaign treads the treacherous middle ground between the high road, on which pro-democracy advocates have traditionally marched directly to defeat, and the bruising, money-driven politics that dominate Nigeria’s electoral contests.” The mainstream interpretation was that there were a virtuous minority of politicians, like Ekiti’s Dr Fayemi, who knew what good governance looked like: “the high road”. Yet, they were forced to make concessions to “money-driven politics” despite it making them ‘uncomfortable’, because, as Fayemi said, “this is what we live with” (Polgreen 2006)

The story of Ekiti State raises major questions about what sort of politics is best able to meet popular needs and demands. It calls into question the assumption that a certain broad model of politics, that which has been promoted by the donor community in developing countries for at least the last 25 years, is best suited to providing development and legitimate government. The international conception of good governance promoted by the World Bank, the UN and OECD bilateral donors has been supported by innumerable loans and reform programmes. The Ekiti case serves as an example of how, when these programmes eventually take effect and developing countries replicate the ‘good governance’ model, they may be rejected in favour of their polar opposite. This raises the possibility that certain core values or needs are overlooked by international conception of good governance.

Nigeria typically fits into broader discussions about corruption and good governance as a prime example of the worst kind politics (Gore and Pratten 2003, 212; Apter 2005; Nolte 2006, 484; Albin-Lackey 2012, 132; Hill 2015, 669). Adebani and Obadare (2013, 6) quote from Joseph’s seminal work on prebendalism (1983) to describe the Nigerian state: “systems of formal authority ... that function as camouflages and operate according to recondite forms of ‘rational irrationality’— legal, paralegal, or even outright illegal.” This understanding of two systems, the formal and the informal operating simultaneously and parasitically, with the formal state as a mere façade, is expressed in the African Politics literature as ‘neopatrimonialism’ (Eisenstadt 1973; Bratton and van de Walle 1994; Erdmann and Engel 2007; Bach and Gazibo 2012). Through Nigeria’s history multiple processes - colonisation, oil politics, military rule, and economic structural adjustment - have resulted in the “alienation of the ruled from the rulers” and an ongoing “crisis of governance” in the country (Awe 1999, 1; Akinwale and Aderinto 2012).

2. Oyo State: The Fairy Tale Transformation

Against this background of corruption and disaster, this thesis is about an apparent fairy tale exception which was unfolding in the south-west of the country. Noting that good governance is “not a concept normally associated with Nigeria”, the Financial Times commented in 2012 that in Lagos State, “things have started to turn around” (*Financial Times* 2012). An academic commentator writing in the New York Times in 2014 agreed that Lagos “seems to have turned a corner” and is “well governed and thriving” despite being a “slum-ridden and largely impoverished metropolis” (Kaplan 2014). Over 12 years, between 1999 and 2011, the Lagos State government had undertaken wide-ranging reforms to create order and cleanliness in the state and jump-start private sector-led development, with the help of sustained input from donors like DFID and the World Bank (DFID 2007; House of Commons 2009; DFID 2014).

In Oyo State, a state of 6million people a few hours drive from Lagos, the transformation was even more rapid (NPC 2006). In 2007 Oyo State was among four states highlighted by Human Rights Watch (Human Rights Watch 2007) as exhibiting some of the worst ‘Godfather politics’ in the country. Godfathers are powerful men who position themselves as political patrons, mobilising both state and personal resources to build up a network of ‘protégés’ under their control (Omobowale and Olutayo 2007; Albin-Lackey 2012; Animasawun 2013; Hoffman and Nolte 2013). Human Rights Watch reported on Rashidi Ladoja, the former state Governor’s, attempt to escape the yoke of Oyo’s most powerful godfather, Lamidi Adedibu, which resulted in violence, a dubious impeachment and the installation of a new Governor more compliant with Adedibu’s demands for access to the state treasury (Human Rights Watch 2007). The new, Adedibu-approved, Governor was subsequently re-elected in elections marred with irregularities later exposed in court (O. Ajayi 2007).

Yet in 2011, the PDP lost the Oyo gubernatorial election to a candidate from the Action Congress of Nigeria, a progressive party that had, for over a decade, won international acclaim for their achievements transforming nearby Lagos. Abiola Ajimobi won the election with around 40% of the vote and proceeded to make radical changes to the state, in line with the technocratic Lagos Model (*Sahara Reporters* 2011). Ajimobi’s track record matched the prescriptions of the international good governance agenda: governance reforms to make the civil service more efficient, the reduction of state involvement in the economy and the use of public-private partnerships (PPPs) to deliver public goods.

Oyo State is a key example for studying how the Lagos Model plays out in a new terrain. Lagos, where the state and the city are broadly coterminous, is the modern business capital of Nigeria, with a huge economy estimated at \$90bn in 2014 and host to the headquarters of major international and regional corporations. It hovers between the 10th and 5th biggest economies in Africa, bigger than whole countries such as Cote D'Ivoire and Kenya (Oni and Nwagwu 2015; Kazeem 2016; *Vanguard News* 2016). Oyo State, and its capital, Ibadan, in particular, is the traditional heart of Yorubaland. The state is home to the seats of the Old Oyo Empire, Oyo Town, and has been the regional hegemon since the nineteenth century Yoruba wars. By the middle of the twentieth century, Ibadan was the political and administrative centre of the whole of what was then Western Region.

Whilst Ibadan lacks the international commercial importance of Lagos, it is still the second biggest city in the South West Zone, and has one of the highest population densities in Nigeria. Ibadan's GDP in 2011 was US\$9.5bn, making it bigger than the neighbouring Benin Republic (NPC 2006; FrontierStrategyGroup 2011). This means that whilst Oyo State is home to only 10% of the population of the South West zone, it enjoys a much greater hold on the Yoruba imagination than its current size would suggest (NBS 2013). It is the next natural step to investigate how the Lagos Model plays out in Oyo State with a focus on Ibadan.

Moreover, Oyo State is a pertinent case with regards engagement with the international conception of good governance via donor programmes. Most developing countries which adopted good governance reforms did so as a result of conditionality, for example as part of the eligibility requirements for debt relief under the heavily indebted poor countries initiative (Stewart and Wang 2003). However, there are a number of states who have undertaken good governance reforms, and entered into partnerships with major donors, namely the World Bank, via a very different route. Some states approached the World Bank seeking partnerships (World Bank 2010a). Oyo State presents a case study of such a 'self-selecting' good governance state. It had almost no donor involvement between 2003 and 2011. The securing of \$200m from the World Bank for a major flood defences project later that year was celebrated by the administration as vindication of their good governance credentials (*The Guardian Nigeria* 2015).

3. Aims of the Thesis: Political Values in the Study of African Politics

Alex de Waal's 2015 study of the Horn of Africa promised to go beyond the naivety and bluster of the development industry and shine a light on the "real politics" of Africa. Rather than building towards the lofty goals of state-building, real politics is a "political marketplace" where everything is up for sale. Supply and demand – of money, loyalty, arms and natural resources – interweaves with violence as a value-signalling mechanism (Waal 2015). On this view, to understand politics we must see it as essentially practical and instrumental. Driven by self-interest, politics in Africa is a means to an end.

This thesis seeks to make a contribution to the understanding of politics in Nigeria from the opposing direction. If politics is a means to an end, then what are the ends? Despite the widely noted failure of successive governments to fulfil citizens' expectations, it does not mean that there are not rich conceptions of good governance against which political figures and the state are being evaluated.

Traditional themes of ideological debate, like class and the role of the state, were fiercely debated by Nigerian and foreign intellectuals in the 1970s and 1980s (Ayoade 1985; Williams 1974). Surrounded by neighbours that had formally declared allegiance to Scientific Socialism, and caught between rival Cold War powers, the ideological orientation of the country appeared to be a genuine and pressing choice to make. After the military coup of 1984 there were intense discussions of the need to draw on ideology to foment social and economic change (Yusif 1984). The ensuing decade and a half of military rule, combined with disastrous Structural Adjustment Policies, effectively shut down such debates (Agbaje and Guyer 2002).

From the 1990s Nigeria came to be seen as a country without politics or ideology; any political disagreements between constituencies were cast as the result of competition for resources between ethnic or regional blocks (Osaghae 1994; Osaghae 1992). Nigerian commentators tend to see the "poverty of ideology" as a weakness in politics (Aleyomi 2013, 289; Omotola 2009). Nigerian parties promote neopatrimonial ethnic politics, rather than programmatic appeals (Cheeseman 2014, 17–18; Ikeanyibe 2008). Political commentators in the domestic press identified a lack of ideology as one of the factors in Nigeria's failure to mature politically, and linked this to corruption and self-aggrandisement (Odebode 2013).

Rather, what mattered for development was governance, which could be measured against a number of indices (Cleen Foundation 2010; Amundsen 2010). This gave rise to the

conception of Nigerian politics that dominated academic and policy discussions from 1999 onwards: ideologically undifferentiated parties competing to control venality and patronage, occasionally punctuated by virtuous, but unsuccessful, interjections from civil society and a tragic but high-minded progressive opposition.

Broadly, the binary between corruption and good governance, is reproduced in the mainstream understanding of Nigeria as a country caught between the failures of the formal system and the insidious venality of an informal system. The ongoing popularity of analysis of Nigerian politics as prebendal or neo-patrimonial is part of this mainstream interpretation (Albin-Lackey 2012; Adebawo and Obadare 2013). However, this dual systems interpretation is reductive and constructs an idea of Nigerian politics as being vacant of any normative political values. This sense of Nigeria being a vacuum, leads to the claim that once corruption is washed away then good governance must be built up from scratch. JNC Hill writes that “few places in the world today are more synonymous with corruption. Checks, balances, political offices and layers of government, therefore, all need to be designed and empowered with this in mind” (Hill 2015, 669) According to this view, the entire toolbox of government needs to be 'designed', summoned out of thin air and donor policy papers, as if there were no existing institutions that are worth building upon.

4. Research Question

The question this thesis seeks to answer is: what were the politics of good governance in Oyo State between 2011 and 2015 and how did different conceptions of good governance play out in political competition?

This is broken down into three sub-topics. The first sub-topic addresses the interface between international conceptions of good governance, as represented by the good governance agenda of the World Bank and the donor community, and the Lagos Model. Is the Lagos Model a direct replication of international models or is it simply a way of paying lip service to international standards whilst maintaining existing models of governance? Alternatively, does the Lagos Model represent a genuine moment of African innovation and agency?

The second sub-topic is the different conceptions of good governance that form the normative environment into which good governance reforms are received. What are the popular conceptions of good governance that challenge Ajimobi's agenda and how are they mediated through the day-to-day realities of political competition? What are the mechanisms by which people in Oyo State hold their leaders to account and ensure transparency of government, and how do leaders show themselves to be accountable and transparent?

The final sub-topic focuses on the way that those leaders who are committed to a reformist good governance programme navigate between different conceptions of good governance and popular demands. How does the Oyo State government under Abiola Ajimobi respond to efforts to hold it accountable to differing conceptions of good governance? What are the contradictions and tensions involved in making a break with existing models of governance and how does this play out politically?

Chapter Overview:

The thesis is made up of nine chapters. This introduction is the first chapter. **Chapter two** reviews the literature on governance, looking both at conceptions of good governance that have been developed 'from above', among international institutions, political science scholars and donors, and 'from below', that is, how grassroots systems of governance and conceptions of good governance have been studied. It also considers the intersection of the two, how donors have at times sought to replace grassroots governance, and at others sought to harness it.

Chapter three presents the historical background to the case and the methodology and methods. It considers how the research question can best be answered through certain sorts of data collection, and how data can and should be used to produce knowledge. Within this chapter there are also reflections on how my identity as a scholar, and my position in global systems of power, influenced the data I was able to collect and my interpretations thereof.

The remaining chapters form the substantive argument of the thesis. Together they seek to answer the main research question about the competing conceptions of good governance in Oyo State between 2011 and 2015. The sub-topics are woven through the chapters.

Chapter four lays out indigenous notions of good governance, and shows how they oppose the corrupt and venal politics of Oyo's recent past. It highlights enduring themes and reference points in politics in Oyo State and Yorubaland more generally. These are a desire for long-term progress, for immediate economic benefits for the poor majority, and that leaders are legitimate. The broad lines of political thought in Oyo State are set out, emphasising the historical roots of progressive and populist politics. It draws on a variety of key moments in the history of Oyo State, drawing out the interactions between these lines and how each responded to popular needs left unmet by the other. It explains the contemporary politics of Oyo State leading up to 2011. The chapter shows how, in the years before 2011, the elite preferences of 'kingmakers' in Oyo state were starting to shift. Increasingly the ostentatiously corrupt serving Governor became a liability for Oyo State elites in a broader national and international environment that was gradually cracking down on corrupt practices.

Chapter five introduces the Lagos Model, a set of governance principles, reforms and policies first pioneered by Lagos State governors between 1999-2015. Through the political patronage of Bola Tinubu, the Lagos Model has been exported to other neighbouring states in the Southwest Yoruba region of Nigeria. Oyo is one of the states where the model has been replicated closely since 2011. The Lagos Model draws not only on international conceptions of good governance, but is heavily based on older Yoruba progressive ideas and groups. These ideas combine with new aspects of international good governance, such as the enthusiasm for the international private sector, to form a new and distinctive conception of good governance. The Lagos Model leverages the idea of good governance as part of a long-running political strategy to achieve independence from central government, which for decades was controlled by hostile rival factions. The chapter first sets out the Lagos Model in its original form in Lagos State before rendering its implementation in Oyo. Whilst the Lagos Model has been effective at radically expanding the provision of public goods, the

associated policies have problematic implications favouring elites and legitimising inequality.

Chapters six, seven and eight take the framework of the three key themes of popular demands in Yoruba politics and uses each to explore the tensions within the Lagos Model, and between the Lagos Model and popular conceptions of good governance. In-depth qualitative examples are used to explore the political and economic consequences of these tensions in Oyo State between 2011 and 2015.

Chapter six looks at the tensions inherent in building a political programme around ‘progress’ and the responses to it on the ground. It presents an in-depth case study of traders who were cleared from the roadside as part of urban renewal and were eventually relocated to a newly-built, government-sponsored neighbourhood market. It takes as its starting point the puzzle of why some traders have remained in the market despite making almost no sales. It explores the experiences and hopes of the traders who remained, and compares them with those of traders who went back to the roadside. The Lagos Model discursively constructs an enlightened public, who will understand its transformative policies and to whom it can be accountable. Whilst the traders who remain, many at great economic cost, construct themselves as members of the ‘enlightened public’ a major factor in their ability to remain is participation in party patronage networks linked to the Governor. Therefore, a flagship policy of the Lagos Model, with its transformative technocratic aspirations, is made possible through the Governor’s engagement with contrasting forms of governance.

Chapter seven explores the tensions within the theme of legitimate leadership, exploring conflicting conceptions of accountability and transparency, and how they played out in political competition. In the pursuit of the Lagos Model’s conception of accountability as performance, Ajimobi centralised decision-making and government spending within key agencies in the executive branch of the state government. Whilst centralisation increased the government’s capacity to deliver certain public goods, it reduced accountability downwards to various democratic and political actors. This reflects the tensions within the international conception of good governance between effectiveness and accountability. The chapter then draws on a variety of in-depth interviews to reconstruct the values that define legitimate leadership within popular conceptions of good governance: transparency in people and accountability as accessibility. It then considers two case studies of how these popular notions came into tension with the tendency, supported by both the Lagos Model and international good governance agenda, towards the ‘politics of insulation’ and the increasing internationalisation and regionalisation of Ajimobi’s economic strategy.

Chapter eight focuses on the tensions surrounding Ajimobi's response to popular demands for short-term economic benefits. During elections, demands couched in the popular conceptions of good governance become much more powerful. Democratic accountability mechanisms give the electorate the ability to sanction the government by voting them out of office. Ajimobi's team believed that they risked losing the 2015 election if they continued with the unpopular elements of urban renewal and did not show themselves to be sensitive to alternative conceptions of good governance. How do governments navigate the tensions between three conflicting conceptions of good governance: the international, the Lagos Model and popular conceptions? What policies do they enact to meet the demands of one conception, and how are those policies constrained by the demands of other conceptions? Is it possible to simultaneously meet the demands of all three?

The final chapter, **chapter nine**, concludes the thesis, summarising the main findings on each of the sub-topics and drawing out the overall implications for answering the primary research question. It considers the overall logics of the politics of good governance in Oyo State.

Chapter 2 - Governance from Above and Below

Introduction

The chapter starts with debates over good governance, as advanced by the World Bank and other donors from the late 1980s onwards. It sets out how the good governance model aimed to create a strong, lean state to facilitate market-led development. Criticism focused on the way that good governance reforms were imposed on developing countries, strengthening top-down accountability to donors, and impeding the implementation of bottom-up models of good governance. It considers four key debates: whether good governance should be accurately seen as technical or political, whether claims to the universal nature of good governance are justified, the debate between choiceless democracies and national ownership, and finally whether the evolution of good governance beyond conditionality provides opportunities for agency or replicates coercive relationships.

Section 2 turns to the literature on the relationship between patrimonialism and good governance. After considering the way that neopatrimonialism came to be seen as the opposite of good governance, and an obstacle to development, it turns to the possibility of developmental patrimonialism providing good governance. The developmental patrimonialism literature argues that strong states with centralised control can draw on informal, patrimonial institutions to deliver developmental governance. This literature offers a view of bottom-up governance insofar as elites at the national level can control and leverage existing informal institutions, the same institutions that are seen as obstacles to good governance by the mainstream good governance school, and harness them in the interests of private-sector led development.

The chapter proceeds by considering debates over what bottom-up governance means. Section 3 covers two literatures that seek to highlight actually existing bottom-up governance structures: practical norms and hybrid governance. Authors writing from these perspectives argue that, regardless of modernist 'state ideas', governance in African states is piece-meal, improvised and involves a plethora of state and non-state actors. "Good enough governance" can be achieved through hybrids of formal and informal institutions delivering public goods. Bottom-up for these literatures means studying governance in areas of weak statehood and peripheries (Reyntjens 2016, 362).

The fourth section shifts the focus from elites in developing countries to the masses or the "grassroots", and asks how the governed evaluate the institutions they are subject to and how they conceive of good governance. It looks at debates over how principles and concepts

from the good governance framework are enacted and interpreted by voters, constituents and clients, and considers what alternative concepts furnish popular ideas of good governance in different contexts.

Section five concludes by drawing out the broad themes of how each core literature conceives of the relationship between good governance and politics.

1. The Good Governance Debate

In the 1980s World Bank and IMF policy was largely focussed on rolling back the state and freeing markets to drive ‘accelerated development’ in Africa and other developing countries, motivated by neo-classical understandings of economics (World Bank 1981). This came to be known as the Washington Consensus and included policies aimed at deregulation of the economy, financial liberalization (McKinnon 1973), privatization, abolitions of trade and investment barriers, and more careful and restricted public expenditure (Williamson 2004, 197). The record, both in terms of policy implementation and of the effects of such policies were patchy (World Bank 1990; Nelson 1990; Leftwich 1993, 363; Mosley and Weeks 1993). The implementation problems of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) showed that government capacity was vital to whether reforms were actually implemented; SAPs were implemented most fully where the state was strongest, rather than where it had been radically rolled back (Leftwich 1994, 366–68). Whereas some scholars credited the failure of SAPs to the political and distributional consequences of economic reforms (Herbst 1990; Mosley, Harrigan, and Toye 1995; Williams 1994), the World Bank and IMF located the source of failure in the corruption, lack of capacity and incompetence of many state bureaucracies (World Bank 1989; 1991; 1994, 8; Lancaster 1993, 9).

Good governance represented a step away from the Washington Consensus. With Western governments increasingly interested in democratisation and human rights abroad (Leftwich 1994, 363), market reforms were no longer sufficient. Good governance emerged from a recognition of some of the excesses of radical pro-market reforms (Toye 1987) and paid attention instead to the institutional environment that ‘makes markets work well’ (Stiglitz 2005; Ahrens 1999; Serra and Stiglitz 2008). At a time when there were calls to ‘bring the state back in’ (Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol 1985), proponents of good governance argued that strong and effective, but pared down, state institutions were needed to build ‘market-friendly’ economies (Aoki, Murdock, and Okuno-Fujiwara 1995; Streeten 1996). The role of the state should be one of ‘steering, not rowing’, also summarised as ‘governing without government’ (Rhodes, 1996). Thus governance, defined by the World Bank as “the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good” (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2010, 3), emerged as a way of understanding public authority as exercised by a range of state and non-state actors (Resnick and Birner 2006, 8). The good governance agenda was developed and refined primarily by the World Bank but it was adopted ubiquitously across the donor community and international

institutions including agencies within the OECD, the UN, bilateral donors like USAID, AUSAID and DFID (Akhmouch 2012; UN 2009; DFID 2007).

Good governance drew on three intellectual traditions. Neo-classical economics, which had also provided the intellectual justification for Structural Adjustment, emphasised the role of markets and the private sector in development. It would not be the “direct provider of growth but as a partner, catalyst, and facilitator” (World Bank 1997, 1) New Institutional Economics, and Douglas North’s work in particular, developed the models of neo-classical economics to include a central focus on institutions (North 1990b; 1990a; 2003; North et al. 2007; North, Wallis, and Weingast 2009). New institutional economists argued that ‘getting the institutions right’ was the most important factor in development (Rodrik 2004). The final influence, was New Public Management, a philosophy of public management reform that was influential in Western governments reforms in the 1970s and 1980s. It was New Public Management (NPM) that provided the groundwork for conceptualising accountability in the public sector and the role of the private sector in government (Barberis 1998; E. Chang, Golden, and Hill 2010; Choup 2010; Fombad 2013; Hood 1991, 3–4). NPM was based on the belief that ‘proven’ private sector management techniques should be applied to state and public sector bodies (Hood 1991, 6; Pierre 2009, 596).

A core set of principles for good governance was effectiveness, the ability to achieve a defined result or implement a desired policy, and efficiency, the ability to achieve a defined output with minimal inputs of time and resources (World Bank 1992; 1994; 1995; Dollar 1998; Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2007). These in turn shaped conceptions of normative values such as accountability and transparency. Writers within the ‘Post-Washington Consensus’ that developed around good governance, argued that the role of accountability was as an instrument to effective public administration. Ahrens describes accountability as one of handful of qualities that are “required for the sound management of public resources, an enabling environment for the private sector and a productive partnership between the public and private sectors” (Ahrens 1999, 18). Bureaucrats were to be accountable to performance goals, that could be measured typically with quantitative metrics, with an increase in value for monetary audits (Day and Klein 1987; World Bank 1992, 19). As the World Development Report from 1997 explained: “Even the best-intentioned government is unlikely to meet collective needs efficiently if it does not know what many of those needs are” (World Bank 1997, 10) Accountability was about keeping governments on track to meet service delivery goals. The contracting out of government services to private firms through competitive bids and auctions was seen as a way of enhancing effectiveness and accountability, just as competition in the market makes firms accountable to consumer demand. Framed in a conception of the state where its primary role

is to facilitate the delivery of services via ‘agents’, accountability came to be seen as a principal-agent problem such that the primary function of accountability mechanisms is to ensure that there is minimal delegation costs when agents carry out these tasks on behalf of states (World Bank 1992, 6, 13).

Overall the push for ‘economic accountability’ was to reduce spending and reduce the expanse of the state, with the focus on “wages issues”, “white elephants” and “ghost workers”. In this context, the secondary component of “monitoring and evaluation” of government performance meant the monitoring of spending cuts and the evaluation of how far the government was reducing inefficiencies. Policy-making was to be insulated from representative institutions which might derail technocratic policies with “distributive claims of pressure groups”, which needed to be ‘locked in’ to provide “stabilized expectations regarding a new set of incentive structures and the confidence that these cannot be arbitrarily altered” (Ahrens 1999, 27; World Bank 1995). Good governance gave the public a role in facilitating accountability and efficiency at the “micro-level”, not as citizens but “as recipients of public services” who could monitor service delivery through their interactions with services and give feedback (World Bank 1992, 14; 2004).

The World Bank defines transparency as “the citizenry’s right to know and access to information” (Kaufmann and Bellver 2005, 1). It has been conceived of in a variety of ways by the Bank, reflecting shifting agendas, but is consistently understood as an instrument, alongside accountability, for increased efficiency. In the economic realm, transparency replaces market competition as a constraint on the state’s position as a monopoly provider of certain goods. Moreover, a transparent state gives the private sector more predictability to make good business decisions (World Bank 1992, 3). Making the state more accountable to citizens and society was seen as a means of enhancing efficiency of public good provision. Transparency opens government activities to public scrutiny, resulting in public pressure on governments to perform better and reduce corruption (Rose-Ackerman 1996; Stiglitz 1998; Stiglitz 1999). Ordinary people needed “easy access to information on the workings of public programs intended for their benefit” to empower them to demand better services and monitor officials (Reinikka and Svensson 2003, 2; *Independent Commission for Aid Impact* 2013).

The World Bank is constrained by its Articles of Agreement from interfering in the “political affairs of its members” (World Bank 2012, IV.10). However, the World Bank espoused increasingly expansive visions of its capacity to change institutions (Grindle 2007, 571), with one influential report remarking that donors “need to get beyond projects and spur *systemic change in whole sectors and countries*” [italics added] (Dollar 1998, 103). Indeed,

at times the World Bank has noted the tendency for issues designated as ‘technical’ to merge with broader political issues. A 1995 World Bank report noted “it is not really possible to separate out macroeconomic policy reforms and other items of the reform agenda” as all areas of structural and institutional reform are “complementary, and it is not possible to advance very far in one without advances in other areas.” (World Bank 1995, iii, v; Sandbrook 1995, 286)

Leftwich argues that the good governance focus on “apparently politically-neutral” recommendations was a “sleight of hand” as such changes would inevitably have profound political effects. The shift to a focus on governance represented neoliberal trends in economic and public policy in the World Bank and IMF, and its most influential member states, consisting of “not just an economic vision but a political one” (Leftwich 1994, 368). This connected good governance to long-running debates about unequal relations between donors and recipient countries (Hayter 1971; Lonsdale 1986), pitching the idea of ‘choiceless democracies’ (Mkandawire 1998, 1999) against a belief that reforms could be an expression of ‘national ownership’ (Lawson 2004).

Critics of good governance questioned both the appropriateness of the donor community’s technical approach to development, and pointed towards its nonetheless political consequences. The good governance paradigm was seen as “managerial” and guilty of the technicist fallacy: the belief that human affairs are susceptible to an administrative ‘fix’ (Leftwich 1994, 363). Critics challenged how the technicist conception of governance gave a falsely consensual and uncontroversial impression of what governments should do; as if choices and trade-offs were unnecessary in the face of universally applicable ‘technical fixes’ (Polzer 2001, 7; Newell and Bellour 2002, 9). The creation of central banks independent from ministries of finance was a prime example of this, allowing economic expertise to determine interest rates, rather than political or policy goals (Mas 1995; Maxfield 1997). However, the division between political and technical aspects of state action was contested. One major critique was that good governance reforms incorrectly cast important and controversial aspects of government actions as technical, and therefore outside of democratic control (Sousa 2002). Critics argued that questions of economics and distribution, such as government spending, taxes and how government structures access economic opportunities and rents, were all key questions of politics and should not be “screened off” from the pressures of civil society and elected representatives¹ (Mkandawire

¹ Moreover, the evidence on whether ‘technicisation’ leads to better outcomes even on traditional economic criteria is mixed (Bruni and Masciandaro 1991; Beck, Cull, and Jerome 2005).

1998; Bangura 1999, 9). Mkandawire called this the “politics of insulation” and questioned whether such drives to enhance effectiveness at the cost of accountability would be seen in a positive light were they to be undertaken in authoritarian settings (Mkandawire 1999, 338).

This debate echoed wider concerns within public administration about the effects of New Public Management in developed countries. There were fears that the profound changes in public service delivery including “devolution, privatisation, agencification, management reform, new forms of collaborative strategies and contracting out” (Pierre 2009, 592) had outstripped equivalent innovations in political accountability (Hood 1991; Mulgan 2000). As the state was remodelled according to market mechanisms, citizens came to play the role of customers, concerned primarily with their own individualised experience of the state, foregoing a capacity for collective consciousness or debates about distribution (Bozeman 2007; Pierre 2009, 593).

Whilst the World Bank was forced to maintain that good governance was not political, Western governments were more forceful and explicit in their equating political liberalism with economic liberalism (Leftwich 1994, 368). Bilateral donor institutions, like USAID, explicitly linked good governance to democracy (Sandbrook 1995, 280).

To describe a mode of governance as ‘good’ is to make a normative claim about values in politics and what governments should do. There are marked differences between scholars as to the status of that normative claim. Universalists argue that the normative claims in asserting what is ‘good’ governance and what is not, are essentially universal, and thus global comparisons and rankings can be devised using universal criteria (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2010; Dollar 1998; Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2007). Others have argued that such universalism is misplaced because what is considered ‘good’ governance varies from context to context, reflecting the power and interests of those defining it (Kurtz and Schrank 2007, 564).

Scholars writing from a critical or postcolonial perspective have argued that a normative universalism leads to agendas being imposed on developing countries by rich developed nations, not to further good governance but to replicate a set of unequal economic and social relations (Mkandawire 2005; Mkandawire 2007; Wai 2012). Good governance “narrowed the policy agenda in most African countries, and the influence of citizens have been severely curtailed by the power of donors and creditors” (Abrahamsen 2000, xiv) The nature of the macro-economic reforms required by donors throughout the good governance era foreclosed many of the demands that governments faced from their populations (Moncrieffe 1998: 400), and cast the opposition of elites and the urban working class to reform as illegitimate and rent-seeking (Bangura 1994, 300). Mkandawire notes that conditionalities associated

with good governance “severely limit the choices of new democracies” creating “societies which can vote but cannot chose” (Przeworski et al. 1999:84) or “choiceless democracies” (Mkandawire 1998).

Another major criticism of good governance was that the policies and reforms were actually harmful to development. Scholars argued that they imposed a neoliberal economic agenda very similar to the earlier Structural Adjustment Policies, which increased poverty and inequality (Barya 1993, 16–17; Mkandawire 2005, 13; Gills and Rocamora 1992; Di Puccio 2014, 113). This included demands for financial liberalization, bringing interest rates into line with the market, and dissolving or privatisating national development banks (World Bank 1994; Lewis and Stein 1997). The debt servicing obligations of African countries continued to grow over the late 1980s and early 1990s as good governance reforms were introduced (Helleiner 1992). Monetary policy that targeted low inflation, rather than growth, and the forced shrinkage of the state and the limits on public sector employment meant that governments had to resist many demands that emerged from democratic and political institutions such as unions and civil society (Mkandawire 2005, 1). One report labelled Structural Adjustment Policies as “ the largest single cause of increased poverty, inequality and hunger in developing countries” (SAPRI Network 2013).

Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) tried to address concerns about the top-down character of good governance prescriptions. Developed first in 1999, PRSPs promised a shift away from the imposition of economic policies by IFIs towards ‘national ownership’ of reforms, putting recipient countries “in the driving seat” (Levy and Kpundeh 2004; Booth 2004; Cheru 2006, 355). Later iterations of PRSPs aimed at increasing downwards accountability for “pro-poor growth”. Donors stipulated that governments must consult with civil society groups to formulate PRSPs (Driscoll and Evans 2005; World Bank 2005a).

Assessments of whether this worked in practice vary. Some argued that PRSPs did indeed represent a real but tentative step towards improving national ownership of poverty reduction programmes and inclusion of the poor (Booth 2005; Cheru 2006; World Bank 2005a), albeit on highly circumscribed ‘liberal’ terms (Craig and Porter 2005).

Critics argued that PRSPs reproduced the same power relations just in a new form, and were skewed in favour of donors rather than beneficiaries. Some case studies suggested that civil society engagement was superficial, and often with unrepresentative NGOs lacking “disciplinary bite” (Hickey and Mohan 2008, 234; Brown 2004). They point to how donors retained final sign off on the PRSPs and that they were, like SAPs, imposed on recipient states as part of the conditions for eligibility for debt-cancellation under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) (Stewart and Wang 2003; Brett 2003; Lawson

2004). The most forceful critiques argued that the supposed innovations of poverty reduction and participation included in PRSPs were simply superficial ‘illusions’ (Dijkstra 2011) obscuring the harmful neoliberal policies that remained unchanged since SAPs (Hellinger, Hansen-Kuhn, and Fehling 2001; Gould and Ojanen 2003; Warnock and Gaag 2002; Saasa and Carlsson 2002; Abrahamsen 2004a).

The choiceless democracies argument focuses on the way that good governance reforms are imposed on countries, leaving them with no option but to comply, and in so doing reducing their chances of development. However, since the early 2000s, donors including the World Bank and DFID have argued that innovations in good governance programmes increased national control and ownership over development. They moved away from conditionality to a model of selectivity, where funds are allocated to countries that have already proven their willingness and ability to implement reform (World Bank 2005c; Nanda 2006).

There are four main interpretations of how these moves to partnership and selectivity have affected the relationships of power and accountability between national governments and donors. Some see good governance reforms as always coercive, despite the ideas of partnership. Others see space for African states to assert agency, though in different ways.

The first line of argument is that the power of donors to push their agenda on governance is no less strong for being more diffuse. Governance indices, such as the World Governance Indicators (WGI)², have broadened the scope of the scrutiny to cover all countries, not just those who are subject to conditionalities, and has opened the way to governance being used as an eligibility criterion for donor programmes (thought not at the World Bank itself) (D. Thomas 2013, 33; Arndt 2008, 278; Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2007, 1; Millennium Challenge Corporation 2015). From a positivist standpoint this can be understood as showing governance indices having reputational effects (Arndt 2008, 283). Whilst the direct sanctioning power of conditionality is reduced, Abrahamsen’s quote from the Chairman of the African Union on the NEPAD Peer Review Mechanism in Ghana in 2004 suggests that compliance still has clear material implications in terms of resource distribution. He explains

² Most widely used is Kaufman et al.’s Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), which uses over 30 data sources to give yearly assessments of governance perceptions in over 200 countries (Arndt 2008). The WGI measures six dimensions of governance: Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law and Control of Corruption (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2009). These have been extensively critiqued on statistical, data quality grounds and conceptual grounds (Arndt and Oman 2006; Kurtz and Schrank 2006; Langbein and Knack 2010; Knack 2006; M. A. Thomas 2010).

that “Punishment will come by itself because investors will shy away” (Abrahamsen 2004b, 1461). From this perspective national governments are still coerced into implementing good governance reforms, but the sequence has changed: funding is now being used as a carrot rather than its withdrawal threatened as a stick. Moreover, the funding comes from markets rather than aid donors.

Others have pointed out the ways that relationships between aid-dependent national governments and donors become arenas for agency in different ways. In some cases, African national governments are adept at retaining sufficient power to still do what they want to do. By investing resources and reputation in the future success of certain regimes, donors are in a “symbiotic relationship” with countries and face huge costs if they withdraw (Hanlon 2004, 747–48; Arndt 2008, 283–84). Donors in Kenya and Mozambique in the 1990s were incentivised to overlook and forgive repeated infringements of conditionality by key members of the national ruling classes, to maintain the appearance of aid success (Brown 2001; Hanlon 2004). In other cases, national elites have skilfully instrumentalized their relationship with donors to advance their political and private interests whilst evading sanction, as with the southern bias in the implementation of Ghana’s PRSP (Abdulai and Hulme 2014). The thrust of this line of argument is that national government elites have interests and motives that diverge from what donors require for good governance, and they retain the power to pursue their own interests despite donor involvement.

By contrast, there is some empirical literature that explores cases where the interests and motives of national governments in fact align with good governance. By enacting elements of good governance policies, and invoking its discursive aspects, national governments demonstrate agency. Case studies suggest that good governance reforms can empower certain groups over others. The new government of Georgia enthusiastically embraced good governance in the aftermath of the Rose Revolution in 2003, and took steps towards establishing a ‘Good Governance Strategy’ in 2005. This helped the new regime to ‘rebrand’ and distinguish itself from its predecessor, whilst ensuring external validation and international support for the members of the new government (Di Puppò 2014, 113–17). Within the civil service in Malawi and Ghana, reforms associated with the small-government imperatives of good governance can be useful for younger more cosmopolitan staff to assert themselves over the ‘old guard’ (Anders 2014; Lentz 2014). Where the World Bank and donors are keen to work with “champions of reform” in otherwise hostile environments (Dollar 1998, 116), there needs to be more work on how local actors appropriate such a role and use it to create new opportunities.

Abrahamsen offers a less optimistic interpretation of what it means for local actors to identify themselves with ‘good governance’. She argues that aid-conditionality is a form of Lukes’ first dimension of power as coercion. That is, where donors make states do that which they would not do otherwise. Its second dimension is controlling what is and is not permitted on the political agenda (Crawford 2003; Abrahamsen 2004b, 1458–59; Lukes 2004, 23–24). Selectivity and the rise of development partnerships should be understood as Lukes’ third dimension of power, the “ability to form the very interests and values that determine action in the first place”. Lukes describes this as more insidious “as it makes people accept their own domination” (Lukes 2004, 23-4). Sections of the elite governing class have internalised the neoliberal values of global governance, obscuring their real interests (Craig and Porter 2003; Pender 2001), as Harrison suggests has happened in Uganda and Tanzania (G. Harrison 2001). This is the ‘false consciousness’ argument, and scholars have built on it with Foucault’s idea of ‘governmentality’. This emphasises the role of consent and ‘self-discipline’ in subject formation of the ideal state, via “freedom as a formula of rule”. Death’s study of the 2002 Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development shows how power works through shaping new forms of legitimate and illegitimate action (Death 2010). Developing country states ‘responsibilise’ themselves (Löwenheim 2008, 255) as “the onus is on them to prove that they are committed, responsible and willing to govern themselves wisely” (Abrahamsen 2004b, 1459–61)

Distinguishing between which of these four accounts best explains any one case is difficult, as it requires studying both what governments are doing and how their actions relate to their reasons, motives and interests. The final two accounts are especially hard to unpick in practice, because from Abrahamsen’s neoliberal governmentality perspective, what looks like agency is actually a more pernicious form of domination and control. However, this tension over whether third world agency is possible at all within the parameters of neoliberal development goes to the heart of debates within development over epistemology and knowledge. Post-Development saw development not as a natural fact but a cultural discourse, whereby ‘the West’ produces the ‘third world’ in need of development (Marglin and Marglin 1990; Escobar 1992; J. Ferguson 1990; Escobar 2001). Seen from this perspective, the problem with good governance was not simply that it reproduced economic policies favourable to the West and international capital, but that it reproduced forms of knowledge and domination which constructed the third world as inherently inferior “under western eyes” (Mohanty 1984) and in need of intervention (Shiva 1993; Rahnema and Bawtree 1997; Esteva and Prakash 1998; D. B. Moore and Schmitz 1995).

Post-development has been highly influential in changing the terms of debate within development studies, and its insights have been taken in a number of directions. Most share

Escobar's conviction that "the conventional development of the kind offered by neoliberalism is not an option" and that they must "end the dominance of expert knowledge over the terms of debate" (Escobar 2006, 450). But, what if the two pull in opposite directions. Arce and Long argue that development and modernity, even in their most harsh neoliberal forms, are not *done to* the third world. Rather, local groups engage in 'counter-work' appropriating and re-embedding 'mutant modernities' in local life worlds (Arce and Long 1999). This raises the possibility that non-expert developing country actors may be the ones pushing at the frontiers of what conventional neoliberal development means, inverting Escobar's trajectory.

From the extensive literature analysing and critiquing good governance, some questions emerge. Self-selecting good governance states, which enter into partnerships with the World Bank despite not being aid-dependent nor having a history of donor involvement, need more study. Why do states voluntarily accept or even actively appropriate good governance? Are they superficially attempting to rebrand or are there deep changes to the political landscape? If so, in the context of criticisms of good governance as representing the outside interests of donors and constraining local choices, who do these reforms benefit?

2. Debates about Patrimonial Governance

This section looks at debates about how informal institutions are destructive of rational governance, leading to a dysfunctional hybrid form of governance called neopatrimonialism. The first major debate about (neo-)patrimonial governance occurred in tandem with the rise of good governance in the 1990s and early 2000s. The concept of neopatrimonialism was understood by political scientists and donors as the opposite to good governance, whereby neopatrimonialism compromised and weakened states' ability to perform proper governance functions.

Neopatrimonialism is an elaboration of Weber's typology of legitimate authority. Patrimonial states are run as if they were private households (Weber 1922) and can be contrasted with legal-rational authority where state authority is exercised according to rules (Eisenstadt 1973). The addition of 'neo' recognised the way that patrimonialism elements were intertwined with state-like elements of a public service, sometimes bringing meaningful elements of bureaucratic authority (Erdmann and Engel 2007) and sometimes simply as a façade (Bach and Gazibo 2012). In the 1990s the neopatrimonialism literature was vibrant, and used the concept to explain Africa's challenges in terms of democracy, the economy and engagement with donors (Bayart et al. 1999, Bratton and Van de Walle 1997, Chabal and Daloz 1999, Van de Walle 2001).

Neopatrimonialism located the lack of good governance in African states both in Krueger's ideas of rent-seeking bureaucracies (Krueger 1974; Gallagher 1991) and social norms and behaviours that corrupted the state (Bayart 1993, 238; Martinussen 1998, 67,71). Van de Walle (2003) brought these two strands together in a conceptualisation of the African state as peopled by civil servants whose 'primordial' identities, linking them to ethnic or familial constituencies, 'outweighed' public loyalties. On this view, the rational-bureaucratic Weberian state of Western democracies was out of step with social norms in African countries, and neopatrimonial governance was, as such, legitimate in societies which naturally submitted to 'Big Man' politics (Médard 1992; McCauley 2013). Neopatrimonialism was seen as incompatible with good governance. Van de Walle argued that even when clientelistic elites publicly committed themselves to reforms, they were manipulated and distorted resulting in 'permanent crisis' (Walle 2001).

The neopatrimonialism thesis has been extensively critiqued on the basis of its conceptual weakness, empirical thinness and for the ways in which it re-animated negative colonial stereotypes of Africa. Mkandawire has compellingly demonstrated that the empirical

predictions of Neopatrimonialism do not hold in African countries (Mkandawire 2013). Neopatrimonialism was also critiqued on methodological and conceptual grounds. It was rarely tested empirically, rather theories were built from selective anecdotes from a limited number of countries, used as empirical data to expand to assertions about generalised systems across Africa³ (Therkildsen 2005; deGrassi 2008, 109). Whilst neopatrimonialism was generalised across Africa, it was rarely applied to other regions and when such practices were observed elsewhere they were not pathologized in the same way (De Sardan 1999; Qizilbash 2001, 271–72; Mkandawire 2007). Eventually, even those scholars who were decisive in defining the concept, like Gero Erdmann, started to lose faith in its analytic ability (Kneuer, Mehler, and Sell 2015, 116). Scholars highlighted the way that Neopatrimonialism drew on deeply held tropes from modernization theory and “misrepresents complex historical processes.” (Sumich 2008, 112) Moreover the oppositional binary of modern and traditional has been widely problematized (Piot 2010, 113). The binary of good governance and neopatrimonialism fits into a wider Euro-centric world-view that Martin (2001, 181) calls “unilinear evolutionism”, where history is understood teleologically, with all societies moving towards a single goal, in the image of Western liberal democracies (Mamdani 1996; Wai 2012). From this critical perspective, neopatrimonialism was simply another construct used to normalise “certain patterns of authority, resources and expertise” by which Africa is exploited by the West (Aaron deGrassi 2008, 111).

Developmental Patrimonialism

The neopatrimonialism school saw patrimonial elements of government as uniformly harmful to development. Where development did take place in neopatrimonial regimes, scholars like Bach and Gazibo argued that it was in spite of, and not because of, political structures, “just as bad politics can produce good policies” (Bach 2012, 221–24). However, other scholars have explored the ways in which patrimonial relationships within government, and between government and business, can be in some ways developmental (M. Moore and Unsworth 2010).

³ DeGrassi’s footnote five has a good discussion of the vacillation between insisting on the specificity of application of the term and references to ‘Africa’ in the abstract (2008: 09).

This literature comes out of the work on the developmental state in East Asia (Leftwich 1994, 377–80). The historical experience of countries like Korea and Singapore⁴ suggests that in those states that have managed to achieve sustained development improvements the state has played a much greater role in the economy than the good governance model prescribes (H.-J. Chang 2002, 2003b, 2003a; Kohli 2004). This literature stands in explicit opposition to the good governance agenda which prescribed small states, transparent bureaucracies and development driven by private sector actors (Khan 2007; Khan and Sundaram 2000; Kiely 1998). Yet developmental states have “delivered the goods” in terms of the socio-economic indicators that make up the Human Development Index (Leftwich 1994, 380) suggesting that the type of accountability that matters is as accountability to long-term government performance.

Kelsall links the Asia-focused developmental state literature to the concept of neopatrimonialism that is mostly associated with African states. He argues that almost all countries exhibit neopatrimonial business-politics interactions that blend bureaucratic norms with more clientelistic or personalistic features. He uses Khan’s theorisation of growth-enhancing and growth-retarding rents to distinguish between developmental and predatory forms of neopatrimonialism (Khan 2000a; 2000b; North, Wallis, and Weingast 2009; Kelsall 2013). Booth and Golooba-Mutebi (2012, 8) define developmental patrimonialism as when “the ruling elite acquires an interest in, and a capability for, managing economic rents in a centralized way with a view to enhancing their own and others’ incomes in the long run rather than maximizing them in the short run.” In East Asian states this was done by establishing “organisational complexes in which expert and coherent, bureaucratic agencies collaborate with organised private sectors” in order to achieve a vision of comprehensive national economic transition (Doner, Ritchie, and Slater 2005, 327).

Coming from a perspective where the function of institutions is more important than their form (Rodrik 2007) or regime type (Pitcher, Moran, and Johnston 2009), Dawson and Kelsall emphasise that neopatrimonialism can co-exist with a variety of ‘growth coalitions’. However, developmental patrimonial states nonetheless tend to share certain political characteristics: “a strong dominant party, a visionary leader, and a competent and confident economic technocracy” (Dawson and Kelsall 2012, 50), Crook and Booth (2011) describe the ability to centralise rents as ‘vertical discipline’, whereby the risks of corruption and clientelism are supposedly controlled by a central power holder.

⁴ Leftwich’s argument is based on 8 countries that had achieved average rates of growth of 4% p.a. between 1965 and 1990: Malaysia, Botswana, Singapore, Taiwan, Korea, Indonesia, China and Thailand.

The only African states which are considered to be examples of developmental patrimonialism are Rwanda under Paul Kagame and Ethiopia. Rwanda has been able to centralise rents through a number of party-owned businesses and built successful elite coalitions (Kelsall and Booth 2010; Booth and Golooba-Mutebi 2012; Behuria and Goodfellow 2016; Golooba-Mutebi 2013).

Scholars have argued that it is not the precise institutions that matter for developmental governance but that states have “visionary leaders” (Dawson and Kelsall 2012, 50) and ‘elite commitment’ to ‘inclusive development’ (Pritchett and Werker 2012). Some scholars have explored what sorts of ideological convictions tend to accompany the ‘long-term economic horizon’ that is said to enable developmental governance. Gore describes this as a “maximal future horizon” where development means substantially improving living standards over the medium to long term. He contrasts it with what he sees as a “minimalist conception of development”, represented by the Millennium Development Goals, which aim to achieve minimum standards of decent living in a set amount of time (Gore 2010, 71)⁵. The significance of this ‘maximal development horizon’ is that it can take account of national objectives and motivations that the good governance paradigm, with its minimal conception of the state as simply facilitating private-sector development, cannot. In his analysis of Japan’s industrial transformation, Johnson emphasises the role of a grand nationalist vision: “a desire to assume full human status by taking part in an industrial civilization, participation in which *alone* enables a nation or an individual to compel others to treat it as an equal” (Johnson, 1982: 25).

There remain questions about the developmental patrimonialism model. The main criticisms relate to the possibility for channelling patrimonialism to specific ends, and the role of democracy in development. Firstly, it is not clear that patrimonial regimes can be channelled towards developmental purposes at will, nor whether temporarily developmental incarnations of patrimonial regimes are stable. The Africa Power and Politics Programme (APPP) case study on Malawi suggested that whilst the first term of President Mutharika’s presidency was developmental, by the second term there was a shift to short-term creation and distribution of rents in unproductive ways. This turn-around happened under the same leader over an eight year period, suggesting that the distinction between developmental and predatory might be better applied to political moments or specific policies, rather than as an all-encompassing system (Kelsall and Booth 2010; Booth 2011b; Kelsall 2013). Gabay

⁵ i.e. “reducing the proportion of people living on less than \$1-a-day by half by 2015”.

highlights the difficulties facing reform-minded Joyce Banda on her inauguration as president, who had no choice but to participate in unproductive forms of clientelism (Gabay 2014). This suggests that the hope that patrimonial institutions can be straightforwardly commandeered for certain ends is too optimistic, and that ‘vertical discipline’ may be fleeting.

Developmental patrimonialism scholars have been accused of having “dismissive” attitudes towards democracy (Joseph 2015, 216). Indeed, the focus on autocratic African states such as Rwanda and Ethiopia, and the valorisation of East Asian examples such as South Korea and Singapore, suggest that developmental patrimonialism may only be an option in highly repressive regimes (Joseph 2015). Whilst descriptive analyses in the 1980s and 1990s were open about the lack of civil liberties or political competition in developmental states, the more prescriptive arguments coming from the APPP set a worrying precedent in endorsing undemocratic practices. These analyses normalise corruption and despotism in Africa, which leaves developmental patrimonialism open to a similar line of critique as the original neopatrimonialism argument. Joseph argues instead for a democratic developmental state, noting that democracy in Africa is strongly correlated with high human development (Joseph 2015, 219). Joseph also questions whether the idea of accountability as “delivering the goods” is legitimate among African voters. He draws on Bratton and Logan’s work analysing Afrobarometer data, which suggests that contrary to the developmental state’s accountability in “delivering the goods”, many African voters are in favour of procedural accountability even if it slows the pace of development (Bratton and Logan 2009; Joseph 2015, 223).

Both sides of the debate between the APPP and Joseph, about the role of democracy in developmental patrimonial states, would benefit from a return to Pitcher Moran and Johnston’s (2009) careful distinction between forms of authority and regime type. Patrimonialism describes one of the ways that “rulers may establish legitimate authority by securing consent (compliance) from their subjects”, whereas regime type is the “means by which positions of power are filled in a state and the degree to which citizens are allowed to participate in that process”(Diamond 2002). As such there is no inherent, nor empirical, incompatibility between patrimonialism and democracy, indeed they cite Botswana as an example of the two combined. Yet, APPP works focus heavily on highly centralised states. The politically closed nature of these states means that there has been less debate about how developmental models are received and made sense of in terms of local ideas of what counts as good governance, nor how contemporary ideas of governance interact with historically grounded reference points. The lack of open dissent and political contestation, or at least the

difficulties researchers face in accessing spaces of dissent, has foreclosed options for investigating the politics of how developmental models are pursued.

A final debate about patrimonialism and good governance concerns how developmental patrimonial states persuade their citizens that they are ‘good governments’ and generate legitimacy and consent for their rule. Whilst the APPP agenda is highly elite focussed (Gray 2014; Joseph 2015), how developmental states maintain popular legitimacy is an interesting question, because their transformative economic agendas involve overriding the immediate demands of special interest groups in favour of the national interest (Leftwich 1994, 378–80). Doner, Ritchie and Slater argue that such states emerged in response to political-economic constraints in situations of “systemic vulnerability” (Doner, Ritchie, and Slater 2005, 355). This illuminates the political and economic context that often forces patrimonial states to be developmental, but it does not answer questions about the normative basis of these state’s authority among the population. There is little work interrogating whether the ideas of ‘visionary leaders’ pursuing ‘industrial civilisation’, as discussed by Dawson and Kelsall and Johnson above, resonate at the level of ordinary citizens.

However, a fuller picture of patrimonialism would also look at how reciprocities and “multi-stranded sets of ties and obligations” potentially facilitate developmental coalitions among elites (Pitcher, Moran, and Johnston 2009, 126–27). Essentially this is asking what ‘going with the grain’ would look like if scholars had a more nuanced and rich conception of what ‘the grain’ actually was. Joseph’s work starts to extend the APPP agenda of ‘working with the grain’ in a more nuanced direction. He points to elements of Ghana’s ‘political culture’ beyond patrimonialism that have nonetheless been instrumental in maintaining Ghana’s respectable growth trajectory, namely Ghanaian politicians’ tendency to reject violence and maintain calm during political transitions (Joseph 2014). This leads us to questions of what conceptions of good governance already exist in states, and how do they frame popular reactions to top-down models such as good governance or developmental patrimonialism. In the next section on the hybridity literature we can ask how elites seeking to deliver their own model of governance integrate it with alternative mechanisms and models.

3. Bottom-Up Governance

In response to a growing acceptance of the inadequacies of the good governance approach there has been an interest in 'bottom-up' governance in Africa. Many have argued that new forms of African agency are nonetheless being asserted. From the point of view of donors, there were strong voices that argued that, regardless of policy or orientation, efforts to impose development strategies and models upon developing countries had failed. Instead, Unsworth argued, aid should start from a deep understanding of the need and opportunities for development within countries (Unsworth 2001; Unsworth 2002; Hyden 2008; Carothers and de Gramont 2013). Good governance and other agendas for reform which took donor ideas and Western experience as their starting point gave an 'upside down view of governance' (IDS 2010). Donors should drop the 'governance overload' (Grindle 2004) and focus on what governance qualities actually work for development (Kelsall 2013; Khan 2007) to achieve "good enough governance" with limited resources (Grindle 2007). These scholars argue donors should 'go with the grain' and build on 'what works' in Africa and other developing countries (Booth 2011a, 510; Kelsall 2011; Levy 2014), learning from successful case studies (Yanguas 2014).

Blundo highlights how scholars have traditionally studied the state in the developing world through its "visible structures", those that fit comfortably into Western theoretical models of the state and its historical development (Blundo 2006a, 800). In so doing the less easily visible elements which do not match mainstream theoretical assumptions are overlooked. Famously, James C Scott argued that a central task of the modern state is to render messy and complex social realities 'legible' to state agencies, so that the state can 'read' society, create new forms of knowledge about it, and then act upon it in a coherent fashion (Scott 1998, chap. 1,5). As scepticism of top-down good governance reforms was growing, there were a number of attempts to make bottom-up governance institutions legible. A variety of literatures have sought to shed light on grassroots and alternative institutional arrangements that provided governance in local settings, which were not intelligible to the existing ways of seeing 'from above'. This new debate focuses first on descriptive analytic questions in order to reconceptualise the state: what are actually existing forms of governance in developing countries? How do states and state agents behave in contexts of institutional plurality? There have also been debates about the normative elements of governance: how do those enmeshed in webs of plural institutions normatively evaluate governance? And how do various actors seek to enact elements of what they understand as good governance into complex institutional contexts?

Innovations within the New Institutional Economics (NIE) brought a new focus to studies of “rules of the game” of politics, by broadening its methodological and conceptual frameworks to include those institutions that are not “openly codified”. Guillermo O’Donnell and others argued that there were unwritten rules of the game that were actually being followed, which influenced formal institutional outcomes (O’Donnell 1996). Helmke and Levitsky define these *informal* institutions as “socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels” (Helmke and Levitsky 2003, 8–9) whilst Leach et al. differentiate them from formal institutions according to their enforcement mechanisms (Leach, Mearns, and Scoones 1997). This theoretical innovation promised to make institutions and practices that were important for understanding actually existing forms of governance legible to new segments of the academic development studies literature. In her study of local government accountability in China, Tsai shows how consideration of informal institutions can provide a richer understanding of how social groups hold the state to account using both legal and illicit means (Tsai 2007).

Scholars disagreed on what exactly needed to be seen in order to make the state legible; post-structural scholars in the Anthropology of the State and the States of Imagination literatures focused on the ethereal and discursive aspects of the state as an idea (Hansen and Stepputat 2001; Das 2004; Sharma and Gupta 2006), whereas the Practical Norms literature seeks to “render the state legible through the concrete practices of its employees” (Blundo 2014, 70).

Three similar literatures have engaged in debates over the local institutional realities of developing country states. The practical norms, hybrid governance and legal pluralism literatures reject the ideal of the state-based post-colonial order, with the centralist assumption that “the state has a monopoly on norm production” (Reyntjens 2016, 362). All three take a non-normative approach to mixed arrangements for public goods provision already on the ground. They suspend judgement of potentially coercive or corrupt institutions to see what can deliver the goods in difficult environments, often post-conflict or on the margins of the state. In absence of the strong, efficient and effective state, scholars and practitioners working on hybrid governance aimed to build second-best solutions that ‘deliver the goods’ are seen as better than nothing.

The States at Work framework, led by the work of Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, Thomas Bierschenk and Giorgio Blundo highlights the improvised, incomplete and cobbled together (*bricolé*) nature of the state. Discrepancies between the “official model, which states are supposed to follow and actual behaviour” exists everywhere, but are more noticeable in

resource-poor African governments (Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan 2014, 5,7,18).⁶ Theoretically, they frame this as the difference between the blueprint of the state, or the “state idea” in Migdal and Schlichte’s terms, and the practical norms and social logics (De Sardan 1999) which govern actual behaviour (Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan 2014, 14). In fact, governance reforms related to decentralisation and democratisation have increased the ‘polycephalous’ nature of the African state, via the “proliferation of agencies exercising authority” (Bierschenk and de Sardan 2003) and ‘sedimentation’ of numerous partial reforms over decades of intervention (Bierschenk 2010).

Scholars from the Legal Pluralism school offer a similar analysis, where state spaces are only one of many ‘social fields’ (S. F. Moore 1978) where plural normative and regulatory orders operate in sometimes conflicting ways (Nuijten and Anders 2009, 13–14; Anders 2002). Cousins uses a legal pluralist framework to explore how legal reforms in South Africa translate into action on the ground via a ‘messy matrix’ of institutions (Cousins 1997, 61), whilst Gore shows how legal entitlements are constrained and enabled by socially enforced moral rules (Gore 1993). In the context of informal resource-use arrangements, Cleaver argues that institutions don’t so much overlap, but are put together in a patchwork of traditional or existing institutions put to new purposes, a process she calls ‘bricolage’ (Cleaver 2001; 2002; 2012). Whilst these studies consider the structural outcomes of plural forms of governance, others have looked at the role of agency within them. Taking as its premise Ostrom’s observation that rules do not determine action, they simply define actors’ room for manoeuvre (Ostrom 1986), scholars have focused on the agency of actors to leverage that room for manoeuvre either to claim rights (Hunt 1993), as resources (Galanter 1981), to position themselves advantageously (E. Harrison 2004, 136, 148) or achieve status (Anders 2002, 6).

The hybrid governance literature focuses on how state and non-state actors come together to exercise political authority in settings of extreme state weakness.⁷ It both offers an alternative analysis of states that are typically seen as “fragile”, and prescriptions for more successful state building interventions (Boege et al. 2008). Lund argues that in African states, public authority, the ability to make and enforce collectively binding decisions, is

⁶ Indeed, Cris Shore finds that in the European Commission, one of the most well-resourced governing bodies in the world, informal practices were justified on the grounds that the formal system didn’t work and staff had to “bend the rules” just to get things done (Shore 2005).

⁷ For a comprehensive comparison of Hybrid Governance and Legal Pluralism see (Reyntjens 2016).

exercised by a variety of state and non-state actors who mobilise a language of “stateness” resulting in “twilight institutions” (Lund 2006, 685–99). Security, justice and the use of violence have played a central role in these conceptions of the state and its hybrid forms (Buur 2005; Pratten 2011; Gore and Pratten 2003). Many scholars have looked at how institutional plurality has led to changes in state power and sovereignty (Jessop 1990; Roitman 2004; Hibou 1999) resulting in a blurring of the boundaries of state and non-state (Colona and Jaffe 2016).

Meagher, Titeca and de Herdt bring together a growing literature which challenges the hybrid governance and practical norms literature on the grounds that they are insufficiently attentive to the ‘dark side’ of hybridity (Meagher, De Herdt, and Titeca 2014, 5). Firstly, they question whether these norms and hybrid solutions have legitimacy with the local population, and warn of the long-term risks to stability of arrangements that erode local consent. Just because hybrid arrangements exercise authority and maintain order, does not mean they are legitimate (Meagher, De Herdt, and Titeca 2014, 8). Here it is useful to return to Helmke and Levitsky’s definition of informal institutions in terms of “shared expectations rather than shared values.” They argue that institutions are both expected and enforced, but they may not be endorsed (Helmke and Levitsky 2003, 10).

On the one hand, one of the strengths of hybrid governance is that it rejects the outright condemnation of informal practices that came with the valorisation of the Weberian state. The anthropological literature on governance broadly agrees on the relationship between informal institutions and ethical evaluations, resulting in a relativism. Following Olivier de Sardan, Anders argues that “what is considered to be corruption from the perspective of official norms is not, or seldom, viewed in the same light from the perspectives of practical norms and actual practices” (Anders 2002, 6) This is broadly the position of an anthology on the anthropology of corruption (Haller and Shore 2005), as well as the body of work on everyday corruption led by Giorgio Blundo (Haller and Shore 2005; Blundo 2006a; Blundo 2006b; Blundo and Meur 2009).

On the other hand, obviously not all informal practices are legitimate. The anthropology of corruption literature shows this in a variety of settings. Drawing on case studies of Russian hospitals and Chinese local government, Rivkin-Fish and Hsu and Smart argue that ethical and moral norms govern how informal practices can and cannot be enacted (Rivkin-Fish 2005; Smart and Hsu 2009)⁸. Even for those elites who can navigate both formal and

⁸ Consequently, anthropological engagements with anti-corruption have been highly critical of the anti-corruption industry’s lack of sensitivity to context, and stigmatisation of low level practices

informal institutions to their advantage, they may still be ambivalent towards the hybridity they encounter (Ledeneva 2014). Civil servants in Malawi both see the obligations that come with informal kinship relations as an asset or insurance for lean times, and as a burden that they struggle to meet (Anders 2002, 12). In Willott's study of a Nigerian university, he shows that powerful actors limit their use of informality to a level such that the formal system, which is seen as ultimately more desirable, can endure, even if in a dysfunctional form (Willott 2009, 2014). Such insights from anthropology complement the framework set out in the hybrid governance literature, adding nuances from in-depth case studies.

If institutions are justified on the basis that they 'work', the question is who they work *for* and who pays the price (Meagher, De Herdt, and Titeca 2014, 2, 5–7). Informal institutions may entrench inequality. Whilst some actors may find that hybridity enhances their room for manoeuvre, and opens up space for negotiation, the ability to instrumentalise gaps in formal rules is highly differentiated. The less well-connected staff in Senegal's forestry service are unable to draw on personal networks that others use to 'get things done' and have no choice but to follow the onerous formal rules, seeing as the channels for unofficial action are closed to them (Blundo 2014, 75). The ability to influence informal frameworks, and set the limits on legitimate regulation, depends on the relative power of competing groups. A move towards greater sensitivity to power relations in hybrid governance is important (Clever 2012; Titeca and Flynn 2014).

In addition to examining the power relations embedded within informal institutions, scholars have drawn attention to the ways that a shift from formal to informal institutions redistributes costs, and responsibilities of governance from official balance books to communities and popular organisations. Frontline bureaucrats at times push against informalisation, employing what resources and authority they have to shore up formal systems in the face of austerity and public sector cuts. For instance, officials may collect funds to buy fuel for government vehicles, when they would rather that the formal state simply be better funded (Blundo 2014, 81–82). Poorly resourced, dysfunctional states may lead to collective action that resists any moral classification whatsoever. In contrast to the view of hybridity institutions as resourceful local solutions, Obadare describes improvised popular solutions to the question of public goods provision as a form of resignation, "trying everything in the hope that something will work" (Obadare 2016, 121)

whilst ignoring highly unequal prevailing economic systems (E. Harrison 2006; E. Harrison 2004; Sampson 2005; Webb 2012).

Meagher et al. urge caution with regards to assuming that all informal institutions are automatically 'bottom-up'. What appears to be a local informal institution may in fact be influenced or enforced by powerful external actors such as mining companies, aid donors or foreign governments (Meagher, De Herdt, and Titeca 2014). Particularly in the field of peace-keeping and post-conflict reconciliation, local traditional institutions have been mobilised by donors resulting in 'prescriptive' (Wallis, Jeffrey, and Kent Forthcoming) 'administered' (Millar 2014) or 'artificial' (Ginty and Richmond 2016) hybridity, where traditional practices are appropriated for purposes they were never intended (Finnstrom 2010).

Meagher *et al.* also warn that donor enthusiasm for systems that appear to 'work' and provide public goods at low-cost risks entrenching coercive, violent or socially divisive arrangements, such as relying on militias in the Democratic Republic of Congo for local taxation and services (Raemaekers 2013; Meagher, De Herdt, and Titeca 2014, 2). Relying on these second-best arrangements may heighten insecurity and social and economic dislocation in the long run (Meagher 2012; 2013; Nkemnyi et al. 2016). Scholars have shown, in studies from Russia, Nigeria and Senegal, that hybrid governance can corrode or reinforce state structures, or do both in a parasitic relationship between the formal and informal. In these final cases informal institutions facilitate the state's daily functioning, whilst eroding and circumventing its authority (Ledeneva 1998; Routley 2010; Blundo 2006a).

4. Grassroots Evaluations of Good Governance

The previous two sections on local institutions and developmental patrimonialism looked at how developing country elites seek to achieve good governance, variously defined as ‘developmental’ (Khan 2007), ‘sustained inclusive growth’ (Pritchett and Werker 2012) or ‘what works’ (Booth 2011b). This section looks at debates over how non-elites in developing countries, people ‘at the grassroots’, conceive of good governance. It considers how scholars have sought to uncover conceptions of good governance which are indigenous to different political contexts, and how they can reflect popular concerns. Through studying grassroots perspectives on governance, scholars have revealed alternative perspectives on the concepts that are at the core of good governance agenda: transparency and accountability. In response, the World Bank has sought to incorporate some of these perspectives into its programmes.

Transparency

Transparency is a contested concept, and there are two broad schools of thought on understanding it. The mainstream side of the debate is the representational school that sees transparency as the disclosure of ‘neutral’ information, which includes the World Bank (Reinikka and Svensson 2004). This approach is representational in the sense that information represents a reality that cannot be perceived directly. From this view information is judged on the basis of accuracy and objectivity; it is accurate when it represents reality as it really is. Information can be acted upon, say by private firms making decisions or citizens demanding better, but it does not do anything by itself, and the process of creating information about reality does not change the reality it represents (Hetherington 2011, 156). On the other side, constructivist scholars problematize the idea of information as a neutral representation, raising questions about the unintended and differential effects of transparency practices (Hetherington 2011, 156). Constructivists argue that while “pure information” is constructed as “neutral and uncontaminated” without unintended effects, it should be understood as a site of interpretation (Christensen and Cheney 2015, 74; Fenster 2006).

These two sides of the debate can be seen in different approaches to improving poor people’s access to information, and different models of how transparency can empower the poor. Representational approaches are concerned with the availability of documentary forms of information, recommending public information campaigns where government budgets are published in newspapers (Reinikka and Svensson 2007) and reducing the fees charged for obtaining documents from the government (Reinikka and Svensson 2003). Long distances to

a newspaper outlet may for instance act as an obstacle to transparency (Reinikka and Svensson 2007). The internet can enhance transparency by allowing electronic access to documents that would otherwise take a long time, or be expensive to track down in hard copy (Ronan McIvor, Marie McHugh, and Christine Cadden 2002; Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes 2010). All of these relate to ways of placing information in the public sphere. However, there are some obstacles to transparency that relate not to the availability of information but the capacity of citizens to read that information. Writing itself is inaccessible in a context of widespread illiteracy, as in north India (Gupta 2012, chap. 5+6).

Constructivists argue that the extreme case of illiteracy is not the only situation where citizens may struggle to 'read' and make sense of official disclosures. Similar to the earlier discussion about making local institutions legible (Scott 1998), constructivists see transparency as the process of making information legible so that various audiences can comprehend the message (Fenster 2006). Alternatively, information has an intended audience and 'message', and these 'official' interpretations are susceptible to unpredictable derailment, opening up new terrains for contestation (T. M. Li 1999; Garsten and Jacobsson 2011, 379). Documents contain very different information depending on who is reading them and how (M. S. Hull 2003, 288–89; Hetherington 2011, 148). This raises the question if ordinary people cannot make sense of official documents, then how can they come to an opinion on whether what the government is doing is 'good'?

The rise of transparency practices – forms of monitoring and evaluation, disclosure, standardisation and record-keeping – based on quantitative performance metrics has been described as creating a new 'audit culture' (Power 1999). The use of principles and techniques of accountancy and financial management have been expanded to cover management of a wide range of heterogeneous people and organisations (Shore and Wright 2015, 24; Gore 2010, 71). This cultural shift has worked in favour of certain groups but against others (Strathern 2000). Transparency practices which are initially imposed on multinational companies or governments can be captured and re-appropriated for different ends, for example where performing transparency becomes a form of corporate branding (Garsten and Jacobsson 2011; F. Li 2009). Alternatively, transparency initiatives that are intended to reduce corruption may create new opportunities for illicit practices (Tidey 2013; Sharma 2013). The representationalist approach would see this as evidence of the need to refine anti-corruption programmes and push for greater transparency. The constructivist approach argues instead that transparency is inherently unattainable: there can be no communication that is "devoid of mystery, inaccuracy and (mis)representation", it will always create "new opacities" (Christensen and Cheney 2015, 70). This raises the question,

when information is made transparent, who is it transparent for (Lodge 2014, 125; Fox 2007, 663)?

This leads to the question of what transparency does, rather than simply what it can passively reveal. The representational approach casts transparency as empowering the poor because it gives them tools to challenge government. Roberts highlights the “performativity of transparency”, how it places demands on the ‘citizen consumer’ of information when it calls on them to cultivate “information literacy” (2009, 958).

Looking even more deeply at what transparency does, some scholars have pointed to situations where transparency is used to create new identities and relationships. The ability to impose these identities and relationships reflects the relative power of groups. New institutions based on audit and self-assessment seek to standardise and homogenise behaviour, replacing ethics grounded in staff’s engagement with their patients with an ethics that privileges conformity to standardised norms and performance criteria. Hull shows how South African hospital staff respond to the new imposed norms, trying to conform whilst experiencing “moral uncertainty” and discomfort (E. Hull 2012; McKay 2012). In terms of broader relationships and group identities, participatory processes aimed at building multi-stakeholder relationships may end up enforcing falsely consensual modes of operation, where space for dissent is minimised (F. Li 2009). Identities and relationships come together in new ‘publics’. The first is constructed as a rational, liberal democratic public, including those who correctly participate in transparency processes: typically the literate, the middle class (Webb 2012). Hetherington identifies the ‘new democrats’ in Paraguay as constituting such a public,, highlighting how cognitive characteristics of literacy and education obscure the more material class based ones. The second is made up of those who fall short of the demands of transparency. In Paraguay this includes the campesinos. Hetherington explains how the two publics in Paraguay are defined by contrasting “knowledge practices: how they claim to know the world.” (Hetherington 2011, 20).

Accountability

The original good governance conception of accountability was narrowly focused on state reforms (Peter Newell and Wheeler 2006a, xv, 1). Whilst the poor are meant to be served by government policies for development, they often struggle to access or navigate formal channels such as judicial review, ombudsmen and scrutiny in national presses (Peter Newell and Wheeler 2006b; Peter Newell and Wheeler 2006a). The “New Accountability Agenda” argued that accountability should go beyond traditional formal liberal democratic mechanisms and get into “places it can’t reach” (Goetz 2003; Goetz and Jenkins 2005). It was hoped that civil society, working outside of formal governmental channels could

achieve a deeper level of democratic and public accountability than more “technocratic” forms of government (Hickey and Mohan 2008, 234; Benequista 2009). The World Bank developed the concepts of social accountability, involving mechanisms beyond just voting, and demand-side governance (World Bank 2005b, 2, 5). The practical techniques suggested in the Social Accountability Sourcebook - protests, petitions, participatory budgeting and the participation of civil society in policy formation – sought to draw non-elites into formal governance structures, empowering marginalised groups (World Bank 2000a, 2003a, 2016b).

Many scholars have analysed patron-client relationships as offering a form of accountability (Haller and Shore 2005; Rivkin-Fish 2005; Blundo 2012; Blundo 2014). Echoing the legal pluralism approach, state agents are rarely simply accountable or not, but subject to multiple forms of accountability to different actors (Macdonald and Allen 2015). Schomerus and Rigterink use strength of phone signal as a proxy for how well different villages in South Sudan are able to hold their local politicians to account (Schomerus and Rigterink 2015). The assumption is that the possibility of direct phone communication with political figures is a form of accountability. It specifically connects with discussions of answerability, the aspect of accountability where the citizen has the right to seek answers from their elected official (Schedler 1999). Multiple conflicting demands have to be ‘virtuously navigated’ by actors situated in webs of rival norms (Anders 2002). Pitcher, Moran and Johnston urge us to focus on how patrimonial authority is rendered legitimate through reciprocity. Following their line of argument, we should pay attention to the “mutual dependence” between patron and client, and “institutionalized means of holding each other accountable” (Pitcher, Moran, and Johnston 2009, 139).

Public and Private Realms

The idea of political accountability operating through patron-client relations raises the possibility that important mechanisms of good governance operate outside of the public sphere as traditionally conceived. There is a long history of debates over the division between public and private in government, and its relationship to development. Many of the ills of African governments have been attributed to the failure to properly observe the boundary between public and private in the use of state resources, resulting in corruption as public funds are diverted to private pockets (Amundsen 1999; Andvig et al. 2000; Rose-Ackerman 1996; DeLeon and Green 2004; DeLeon and Green 2001). Médard described neopatrimonial states as blurring public and private realms, resulting from a lack of commitment to ‘public norms’ (Médard 1982). Neopatrimonialism is has been described as the ‘privatisation of the state’(Hibou 1999).

Alternatively, market-based critiques of government locate the state's lack of effectiveness or efficiency and accountability in the way that public sector institutions use different incentive structures and allocation mechanisms to the private sector. Scholars of the New Public Management, for example, advocate the involvement of the private sector in providing public goods and the introduction of private sector ways of working in public sector institutions. Alternatively, where the public sector lacks finance or skills to deliver public goods and services, the private sector provides a reservoir of resources that the public sector can call upon.

These two lines of argument focus on different units of analysis; the first deals with the public sphere as a sphere of shared interests and resources, and the private sphere as a sphere where individuals act according to their own interests and preferences and accumulate wealth as private individuals. The second line of argument looks at systems and structures, and asks whether the public interest is served better by requiring public servants to pursue it directly, following rules and protocols; or by permitting individuals in a market to pursue their private interests, through the profit motive, with competition and performance based incentives directing the pursuit of private interest to serve the public good indirectly. However, the link between them is the role given to private interest: is this a liability to be tamed or a power to be harnessed for the public good?

Scholars engaged in studying the everyday state in Africa have highlighted the way that these theoretical debates about public and private play out in reality. Bierschenk argues that in many African states, public servants are provided with no resources with which to perform their public duties, forcing them to mobilise their own private resources for public ends. He cites examples of Beninese officials using their own mobile phones, gendarmes carrying prisoners to jail in their own cars, police stepping in to personally provide for prisoners who the state and then their own families have failed. "This", he argues (2010, 9) "is the other face of the creeping privatisation of public services, which is otherwise only viewed exclusively from the perspective of corruption." Blundo shows that the public sector may rely on private individuals to perform tasks which on paper are meant to be done by officials hired in the public sector. In his study of how market taxes are collected in a Senegalese town, he shows that services "have functioned for about twenty years thanks largely to the support of non-administrative, sometimes 'voluntary' personnel — personnel who perform secretarial tasks, drive the customs vehicles, and collect the municipal taxes instead of official collectors" (Blundo 2006:804). This shows that, faced with a lack of resources, the state, representing the public sector, may call upon private resources, not only in the systemic sense of contracting out public services to private firms, but through drawing on the resources and skills of individuals in a private capacity. Therefore, practices that

could be seen as corrupt because they blur the line between public and private, are actually vital to the ongoing effectiveness of the state and its ability to serve the public interest.

Ekeh's theory of the two publics, where citizens engage with the state via both the primordial public and the civic public, offers an alternative interpretation to the binary of public and private (1975). Ekeh's theorisation has been highly influential in the study of Nigeria and African politics more widely (Mustapha 2012, 4; Osaghae 2006, 233). Ekeh famously argued that the legacy of colonialism in Nigeria had led to the bifurcation of the public realm. The state existed in the civic public, the realm of amorality, whereas what could be thought of as the moral 'public good' existed in the primordial public. The primordial public is made up of the social spaces among associations, groups and communal units outside the state. Ekeh describes a strong contrast between citizens' amoral behaviour in the civic public and their moral and principled behaviour in the primordial public, such that one can 'rob' the civic public to serve the primordial one (1975).

Olutayo and Omobowale add nuance to this picture, by showing that state action and the civic realm is not so denigrated that it is 'amoral'. Their study of community engagement with governmental and non-governmental development projects shows that people act differently in relation to government development projects compared with community projects. Rather than a binary between the moral primordial public and the amoral civic public, each is sustained by different norms of appropriateness and values (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010). One of the criticisms that has been levelled at the Two Publics is that it implies that a unified public realm, as Ekeh asserts exists in the West, is normatively superior (1975, 91). Thus, Osaghae argues, Nigerian society is cast as a deviation from the norm, which reflects and reproduces Euro-centric assumptions about politics. Specifically, it implies that the civic public needs to be strengthened and the primordial public dismantled such that the state can enjoy a normative supremacy (Osaghae 2006, 237).

Anthropologists have argued that people sometimes base their judgements of what counts as a good governance on factors that fall outside of the public sphere, as traditionally conceived as the formal realm of the state. Patients of a hospital in Russia, navigating the constantly shifting and insecure landscape of post-Soviet transition, may use informal gifts to circumvent the official healthcare system, which is seen as unjust. They seek to develop a relationship between them and their doctor of 'lichnyi vrach', meaning 'personal doctor', implying that personal agreement has superseded the official framework (Rivkin-Fish 2005, 49–52). This contrasts with the way that such a relationship would be viewed from a bureaucratic perspective as preferential and unwarranted 'special treatment', which assumes the system that provides non-special treatment is fundamentally fair.

What is interesting about Rivkin-Fish's case study is that the value of the relationship is not simply that the service received may be better than it would otherwise, it is that the relationship in itself is of value, for the affective and emotional security it brings. James Ferguson develops the idea that hierarchical but affective relationships may be valued, through his elaboration of the concept of dependence. Whilst dependence is, "to the liberal mind", dehumanising and the opposite of freedom, it has historical antecedents, for instance in followership, that in themselves become a mode of agency (J. Ferguson 2015, 145–46). He writes:

“... the socially thick recognition that comes from being looked after by the local party-state is after all preferable (for many) to the frighteningly ‘thin’ recognition of the iris scan – if only because it implies a humanly social (rather than technocratically asocial) and actively affective bond between state and citizen.” (J. Ferguson 2015, 160–61)

Ferguson develops the concept of dependence as a means by which people can enter into distributive networks, albeit on different terms. Combining the affective and the material, some scholars have pointed to cases where what one receives is evaluated according to how it is given. In Rivkin-Fish's work this is reflected in the performance of affect determining whether a contribution is viewed by the doctors as a cheap bribe or a respectful gift. Hussaini's work on how grassroots mobilisers pick which politician to support in Nigeria suggests that trust and a sense of – mediated - personal connection can lead them to take money from one candidate and yet campaign for another (Husaini 2015).

Political theory has often neglected the “material embodied and affective” elements of politics, and restricted itself to the abstract realm (Schnitzler 2012, 672). Von Schnitzler cites Arendt's claim that political theory is unconstrained by the “urgency of life processes” (Schnitzler 2013, 672). Feminist political theorists have argued that the construction and then enforcement of a distinction between public and private realms serves patriarchal interests. Gender and politics are mutually constituted through divisions of who may hold power over whom in different contexts (Jay 1981; Meyers 2010; A. Ferguson and Hennessy 2010; McAfee 2014). Other scholars have explored embodied forms of subjectivity that might not be traditionally considered ‘political’. Hasty's ethnographic study of how anti-corruption officials in Ghana conceptualise corruption shows that both good governance and misbehaviour in office were thought of in terms of socially embedded exchanges, rather than calculated individual action. For her participants, corruption was “conceptualized ... in terms of sociality and affect”, and happened when flows and connections between representatives of state and society were of the wrong sort; overflowing and too intense.

Good state society relations were conceived as a flow of sociality that observed the correct degree of closeness and distance (Hasty 2005, 284).

Thus, these debates highlight the way that the mainstream international conception of good governance asserts the need to strengthen and police the boundary between public and private to ensure that states can better serve the public interest. However, within the same broad school of thought there are privatising impulses, with scholars arguing that the importation of market systems into the public sector can introduce the motivational power of private interest into service of the public good. Scholars from anthropological, constructivist and feminist backgrounds have argued that the distinction between public and private is not a natural fact of political life, but is a contested construction with consequences for power and distribution. This raises questions about how changing conceptions of good governance re-draw the distinction between public and private in different ways to serve ascendant interests, and draws our attention to the ways that everyday political action at the grass-roots may subvert that distinction.

Conclusion

Overall, the literatures considered through this chapter have presented conflicting ideas of the political. Where politics ends and more technical ideas of governance begin is a central issue for the debates around donor conceptions of good governance and their effects on developing countries. The work of scholars like Abrahamsen and Death warn of the replacement of politics with governance in a world of partnerships and, what this thesis terms, 'self-selecting good governance states'. According to this line of argument, governance has so fully colonised what were previously understood as realms of the political, that there is little opportunity for the assertion of agency and conflicting interests by African states in the international system. Scholars writing from a neo-patrimonial perspective have highlighted what they see as the permeation of the public realm, which should serve an uncontentious 'governance-style' conception of the public interest, with politicised private interests.

Diverse literatures have rejected the assumption that governance always is and should be delivered through monopolistic formal state authority, these include literatures covering informal institutions, hybrid governance, practical norms and legal pluralism. Moreover, scholars from these literatures highlight the ways that even in the most seemingly Weberian states, politics and governance are interwoven. The final section traced how some scholars have drawn on in-depth studies of specific cases to show how interests are asserted and

values contested in a variety of arenas that are not usually considered political. Whilst some scholars have argued that the reality of politics at the grassroots shows the political potential of the private realm, others, like Ekeh have argued that the public realm is not as unitary as Western analyses might suggest. The existence of alternative publics therefore creates spaces for the expression of parallel expectations of good governance within the same political system. The contribution of this thesis is to further the investigation of the politics of competing conceptions of good governance in self-selecting good governance states.

Chapter 3 - Historical Background, Methodology and Methods

Introduction: Framework and History

My research question is: what were the politics of good governance in Oyo State between 2011 and 2015 and how did different conceptions of good governance play out in political competition? Conceptions of good governance include norms, principles and values, which are expressed in a specific world view which includes beliefs about what the government, or more generally those who exercise authority, should do and what development should look like. In this thesis I use the term ‘model’ to signify a package of reforms, policies and practical commitments, which rely on a certain understanding of how government interventions lead to different development outcomes. A model is a practical and specific agenda for government action, whereas conceptions of good governance operate at a deeper level of more abstract normative beliefs.

Therefore, this research identifies case studies which are representative of a certain model of development, the Lagos Model, and uses in-depth empirical research to look at the deeper conceptions of good governance that lie beneath the model and resistance or opposition to it. One of the main challenges of my research question is how to study something that is invisible. How people conceptualise abstract concepts like the state and governance is not possible to grasp simply through observation. The first section of this chapter considers two broad ways of making the invisible terrain of normative political judgements concrete: first through quantitative analysis, as if attitudes were fixed objects, and the second through a constructivist qualitative engagement that seeks concrete “moments of emergence”, and its implications for which methods are most fruitful. The second section considers how others have studied changing normative ideas in African states and explains the selection of case studies, field-sites and participants. The final section considers my position in the field as a young, white, female researcher from a prestigious British university, and reflects on how it affected knowledge production in elite and non-elite settings.

1. Historical Background

Historical Overview of Nigeria

Before the turn of the twentieth century the area covered by modern day Nigeria was made up of around 300 different smaller polities with their own political structures, some centralised, others less so (Awe 1999, 5). Under colonialism, the state operated with its primary objective not being the public interest of those within its jurisdiction but the interests of the British metropole (Osaghae 2006, 234; Awe 1999, 5–8). Colonialism had uneven effects on different regions of Nigeria. Missionary schools had brought Western education to the south of Nigeria comparatively early, and even before colonial rule the spread of Christianity and Western education in the south led to a growing gap between the south and the north (Peel 1978, Simpson and Oyetade 2008). By the time Nigerian elites were close to securing independence, the ethnic character of Nigerian politics had been entrenched (Awe 1999, 10–12).

Nigeria became independent from Britain in 1960, and upon Independence entered the First Republic under a civilian regime. Following the collapse of the First Republic amidst corruption allegations, and a subsequent civil war until 1970, power alternated between military and civilian rule for the next 30 years (Enweremadu 2010:5). Nigeria's post-colonial experience has been of alternation between military and civilian regimes (Mazrui 1976; Nwankwo 1987; Adekanye 1989; Adekanye 1993). There have long been debates over the relative importance of democracy versus other understandings of good governance such as anti-corruption. For example, in 1983 an unpopular civilian regime was overthrown in coup by General Muhammadu Buhari and General Tunde Idiagbon on the bold programme of waging a War on Indiscipline (Otite 1986; Charlick 1993; Adekanye 1993, 1989; Akande 1987; Idachaba 1986). However, military regimes historically have been equally corrupt as well as highly authoritarian, ruling by decree and using military courts, violence and detention without trial to silence opponents (Shyllon 1980; Ihonvbere 1996; Awe 1999, 13).

Over the 1970s, Nigeria experienced a very rapid growth in oil revenue, from \$718 m in 1970 to \$9.4bn in 1978. From being a major exporter of agriculture in the years after independence, Nigeria became a petro-state, reliant on oil for the vast majority of foreign exchange earnings and government revenue (Subramanian and Sala-i-Martin 2003, 14–15). Since then, the relationship between the federal government at the centre, and regions and states at the periphery, mediated through debates over oil, has been a central concern of Nigerian politics. When oil prices fell in 1983, the federal government was unable to meet loan repayments and had little to fall back on in terms of internally generated revenue.

Buhari's highly authoritarian interlude lasted only until 1985 when he was removed in a counter-coup by General Ibrahim Babangida (Ihonvbere 1993, 143; Bangura 1994a, 272).

The new military regime was forced to meet the demands of creditors and the IMF to maintain solvency, implementing a package of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs). In 1986, the IMF programme was accepted by the military regime, complete with conditionalities requiring economic restructuring, balanced budgets, policies aimed at minimising inflation and cuts to the public sector (Lewis and Stein 1997). SAPs sought to shift the economy from being reliant on public sector activity to investment from private entrepreneurs (Akinola 1998, 238–39; Herbst 1990, 949–58). They also aimed to divert productive potential away from urban commerce and towards rural agricultural production, long ignored by ruling elites (Bates 1981; Jamal and Weeks 1993). The result, however, was that the government was delegitimised in the eyes of the poor majority as it stopped providing social programmes and services essential to public welfare were abandoned to “neglect and deterioration” (Ihonvbere 1993, 142; Bangura 1994b, 790–92; Agbaje and Guyer 2002, xxxi). Counter to the initial impetus of the reforms, what remained of the state grew bloated as public servants tried to retain what was left of their access to resources (Olukoshi, Olaniyan, and Aribisala 1994; Hutchful 1994; Williams 1994).

After Babangida initiated the controversial structural adjustment reforms he announced that he would hand over to a democratically elected leader. The elections took place between 1992 and 1993, with the popular Yoruba businessman and politician M.K.O. Abiola uniting voters across ethnic blocks in his bid for the Presidency (Hoffman and Nolte 2013). However, the elections were annulled and the result never announced, though Abiola was presumed rightful winner, and protests broke out led by what came to be known as the June 12th movement. What followed from 1993 was a military regime led by General Sani Abacha, that represented the nadir of federal abuses of oil revenues, military rule and disastrous economic policies (Mkandawire 1999). Abacha destroyed what was left of the country's democratic institutions and formal policy-making process, government became predatory, and cronyism, corruption and state violence were widespread (Lewis 1996; Lewis and Stein 1997; Olopoenia 1998).

Abacha died in 1998 and in 1999 a new constitution enshrined democracy in Nigeria's ‘Fourth Republic’ with regular elections and a civilian federal government (Enweremadu 2013). Presidential elections were held every four years, and there was a major transferral of power from the central government to elected state governors and local governments. Around half of the revenues in the Federation Account were to be shared among the lower tiers of government (Iledare and Suberu 2010, 3). Olusegun Obasanjo, the Yoruba General

who had come to power in 1976 and managed the transition to democracy in 1979, was returned to power as President for the People's Democratic Party in 1999 (Enweremadu 2010).

With each Presidential election, there was confirmation that the military had been successfully sent back to the barracks and the potential that the Fourth Republic would survive in a democratic civilian form was strengthened. Though the PDP reliably maintained control of the Presidency, Obasanjo's dubious bid to remain in power beyond constitutional limits and seek a third term as President eventually failed. In 2007 Obasanjo handed over to Umaru Yar'Adua, a Muslim northerner who ruled for three years before dying in office. He was succeeded by Goodluck Jonathan, a comparatively young politician who had served as Governor of Bayelsa State. Jonathan became president having won no major elections: both when he became Governor and President it was via promotion from the position of Deputy. However, elections in the Fourth Republic continue to be characterised by misconduct, intimidation and weak rule of law. Moreover, following democratisation, there has been a spike in communal and ethnic violence (Kraxberger 2009; Okeke and Innocent 2013; Enweremadu 2010; Yagboyaju 2011; Enemu 1999; Ikelegbe 2005, 490).

Historical Overview of Ibadan and Oyo State

The early 19th century was a time of instability in Yorubaland, with the fall of the Old Oyo Empire in the 1820s. In this chaotic environment, a "motley band of marauders" found success in military domination of rival towns, and in 1829 established a war camp in what is now Ibadan (Watson 2003, 4–5). The state-building process in Ibadan was based on warfare and conquest. It grew by attracting displaced groups from the Old Oyo Empire and other defeated Yoruba kingdoms to its strategic trading location (Awe 1964; Ajayi and Smith 1971; Falola 1984; Ajala 2005, 108; Ejiogu 2016, 68).

Ibadan, along with its historic rival Oyo town, signed a treaty with the British in 1893 cementing the imposition of colonial rule and becoming a British Protectorate. The British exploited the town for its raw materials, whilst contributing to the continued growth of the city as a commercial and administrative centre. During the colonial period, migrants from further afield came to settle in Ibadan, including the Hausa from northern Nigeria and the Lebanese. These influxes shaped the social geography of the town, creating new districts and neighbourhoods. Its position at the convergence of major trade routes and the routing of the newly constructed Lagos-Kano railway through Ibadan in 1901 helped to develop the city (Onibokun 1999; Freund 2007, 70).

Ibadan became the seat of government for the Western Region, under a unified Nigeria, in 1952. Just before independence in 1960, Lagos Island was turned into a federal territory,

administratively separate from the rest of the region. By then, Ibadan had grown to be the largest city in Sub-Saharan Africa by area. The Mid-Western Region was created out of the Western Region in 1964 and Lagos Island merged with its surrounding areas to form Lagos State in 1967. Throughout the changes of status from 1940s to the 1960s, Ibadan was the centre of federal establishments and home to a new wave of research institutes, media centres and telecoms. Later, the city grew with a variety of new, oil-funded, developments from 1973, including the expansion of the city along the Ibadan-Lagos expressway in the 1980s. In 1976 what was then called the Western State was divided into Ogun, Ondo and Oyo states (Ajala 2008).

Under Abacha's military regime, Ibadan suffered neglect and underinvestment. Other than the creation of a number of new states⁹, which reduced the size of Oyo, the state was largely neglected under the military regime. It was seen as an outpost of opposition to the military government, with the National Democratic Coalition, the major pro-democracy campaign group, having a base in Ibadan (Areola 1994; Agbaje 2002; Fourchard 2003; Ajala 2008, 160–63; O. A. Akinola 2013, n. 6). The 2006 census put the population of Oyo State at 5.6million, with the National Population Commission estimating an increase to 6.4m by 2010 (NBS 2013, Table 45.2). Ibadan's population has been estimated at 3million¹⁰ (Fourchard 2003). In 1991 Ibadan's administration was divided into 11 independent Local Government Areas (LGAs), 5 core urban LGAs¹¹ and a further 6 semi-urban LGAs.¹² The biggest occupations in Ibadan are traders and civil servants, with some agricultural production and processing in urban and peri-urban areas. Across the whole state, agriculture is the main industry, with major poultry production (Adelekan et al. 2014, 1, 22). Today, the South West Zone is the richest¹³ in Nigeria (DHS 2014, Table 2.5). Oyo is comparatively well integrated into the national and global economy: there are around twice as many bank branches in Oyo State as the state average (excluding Lagos) with more being built every

⁹ In 1991, Osun was carved out from Oyo, and in 1996 Ekiti was created from part of Ondo state.

¹⁰ Official estimates in 2010 put the city's population at 2.9m (NBS 2013, Table 45.2; NPC 2010, 294–52011).

¹¹ Ibadan North, Ibadan North-East, Ibadan North-West, Ibadan South-East and Ibadan South-West.

¹² Akinyele, Egbeda, Ido, Lagelu, Ona Ara and Oluyole.

¹³ Almost half the population are the top wealth quintile nationally and only 8.3% are in the lowest or second lowest wealth quintile.

year¹⁴ (CBN 2012a). Despite this comparative wealth, poverty is widespread even in the state's biggest city. An estimated 76% of Ibadan residents are food insecure and 30% report experiencing moderate to severe hunger (Ajani, Adebukola, and Oyindamola 2006). In general its social indicators are above the national average but worse or average in relation to its more cosmopolitan neighbours like Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Ekiti (DHS 2013). On measures such as vaccination rates Oyo scores around the national average, but significantly worse than its southwestern neighbours¹⁵ (DHS 2014, fig. 10.3).

¹⁴ Table A2.7.2: Number of Commercial Bank Branches in Nigeria (by States) and Abroad, Statistical Bulletin 2012 Section A

¹⁵ On the percentage of children aged 12-23 months who are vaccinated, Oyo scores just 26%, only 1% more than the national average, and worse than most of its neighbours, who have a zonal average of 41%.

2. Studying Conceptions of Good Governance: Methodology and Methods

Previous attempts at making the invisible concrete: quantitative methods

Using quantitative methods, many studies on governance look at the prevalence of different practices and policies, whether positive or negative, and explore the connections with other social, economic and political trends. Quantitative studies rely on a positivist epistemology whereby there is a distinct reality out there to be studied, and researchers must seek to represent it as objectively and truthfully as possible. The Good Governance Index and the Corruption Perceptions Index measure states' performance in certain areas, and produce rankings comparing countries. The former evaluates how well countries demonstrate political traits deemed desirable by the good governance model (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2010; Galtung and Pope 1999). The latter developed in the 1990s and inspired extensive attempts to see which factors were causally associated with poorer corruption rankings. Building on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (Lamsdorff 1995), these studies used large-n quantitative cross-country analysis to run regressions investigating the correlation and causal relationships between corruption and other factors (Lancaster and Montinola 1997; Treisman 2007; Bardhan 2006; Montinola and Jackman 2002; Graf Lamsdorff 2005; Goudie and Stasavage 1998; Lamsdorff 2001; Bardhan 1997). However, the reliance on perception of corruption – often by outside elite experts and sometimes self-perpetuating (Miller 2008) – has been called into question. It has been noted that perception indices do not correlate strongly with measures of experienced corruption (Treisman 2007).

Using similar methodologies, scholars have attempted to explain what leads to differences in populations' acceptance of corruption and other political attitudes. One approach has been to compare perceived levels of corruption with variations in a country's cultural values using the World Values Survey, such as whether the national culture is more oriented towards survival or self-expression, or how hierarchical the major religion is (Husted 1999; Sandholtz and Taagepera 2005, 112). Others have inverted the approach, looking at how attitudes towards corruption correlate with other national-level variables. These rely on obtuse single questions where the respondents rate the statement "Someone accepting a bribe in the course of their duties" on a scale from 1 -10 (never to always justifiable) (Manzetti and Wilson 2007, 995).

Such approaches take whole countries as units of analysis as if all citizens share a single set of attitudes, and homogenise a broad set of practices under the word corruption as if it is

“essentially the same” everywhere (Johnston 2005, 186). Corruption becomes reified as a defined object and understanding corruption becomes a case of knowing what background factors make people more or less accepting of ‘it’. The use of cross-country standardised measures of governance quality suggests that what counts as good governance remains constant across contexts. Indeed, Kaufman et al. defend the composition of their perceptions-based Worldwide Governance Index on the grounds that their data suggests “it is implausible that the preferences of businesspeople regarding good governance differ so dramatically from those of other types of respondents” (Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2007, 13). However, Kurtz and Schrank (2006) show that even a broad-brush questionnaire can reveal stark differences between how different groups, such as business people and others, in society evaluate government action.

However, on the whole, normative judgements about politics do not submit well to quantitative analysis (Schatz 2009, 2) and quantitative studies often fail to “tell us anything about the experience of ‘corruption’ for the majority of people” (Harrison 2004, 139). For example, Cheeseman has used surveys of political attitudes to test Barrington Moore’s hypothesis of “No bourgeoisie, no democracy” in Kenya. Using Afrobarometer data, where attitudes are broken down by income and other variables, he evaluates whether class, defined variously by education, employment, wealth and lived poverty, explains variations in support for democracy, attitudes to presidentialism and attitudes to freedom of association. Cheeseman adds some qualitative data in the form of an analysis of elite politics in Kenya (Cheeseman 2015, 648, 652).

Whilst this approach benefits from a sample size of approximately 2400 respondents, with consistent descriptive data about the respondents, the data on attitudes is very thin. The terms of reference are imposed by the questions, rather than being inductively generated by participants, and respondents must choose between one of two opposing statements such as: ‘A: Political parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Kenya.’ and ‘B: Many political parties are needed to make sure that Kenyans have real choices in who governs them’. There were 5 possible responses for each: strong agreement with A, agreement with A, neither, agreement with B and strong agreement with B. This leaves little room for a more nuanced understanding of how respondents understand political life, nor can it pick up on important political values that fall outside of the rubric of pre-determined questions. The psychological assumption of such positivist work on ‘political attitudes’ is that individuals have concrete and coherent preferences and attitudes, which surveys can measure as easily as personal characteristics like height and weight.

Where quantitative studies have yielded revealing results is where they have been combined in multi-methods research design with qualitative methods and context specific understanding. Rogger's study of the Nigerian Federal Civil Service built on long-term observation and focus-groups to formulate survey questions which were pertinent to the concerns of civil servants and their managers (Rogger 2014). Forthcoming work on taxation and political legitimacy in Lagos combines survey data with longer in-depth interviews to deepen the analysis, allowing participants to offer their own interpretations of politics (Cheeseman and Klaas 2017).

What is missing in many of these discussions is a positive and substantive sense of what alternative conceptions of good governance actually consist of. Indeed, the universalists formulate universal values such as transparency and accountability in such a compelling vocabulary, and the discourse promoting such conceptions is so dominant, that it is hard to imagine alternative values outside of these frameworks. Take for instance the World Bank's widely used definition of transparency as "the citizenry's right to know and access to information" (Kaufmann and Bellver 2005, 1). It seems perverse to argue against this as a good thing, as surely there is nowhere citizens do not wish to access information. The process of thinking through alternative conceptions of good governance therefore does not start with a critique of dominant conceptions and then reason to an improved conception. Rather it must be an inductive process where actually existing politics on the ground is studied in-depth and without pre-conceptions to allow popular conceptions of good governance to emerge inductively.

Making the invisible visible: constructivist methodology and its implications for inductive qualitative methods

A constructivist approach is well suited to the study of political ideas and how people conceive of 'good governance' because it can capture the way that political ideas are constitutive of political reality in themselves, and mediate how people understand the world, rather than simply being perceptions or evaluations of an external reality.

Scholars have employed a variety of methods to try and capture the way that different ideas are constructed in political life, with the aim of developing more nuanced accounts of how people understand politics. Burbidge invited youth in Nairobi to keep a diary of their thoughts on the election for the month surrounding the 2013 elections, to track how their affiliations changed (Burbidge 2014). However, the most popular methods are in-depth interviews and ethnographic participant-observation. Ethnographic methods, based on close and prolonged observation of the everyday life of a setting or group, offer a way of uncovering the richness and nuance of political life. Corbridge et al. and the States at Work

research agenda are major contributions to the ethnographic study of the state and its workings. Both are inductive, taking the “real” workings of the states in the third world as their focus, rather than comparing empirical case studies to pre-existing paradigms such as good governance or neopatrimonialism (Corbridge et al. 2005; Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan 2014).

Historians, sociologists, anthropologists and politics researchers have found useful ways of employing a constructivist methodology in such a way that ‘invisible’ normative ideas can be made visible, if not ‘concrete’. Ruth Watson studies how civic culture developed in the history of Ibadan from the mid-19th to the early 20th century, and finds that civic culture is never a concrete object but it is an ever-changing interaction of multiple perspectives and experiences that resists definition. She argues that when studying broad ideas and how they are shared or contested in a society, we should not search for neat or definitive answers as in the positivist methodologies above. Rather, civic culture is “a contentious historical process rather than [...] a fixed set of political attitudes” (Watson 2003, 9) Anthropologists of development studies have similarly built methodologies on the assumption of diverse, plural and multiple understandings of a central imaginary. Corbridge et al., in *Seeing the State*, argue that rather than trying to study ‘the state’ as a monolithic entity, researchers seek to gain an understanding of how different groups ‘see’ or encounter the state. The state is not a unitary entity or actor, but only exists from these multiple and divergent ‘sightings’, none of which is privileged as holding the truth to the ‘real’ nature of the state (Corbridge et al. 2005, 19).

Therefore I sought to cultivate an ethnographic “sensibility” (Cerwonka and Malkki 2008) or “attitude” (Flick 2014) even though the empirical data-collection was done through interviews, observation and secondary materials rather than ethnography’s traditional method, long-term participant observation. This means prioritising the meanings informants give to their social and political reality and a general sympathy for interlocutors (Schatz 2009, 5,7). These epistemological and methodological orientations have implications for methods: the practical tools of gathering data and producing knowledge. The first implication was that I needed to seek the perspectives of a wide cross-section of actors: both those who made policy, those who worked in government implementing policy, and ordinary people who were in some way that recipients, targets, or victims of government policy. Each category would provide a different ‘sighting’ of the state, as well as differences within the categories. Moreover, these considerations reminded me that whatever data I got from each interview should not be understood as data about the respondents fixed preferences. Rather it was a contextual product of the professional or social role they occupied in that instant, their response to me as a researcher and the contingent pressures shaping their perspectives at that

point in time. One way of doing this was to collect characteristics data on each of my respondents, where appropriate, concerning their role, background and identity, to help contextualise the position they occupied in the political structure.

Furthermore, it made me aware that my research needed to interrogate the shifting and historically situated nature of political ethics and norms. Conceptions of good governance and, conversely, corruption, exist at the nexus of a variety of complex moral and social issues concerning legitimacy, duties, and morality (Pardo 2004; Harrison 2004, 140). To fully understand how people normatively evaluate different forms of state action, and interactions with the state, we must investigate the ‘intersubjective meanings’ involved (Taylor 1974). Corbridge et al. remind us that to understand how those within the state conceive of good governance, we must broaden out from simply understanding officials in their formal roles and consider their social worlds to “give a stronger sense of their embeddedness in local society” (Corbridge et al. 2005, 152) What this means for methods is that we cannot do the interpretative work of reconstructing the meanings that respondents give to political events and policies, if we do not cultivate a rich background understanding of the social world in which they exist. Ajala’s ethnographic investigation of “community perception and conception of local politics” in Ibadan relied on his insider status and existing rich background knowledge. He describes his ethnographic methods as creating opportunities for a “multiplicity of intersubjective encounters” (Ajala 2008, 150–51). As an outsider, who had not been exposed to Yoruba life and culture before arriving in Lagos for the scoping trip in July 2013, my contextual knowledge was shaped by my outsider status which meant I had no intuitive grasp of the “inter-subjective understandings” that Ajala used to generate insights in his work.

The typical response to the challenge of how to develop this background knowledge through ethnographic field-work is “immersion” in the field site. This suggests a complete and prolonged exposure to the lived reality of the field site, and isolation from other experiences or connections to the ‘outside world’. However, this idea of ‘immersion in the field’ has been problematized by scholars. The conception of the field as a bounded and unitary unit is a construction, and neglects the inter-connected and trans-local reality of a globalised world (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011; Borneman and Hammoudi 2009; DeWalt and DeWalt 2002; Fife 2005). Furthermore, the idea of immersion occludes the reality of mobile phone and internet connections to home, and other privileged aspects of the researcher’s lifestyle in the field. Following Gupta and Ferguson (1997), Cerwonka and Malkki explore how each of the field-sites they worked in presented “complex forms of community and isolation” (Cerwonka and Malkki 2008, 7).

Whilst aware of the complexities of the idea of ‘immersion’ and without a singular ‘field’ in which to immerse myself, I nonetheless sought to embrace my time in Nigeria as an opportunity for learning about diverse aspects of social, political and religious life. I participated in as many aspects of everyday life in Ibadan as possible, though of course, what counts as ‘everyday’ varies by class, gender, religion and innumerable others factors. I attended church services and Islamic events with Nigerian friends and informants, approached travelling on public transport as an activity in itself and went shopping regularly in a variety of markets and shopping complexes. I kept field-notes with descriptions of the research process and everyday experience of Ibadan.

I hired three research assistants over the course of my fieldwork who helped to provide knowledge of the “inter-subjective” meanings and background cultural and social context. All three were male native Yoruba speakers between the ages of 25 and 40 and were from Oyo State. The two who worked with me in the markets and non-elite interviews were both master’s students from the Anthropology Department at the University of Ibadan. Joseph was an established professional research assistant who had worked with numerous Western researchers in Ibadan before. Buky was recommended to me through a friend, and had worked with NGOs that were closely linked to Western donors. They were adept at translating between the academic world in which my research questions were generated, and Yoruba social life from which I hoped to find answers. My third research assistant, Gbenga, had experience working for political figures in Ibadan and worked with me on some elite interviews and on tours of Ibadan where he narrated our routes through the city, through the political significance of different neighbourhoods. Working with research assistants was also useful for interviews in English, where the differences in dialect and tone meant that at times I misunderstood without knowing I had misunderstood, and through talking through the interviews afterwards my assistants were able to clarify (Becker and Geer 1957, 29).

I also consulted a wide range of newspapers, social media articles and official documents. Previous work on politics in Nigeria has attested to the usefulness of newspaper sources (Ajala 2008, 151; Hoffman 2011, 10), but it is important to be aware of each paper’s biases resulting from ownership of most newspapers by major political figures¹⁶. Indeed, learning to pick up on the ways that different news sources prioritised and presented events, and the

¹⁶ The Nation is owned by Bola Tinubu, the Tribune was founded by Obafemi Awolowo and has long associations with the Awolowo family (Adesoji and Alimi 2012), and the Daily Trust is the only major northern-based paper. The *Premium Times* currently offers the most developed investigative journalism, for instance partnering with the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists to help break the Panama Papers in April 2016 (*Premium Times Nigeria* 2016a).

broader political orientations this reflects, was part of the process of building up a background knowledge. I consulted the newspaper archives and university libraries and IFRA-Ibadan, a French government research institute based in the University of Ibadan. I also consulted some masters and dissertation theses in the University of Ibadan and the University of Lagos (Fagbemi 1990; Akinfala 2005).

Prior to my PhD research I had been to Nigeria once, spending a month living with a family and conducting environmental research in Maiduguri, a state capital in the northeast, in 2009. For my PhD I spent 6 ½ months in Nigeria, spread over three trips between July 2013 and August 2015. My first trip for this project was for 2 weeks in July 2013. I visited Abuja and Lagos, attending a conference and conducting pilot interviews. My second research trip was conducted as part of an Economic and Social Research Council funded Overseas Institutional Visit to the University of Ibadan (UI), in Oyo State. I conducted a further 9 pilot interviews with elites in Lagos and Ibadan. My final trip lasted 4 months from April to August 2015, during which time I was registered as a visiting researcher in the Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan. In total I conducted around 150 interviews and focus groups with around 200 respondents (see interview list in Appendix for details).

3. Case and Field-Site Selection

The States at Work research agenda provides a rich and thoughtful set of ethnographies from which the team of scholars draw insightful theoretical contributions about the day-to-day running of states and the way that normative issues are navigated by state agents¹⁷ (Blundo 2006; Olivier de Sardan 2014). However, my research diverges from States at Work in terms of how the historical moment of the fieldwork is understood. Much of the State at Work research is understood as portraying the ongoing ethnographic at present. The dominant framing is the “day-to-day”, the “routinized”, and the “banal” (Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan 2014, 3). This emphasises those aspects of bureaucratic actions that are ongoing, recurring and consistent. By contrast, my research question identifies a moment of intentional change. It is concerned with the efforts of the Governor of Oyo to introduce elements of novelty, rupture and transformation into the existing “day-to-day”, “routinized” and “banal” ways of doing things. Therefore, it looks at the dynamic, rather than the habitual.

There have been studies of political change and transformation from within the States at Work research agenda. Michael Roll and Gerhard Anders both address moments of actual or attempted change, but they conceptualise the change within different normative frameworks. Roll’s study of pockets of effectiveness in the Nigerian federal civil service, relates closely to the themes of my research. He considers how ‘pockets’ within the Nigerian bureaucracy can adopt radically different modes of operation to the rest, and explores what internal politics and processes lead to the delivery of ‘good governance’. Pockets of effectiveness are conceptualised as positive anomalies; they are “public organisations that deliver public services effectively in contexts of largely ineffective government” (Roll 2014, 365). His work reproduces the binary of corruption and good governance as universal normative categories, where good governance is “what works” to deliver public services, and bad governance is that which fails on this criterion¹⁸. Gerhard Anders takes a legal pluralist perspective, studying how civil service reform policies imposed on Malawi by donors are evaluated, accepted and resisted by different categories of Malawian civil servants. He

¹⁷ State agents include anyone acting on behalf of the state, whether as political office holders, in the civil service or public service, i.e. the police, public schools, the legal system etc.

¹⁸ It is worth noting that whilst Roll reproduces the evaluative framework of the mainstream good governance literature, he differs from the mainstream literature in his analysis of how effective ‘good governance’ is achieved and therefore his prescriptions for reform. For more discussion, see the review of the Developmental Patrimonialism literature in chapter two.

highlights how individual actors within the civil service are held accountable to numerous different conceptions of what they should do to provide good governance (Anders 2002, 2005, 2009, 2014).

The Manchester School of sociologists and social anthropologists were interested in how the dynamic can emerge from the habitual. In a series of in-depth case studies of African social life, Gluckman, Mitchell and others drew on what were new post-structural social theories to critique the dominant functionalist and structural theories of the time (Mitchell 1969; Gluckman 1965). The important insight of these explorations is that field-workers can look for 'oments of emergence' (Turner 1957), moments where these systemic forces were disrupted and their contradictions revealed (Kapferer 2006, 136).

These differences in epistemology, methodology and focus translate into different strategies for methods and case selection. Roll assumes normative universalism for his case selection. He employs a scale for ranking government organisations from effective to ineffective, according to how well they deliver public services, and selects cases on the basis of 'criteria-led' discussions with 'experts'. In contrast to Roll's case selection that relies on a normative consensus, I drew on the idea of 'moments of emergence' (Turner 1957) and sought case studies of thematic or policy areas within Oyo State government that would present contradictions. Anders advises 'following the policy' through what Nader calls a 'vertical slice' of government, tracing the normative and political goals of elites, into policy-making, through the different levels of government to how policies are implemented, resisted and subverted on the ground (Anders 2005; Nader 1980). There is always a trade off in qualitative research between depth, in the sense of 'getting deep' into one locale or group of people (Waquant 2004: viii), and breadth, to understand a whole field and how the viewpoints of different groups tie together (Mische 2008: 9). I chose to focus my data collection on two specific issues or policies within the Oyo political landscape, and pick places and organisations that could give privileged and direct insights to the issue. This was because I wanted to be able to build up a picture of what the main political ideas were in Oyo State politics as a whole, rather than focus on a specific bounded community or institution.

I chose to focus on Oyo State as it provides an example of state government that is seeking to enact rapid and transformative changes to governance, based on a new model. The Lagos Model has been studied extensively in Lagos State but this research studies its propagation in a context of more meagre fiscal resources and strongly established indigenous political organisation. My case selection within this overall case study followed two criteria. The first was that case studies should be controversial and contentious within political discourse in

Oyo State. Controversial policies gave me the opportunity to look at why different actors came to different evaluative conclusions and thus tease out the different conceptions of what it means to provide 'good governance'. The second criterion was theoretically derived. I knew that I wanted to explore how archetypal policies associated with international conceptions of good governance were received and contested in Oyo State. Therefore, I looked for policies and programmes that represented one of the key principles of the good governance agenda, such as accountability, transparency and progress through private-sector-led development. With these criteria in mind I generated possible case studies inductively upon my arrival in Ibadan, through reading newspapers and initial interviews and conversations.

Case Study 1: Urban Renewal

I arrived in Ibadan just days after the gubernatorial election in April 2015; and urban renewal, specifically the clearing of roadside traders, was a 'hot topic' as required by my first case selection criteria. Supporters saw it as necessary modernisation, whereas opponents argued it prioritised elite interests over ordinary people's livelihoods. Furthermore, it met the theoretical criterion as a policy that represented the concerns of international good governance. Donors do not directly recommend demolishing informal shops, but similar policies in nearby Lagos, were celebrated by donors and the international business press for improving the city's business environment. I selected a number of field-sites with the aim of identifying categories of respondents who had different experiences of government policy. By intentionally looking for those who had different 'sightings' of the state (Corbridge et al. 2005) I hoped to build up a sense of political meanings as 'contentious processes' involving plural voices rather than a single unified narrative (Watson 2003, 9). First I selected one of the modern neighbourhood markets that was built by the government to provide shops for displaced traders. I selected one of the neighbourhood markets - which I refer to by the pseudonym Neighbourhood Market - on the basis that newspaper reports and conversations suggested it was especially successful. It was an opportunity to study the Lagos Model's conception of good governance in a context where it had been most clearly enacted.

Through the initial interviews at Neighbourhood Market I identified two informal roadside market locations from which traders in Neighbourhood Market had been cleared. This generated two more field-sites for the urban renewal case study, which I refer to as Highway Market and Junction Market. These sites represented categories of traders who had responded to government policy in different ways: those who had complied with the instruction to relocate to Neighbourhood Market and those who had disobeyed and returned to near their original roadside location. A further two less detailed field sites provided alternative experiences of government urban renewal policy. Central Market is a large

established market. Despite not being along the roadside, it has been partially demolished by government at various points in its history, and then rebuilt. At the time of my fieldwork, sections of Central Market had been destroyed three years earlier by Ajimobi's government for sanitation reasons and there were reports of plans to 'modernise' it, but as yet it had not been directly affected by urban renewal. Central Market Extension, the final field-site for this case study, had no history of demolitions. Within the markets I first engaged in a rough process of stratified sampling, where I randomly selected participants from different sections of the market, before pursuing purposive sampling to find respondents who were involved in political networks.

I decided to build up multi-site case studies around the market field-sites to see how those implementing government policy conceived of good governance. For each market area I conducted interviews in the local government, which took me to three local governments in Ibadan for which I use pseudonyms. Central Market is in the Ibadan Central, Highway Market and Neighbourhood Market are in Ibadan Metropolitan, and Junction Market is split across Ibadan Metropolitan and Ibadan Downtown. Based on 2011 figures, the populations of the local governments under study ranged from approximately 170,000 to 350,000. However, population growth for the 4 years previous was around 15% so the population had probably exceeded that by 2015 (NBS 2013).

In each local government I interviewed the three most senior members of the local government civil service; the Head of Local Government Administration (HLA), the Director of Finance and the Director of Administration and General Services (DAGS). When I arrived at each local government compound these were the figures that I was encouraged to approach first, and they had the discretion to permit me to do interviews with staff lower down in the organisation. Moreover, their positions gave them an overview of the activities of the local government. I also sought interviews with the Director of Education and Social Services, who oversaw the Community Development Unit (CDU), which was charged with responding to community association requests for small scale public goods, like boreholes, transformers and refurbishment of community halls. The local government Chairmen were not officially available for the duration of my 4-month visit, as they awaited re-appointment. However, I secured an interview with Chairman of Ibadan Central through a party contact.

In each LGA, I conducted interviews with the executive of the Community Development Council (CDC). The CDC is an assembly of all the Community Development Associations in the LGA, made up of landlords and tenants associations and other community groups. The strength and activities of CDCs varied across the local governments but their main roles

were to facilitate self-help community development projects and work with the local government CDUs to propose, implement and monitor small-scale government-funded projects.

Case Study 2: Empowerment

The second case study was theoretically derived. I looked for a case study that would provide a mirror image to urban renewal, i.e. a policy of the state government that went against the prescriptions of the international good governance agenda, or even one that would be seen as corrupt. This led me to an interest in the practice of empowerment. In the Nigerian political context “empowerment” refers to the distribution of food, money or equipment for income-generating activities (see Ch.8). Empowerment events are spectacles, often held in a stadium, marquee or other festive venue, where a patron publicly distributes empowerment goods. They are almost always accompanied by political messages imploring those who have benefitted from reciprocating by voting for the politician in an upcoming election.

From newspaper reports I identified potential field-sites where I could build up a case study of empowerment programmes connected closely to the Governor: Ajumose Food Bank and the Ajumose Widows Initiative and ABC Clinics. These were linked to the Governor’s wife but often invoked by Ajimobi in speeches as examples of his government’s good work. One challenge I faced was not being able to attend or interview anyone who was directly involved in the provision of these empowerment events. Whereas the contentious and controversial nature of urban renewal policies was highlighted by the abundance of debate and news coverage, the controversial position of empowerment became clear through the relative secrecy surrounding it.

Urban Renewal and Empowerment at the State Government Level

In keeping with the procedure of 'following the policy' and taking a 'vertical slice' of government I wanted to interview members of the local or state governments who had responsibility for the two case studies I looked at: neighbourhood markets and empowerment schemes. First of all, whilst I selected local governments based on their connection to different market areas, my interviewees in local governments insisted that they had not been involved in the neighbourhood market policies because they were state government projects. Eventually, I was able to secure a formal interview with a senior staff member at the Ministry of Trade, Cooperatives and Investments, who informed us that actually the Ministry had no remit over neighbourhood markets, which was instead being managed by another office at the direction of the Governor.

Empowerment schemes, where they happened at the local government level, were run by either the CDU or other elements of the Department for Education and Social Services. However the local governments explained that they were not involved in either of the schemes I was interested in, nor had they run their own schemes since the slump in oil prices had cut their revenues at least 9 months earlier. Interviews in the Ministry of Women Affairs revealed a similar situation with regards to the major empowerment schemes run by the Governor. I spoke with senior staff with responsibility for Women's Empowerment, Poverty Alleviation and Community Development. When I had asked about empowerment programmes in the local and state government, I had been told that they were run by the Governor's wife, out of the Office of the First Lady. Attempts to get interviews with the First Lady or her team were unsuccessful, despite a visit to the ABC Hub – the headquarters of her health charity - and the Office of the First Lady.

In reaction to the difficulty of finding the organisers of empowerment schemes, I searched for beneficiaries. I obtained contact details for widows' associations from the Women Development Unit in the state government. I visited two groups: the first was a training and support centre run by an individual, and the second was a self-help association of widows and widowers. I interviewed the leader of the first and conducted a focus group with 12 members of the executive of the second. Whilst the interviews and focus groups deepened my understanding of how associations interact with government, and the modalities of empowerment more generally, I still didn't find any direct beneficiaries of the Ajumose Food Bank or Widows Initiative.

I conducted three interviews over three visits to Ajumose House, which was the Governor's private sponsored vocational training centre-cum-campaign headquarters. I initially identified this as a site because training is often offered by politicians as 'empowerment' to their clients, and I guessed that the training centre could be a way for Ajimobi to build a constituency. Serendipitously, I discovered late in my fieldwork that a number of the market women from Neighbourhood Market had attended Ajumose Food Bank events, via links they had with the Governor's political party (See Ch.8).

Elite Interviews

I also conducted interviews with a wide range of other individuals who had different positions within the political structure of the state: some were successful politicians¹⁹, some

¹⁹ I-7 Former progressive member of the Federal House of Representatives for an Oyo State constituency, Ibadan 20/10/2013; I-29 Former progressive member of the Federal House of Representatives for an Oyo State constituency, Ibadan 20/10/2013 and I-23 Former High Ranking Member of Ajimobi's Executive Council, Ibadan, 06/05/2015

were unsuccessful candidates²⁰, some were individuals who had worked in various capacities for godfathers²¹, some were academics, journalists, or professionals. I conducted 49 elite interviews, of which 4 were follow up interviews. A further nine ‘field interviews’ were conducted which were more informal than an interview, and just recorded in notes, but for which the same consent procedures applied. I used snowball sampling where respondents were invited to connect me with other individuals who they thought would illuminate the core issues, as well as purposive selection to identify respondents who could provide a viewpoint not already represented in my sample. These elites often had privileged access to information about elite politics or were in a position to give an overview of a situation, say from experience as a journalist or academic.

In my field notes, I reflected on conversations I had with taxi drivers, shopkeepers, cleaning staff and students. I also observed, in person and in the press, how politicians behaved and how they sought to present themselves to the public. I traced which of their actions and gestures were well-received by the people around them and their constituents, and which were criticised, whether publicly or privately. In trying to understand the underlying principles of good governance in Ibadan society, I tried to draw out the themes that recurred again and again, across different groups in society.

²⁰ I-19 Academic and Gubernatorial Aspirant, Ibadan 29/04/2015

²¹ I-15 and I-48 Former aide to Adedibu, Ibadan 22/04 and 10/08/2015 and F-5, F-6, F-7, F-8 Former aide to Arisekola family, Ibadan, 12/05, 15/05, 22/05, 18/04/2015

4. Positionality and its Effects on Knowledge Production:

Scholars are increasingly rejecting the conception of the interview as an unproblematic 'snapshot' of what is going on inside the respondent's head and warn that "we take at face value the image of the self-revealing subject at our peril" (Atkinson and Silverman 1997, 322). On a constructivist understanding, an interview is an "interactional product" (ten Have 2012, 35) which is "created by the encounter between two or more persons" (Baker and Edwards 2012, 32). Crenshaw's distinction between position, the fixed forms of privilege, and dynamics, where privilege ebbs and flows depending on contingent factors, is useful for exploring how the effect of one's position influences the knowledge you can create in different contexts (Kimberle Crenshaw 1989; 1995). Salient aspects of my position were my racial identity as white, my gender (female), my status as a Western outsider and my age as a junior or youth, but these had different effects depending on context. I was surprised by the fluidity and contingency of my position in different hierarchies, with the dynamics of privilege changing from one day, or even one room, to the next, as I moved between different hierarchies within and between tiers of government and different social worlds: from that of roadside traders to the swish offices of state level power-brokers.

The following section explains some of the ways that my position was expressed in the dynamics of different interviews, the effect this had on the 'interactional product' and the strategies I used to mitigate the obstacles my position presented to access and understanding. In addition, I highlight some of the ways in which my identity as a researcher interacted with the process of gaining access to generate insights about my research topic.

Negotiating my position in the non-elite field sites

In markets and other non-elite sites I was generally a high status outsider. Being white and speaking English, which is the language of government in Nigeria, traders often assumed I was at the market in some official capacity, perhaps on behalf of government. This potentially presented a barrier to relaxed discussion because many of the traders had suffered losses to their livelihood through demolitions at the hands of government or feared that speaking to me might have repercussions i.e. becoming visible on government records and being taxed (Alakinde 2012, 888). However, some respondents, for instance at the Widows Association, asked whether I was from an NGO and if talking to me might result in some development benefits. Both the fear of talking to me, and unrealistic expectation of benefit, necessitated strategies to ensure informed consent. This meant that I ensured, either directly, or through a research assistant, that they understood who I was and what the research was and that I would ensure confidentiality and anonymity. I complied with LSE's ethical

procedures²² throughout (LSE 2014) but these on their own did not provide clear mechanisms of understanding and consent for the non-elite respondents. Initially, at the recommendation of my university I used consent forms for the first 14 pilot interviews. The use of paperwork was off-putting even to my most ‘elite’ Nigerian respondents, so for the rest of my interviews I obtained oral consent. My research assistants were vital in mediating my identity for the respondents, for instance by explaining their own family background as someone who had family connections to Ibadan and attended local schools. Whereas the consent form and documentary infrastructure of my home institution relied on linking me to official laws and regulations, the documents that mattered in the field were those that linked me to recognisable and reputable Ibadan-based institutions such as the University of Ibadan where I was officially based.

A key consideration of how to maintain ethical conduct was the process of anonymising my research in written form. I have anonymised the name and locations of my field-sites in Ibadan, which involves a trade off between “maximising protection of participants’ identities and maintaining the value and integrity of the data” (Saunders, Kitzinger, and Kitzinger 2015, 617). It also limits the extent to which I can use news reports to back up certain narratives, because to do so would reveal the location and identities of informants. However, the important findings in this thesis pertain to the political and social processes rather than specific empirical cases so the essence is maintained. I have used pseudonyms for people and places, and in some cases changed details, such as a trader’s trade to obscure them further, reflecting the fact that anonymity is a continuum (C. R. Scott 2005). In some very limited cases I have presented a single informant as two separate people in the write up, so as to avoid an ‘information jigsaw’ whereby separate pieces of information can be put together to identify the respondent (Saunders, Kitzinger, and Kitzinger 2015; Tilley and Woodthorpe 2011; Tolich 2004). In the one case where I use photos to help explain the context of my research, i.e. in chapter six where I explain what differentiates neighbourhood markets from other markets, I digitally edited the photographs to remove potentially identifying features.

Gaining access to markets in Ibadan was not difficult. Whether housed in purpose-built stalls, or built informally along the roadside, markets in Ibadan are highly organised. Membership of the market association is generally mandatory, and there is a Babaloja – male

²² For the research completed when I was a student at King’s College London in 2013 I complied with their ethical procedures, which are slightly different in format, but have the same result of ensuring informed consent and no harm.

leader – and Mamaloja or Iyaloja – female leader – for the market, as well as heads of association for each trade represented in the market who we approached through the course of our research (Oladejo 2015, xiv). In this regard, the process of choosing who to interview, i.e. sample selection, was influenced not only by methodological considerations but also by considerations of what was seen as appropriate and respectful in the market context. Especially in Neighbourhood Market, which was enclosed in a compound, distinct from the rest of the built environment and generally quiet, it was imperative to respect protocol to visit the Babaloja as soon as possible after arriving, to seek his permission and schedule an interview with him as head of the market.

Some of the interviews were ‘focus groups’, where participants would come and go, or call over friends to come and join in, so did not have a fixed number of participants. The interviews were semi-structured. My questions fell into two groups: characteristics questions asked about marital status, state of origin and the size and nature of their business; and position questions asked about attitudes, opinions and preferences. I had a list of standard questions but allowed the conversation to develop naturalistically. The list of sample questions was itself an inductive product of the research, and a result of ongoing iterative collaboration with my research assistants. The wording of the questions came out of phrasings that my respondents used and my research assistants automatically generated: the questions “Can I know you?” for eliciting background data and “Has this government touched you in anyway?” were phrased in ways I would not have devised before entering the field. The question sheet (see Appendix) did not include any question that directly asks about what respondents understood as ‘good governance’ or ‘corruption’, because I found that the former elicited vague evasive answers and the latter elicited a set ‘script’ response. Rather, I pursued this topic through asking follow-up questions when traders mentioned a specific government action and “continually moving the discussion to the level of concrete personal experience” (Becker 1958, 32). I pursued a narrative account to draw on natural story-telling ability (Schutze 1977; Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000). I transcribed the English interviews myself, and the interviews featuring Yoruba were transcribed by native-Yoruba assistants. The transcripts were uploaded to Nvivo and coded with an open coding frame to identify themes.

Negotiating my position in elite interviews

For elite interviews, the brute facts of my position as a white Western outsider were expressed in a different set of dynamics, which in turn shaped the ‘interactional product’. Scholars have documented the rise of “interview society” in a Western context, where the interview has become a ubiquitous social format, but conducting elite interviews in Nigeria comes with its own set of expectations (Atkinson and Silverman 1997, 315). Senior figures

will often start with a full autobiography starting with the backgrounds of their parents²³. The dynamics put me in a junior position to the wealthy, older men who constituted the bulk of my elite interviews. Being younger, female and not presenting in luxurious dress, I slipped into a position of student or apprentice (Hossain 1999, 6) and, previous PhD researchers report, such interviews are often “difficult to direct”, in the sense that the respondents sometimes give long answers and are resistant to interruption or probing (Hoffman 2011, 10–12).

Yet because of the other aspects of my position which were hierarchically privileged, i.e. my race and my connections to prestigious international networks, my status in these elite settings was unstable. The effect of elite gatekeepers on the dynamics was more complex and changeable than in the non-elite interviews. I became aware that my identity and my research project were potentially resources that others could use for their own ends. For instance, the rich, high status close relative of a godfather who I spoke to for interview I-9²⁴, arranged my interview with the senior cabinet member in interview I-10²⁵. He called the cabinet member from his phone, arranging for him to stay late in the office that night, and had his driver take me to Government House, where the familiar number plate meant the car was waved through the gates. In contrast interview I-13²⁶, with a much less important member of cabinet, was arranged via a taxi driver who I had told about my research. I had to go during office hours and wait whilst various intermediary officials approved my entry to the building which I had entered freely after-hours just a month before. Together these experiences of access suggested the porous and permeable nature of the state, and how that varied with the status of those trying to access it, which contributed to my understanding of accessibility (see Ch.7).

In summary, my positionality affected my access to and interactions with my respondents, but the dynamics of that positionality varied from context to context. I took measures to ensure that I maintained my respondents’ confidentiality, both during research and in the writing up, and that they could give informed consent in ways that were sensitive to the

²³ See past interviews with Lamido Adedibu as an example (Omobowale and Olutayo 2007, 429; Animasawun 2013, 7).

²⁴ I-9 Senior member of Arisekola household, Ibadan, 28/10/2013

²⁵ I-10 Senior member of the Governor's Executive Council, Ibadan, 30/10/2013

²⁶ I-13 Junior member of the Governor's administration, Ibadan 02/12/2013

context. These methodological considerations in turn shaped my understanding of key themes and the choice of data used in the rest of this thesis.

Chapter 4 - Background to the Case Study: International and Indigenous Conceptions of Good Governance in Oyo State

Introduction

This chapter considers conceptions of good governance that are indigenous to Oyo State and Yorubaland. It traces how these conceptions have been leveraged by politicians on the ground, shaping competition for followers and later votes. As discussed in the introduction, scholars have analysed Nigerian politics through the lens of neopatrimonialism and prebendalism. Some scholars have argued that very unequal systems of patronage and corruption have endured in African states because they are seen as legitimate in the eyes of the population, which does not believe in the universal obligations of state to citizen. Arguments about the neopatrimonial nature of Nigerian politics have been used to advocate a break from existing forms of politics. This chapter will show that conceptions of good governance and appropriate state-society relations have existed in evolving but identifiable forms in Oyo state politics. Yoruba thought is obviously not a monolithic entity, nor are the boundaries between indigenous Yoruba ideas and others in national and international circulation rigid. Indeed, much of Yoruba ethno-genesis has been oriented towards interface with influences from missionaries, colonialism, and ideas from the international development industry. These conceptions have been part of what society has demanded from leaders, and the strategies that leaders have used to maintain legitimacy. That is not to say that political leaders have universally abided by these notions, but that they have utilised them to maintain power.

The chapter opens with a history of external and domestic attempts to reform the Nigerian government in line with the good governance agenda since the return to democracy in 1999. Reforms like the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) sought to wash away the modes of governance that had come before and replace them with more technocratic institutions. Politicians subverted the reforms, seeking to instrumentalise values like transparency and accountability from the international conception of good governance in a variety of self-seeking ways. Section two sets out how indigenous conceptions of good governance have changed and been contested over time. It focuses on how two broad lines of politics, the progressives and the populists, have positioned themselves with regards to three key themes, which serve as recurring points of reference in political debate. These include legitimate leadership, distribution of economic benefits and progress. In section three these themes are traced through contemporary Oyo State politics, starting in 1999

leading up to 2011. In particular, it considers the role of godfathers in this time period who are understood in the mainstream literature to embody neopatrimonial governance. It shows how the definition of godfather is fluid and different individuals draw on various ideas and norms for legitimacy. The final section looks at how, in the run up to the 2011 gubernatorial election, there were two major shifts in the political realities of Oyo State which opened the way for new forms of governance, and new debates about what good governance meant in contemporary Nigeria. Elites believed that their material interests would be better served by a political system that corresponded more closely to international conceptions of good governance.

1. International Good Governance Agenda in Nigeria

Since democratisation in 1999 there have also been international efforts to transform Nigeria from a country characterised by corruption to one that meets the criteria of “good governance”, albeit under a different dynamic than many other donor-dependent African countries. Nigeria has historically been one of the least aid dependent countries in Africa due to lucrative petroleum sales: in 2004 foreign development aid made up 0.6% of government spending compared to a mean of 43% in other Sub-Saharan African countries (House of Commons 2009; Amundsen 2010, xii; Bräutigam and Knack 2004, 267). However, President Obasanjo faced extremely high levels of debt and heavy debt servicing repayments (Sachs 2003). He initiated an engagement with donors to secure debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. Therefore, whilst Nigeria wasn’t dependent on donors for income, there was still a financial imperative to satisfy donors in order to reduce the state’s expenditure obligations and to access foreign capital (Enweremadu 2010, 6–7).

Obasanjo launched NEEDS in 2004, a national strategy for development and reform, that functioned as Nigeria’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). Like all PRSPs it reflected the current thinking that dominated the World Bank, the IMF and DFID (see chapter two for a discussion of PRSPs). NEEDS ran alongside numerous interventions by donors at the federal level to improve Nigeria’s system of government in line with good governance principles²⁷. Obasanjo was eventually successful in 2005 when \$18bn was forgiven by the Paris Club (Enweremadu 2010, 6–7). Internationally, Obasanjo championed the NEPAD. Launched in 2001, NEPAD was “an attempt to re- envision development partnership on the basis of good governance” and strongly conformed to the prescriptions and principles of neoliberal economics (de Waal 2002; Abrahamsen 2004b). It was seen as an additional route to aid money and capital investment, on top of that promised under HIPC (Loxley 2003, 121).

²⁷ These included the joint donor funded Democratic Governance for Development (DGD I and II) project which ran from 2010 to 2015. This aimed to “strengthen democratic processes” and “promote democratic outcomes” as defined jointly by the Federal Government of Nigeria, United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) and the UNDAF’s Country Programme Action Plan for Nigeria (UNDP 2012). State level governance programmes include the State Governance and Capacity Building Project (World Bank 2016) and its successor, the \$120million Nigeria Public Sector Governance Reform and Development Project 2010-2016, and worked with lead states with the “broad objective of good governance and institutional development” (World Bank 2010a).

NEEDS and NEPAD provoked debates among African scholars and donors about neo-colonialism and the need for transformation. First was the question of African agency in adopting ‘good governance’, against a background of reforms being imposed by donors. The NEPAD launch document emphasises the “African-ness” of the initiative, whereas African critics saw it as “opportunistic pandering to the external donor community” (Olukoshi 2003) and “a Western wolf in African sheepskin” (Adebajo 2003). A further issue was the idea that successful interventions would facilitate a break with the past: extricating’ the continent from the “malaise of underdevelopment” in which it found itself (“NEPAD” 2001, 1; Abrahamsen 2004b, 1457). The NEEDS document identified 4 focus areas: growth, service delivery, government reform and the more ambiguous “transformation of values to overcome corruption and inefficiency” (NPC and IMF 2005). The need for transformation and newness is in tension with the idea of enduring African-ness which NEPAD claims nonetheless characterises the proposals. As one American academic styled it: NEPAD came out of “a new generation of enlightened African leaders” (Hope 2002, 387).

Domestically, Obasanjo “recruited a team of technocrats” (Amundsen 2010, x) to reform Nigeria’s governance. The Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2007 was passed which aimed “to institutionalize budgetary transparency and accountability as well as effective management of the public sector” (Iledare and Suberu 2010, 6). Other recent governance reforms include the NEITI Act, Excess Crude Oil Account, Fiscal Responsibility Act 2007 (FRA), Public Procurement Act (PPA), and Electoral Reform Committee (ERC). In 2007 the Federal Inland Revenue Service was streamlined and harmonised (UK Parliament 2012; Olayode 2014; Pérouse de Montclos 2014). Obasanjo set up two new anti-corruption agencies, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (in part to satisfy the conditions of the HIPC) (Enweremadu 2013, 58). The effectiveness of these good governance policies at the federal level has been called into question, with Adebanwi and Obadare (2011, 186) arguing that efforts to bring corruption under control have functioned as a façade for its increase.

The discourse of good governance, though international in its origins, has been picked up by domestic political actors in an effort to mobilise its positive associations, and potential power to attract resources. The Federal Information Minister under President Jonathan, Labaran Maku, organised a ‘Good Governance Tour’ where he surveyed federal and state government projects around the country, such as hospitals and roads, with an entourage of journalists. In this context, use of the term ‘good governance’ represents a new name for an old practice, with clear continuities with earlier promotional exercises that Information

Ministers have undertaken since at least the days of military rule²⁸. Maku's tour was derided by the Nigerian press and opposition politicians as a waste of money that merely paid lip-service to the idea of good governance. Criticism centred on the weakness of simply viewing projects as a form of accountability in the absence of information about the project's funding and political origins. Some opposition governors used the tour as an opportunity to draw attention to the federal government's neglect of the northeast and the partisan allocation of central funding and projects (Ibeh 2013; Wakili 2014; Iredia 2013; *The Will* 2013; Onikeku et al. 2016).

For this thesis, it is also important to understand the way that changes in governance have affected state-level governance. The 1999 constitution stipulated the basis for the sharing of oil revenues. Oil revenue is directly paid into the federation account from which it is disbursed to state and local governments in monthly subventions²⁹. However, the petro-economy within Nigeria is very geographically skewed, with 27 of the 36 states not producing any oil or gas, meaning that different states have different interests in terms of retaining locally generated revenues or pooling them in the centre (Iledare and Suberu 2010, 3). The formula for determining how much each state receives is complicated and has been subject to major contestation since democratisation. The current revenue sharing formula, determined by the Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) relies on a mish-mash of lump-sum payments added to weighted allocations according to population and needs, and internal revenue generation efforts, and finally the derivation principle which returns 13% of the revenue from oil and gas back to the states where it was extracted (Iledare and Suberu 2010, 4). The 1999 constitution changed the federal redistribution formula, doubling the allocation to states and local government. This altered the balance of power between different tiers of government and gave state governors "considerable capacity to effect visible change", with schools, basic health care, local roads and water and sanitation under their remit (Hoffman 2014, 13). In terms of federal-state relations, LGAs and states depend on the government for 90% of their finances (World Bank 2003; NBS 2013). Thus the lower tiers of government are vulnerable to discretionary

²⁸ Babangida's Minister of Information wrote a 'letter to his countrymen' highlighting his boss's achievements in office. Frank Nweke Jnr and Professor Jerry Gana both ran tours of Obasanjo's projects as Ministers of Information. Nweke reportedly nicknamed his jaunt 'lest we forget' (Iredia 2013).

²⁹ The formula of revenue division between the different tiers of government is as follows: Central Government 48.5%; States 26.72%; LGAs 20.60%; and centrally Controlled Special Funds 4.18%.

withholding of payment by the central government, especially opposition states (Fourchard 2011; *Today* 2014).

Federal fiscal arrangements also affect the way states interact with their electorates. With such a high percentage of revenue coming from central government there is little incentive for states to raise money locally³⁰. The second implication of this funding arrangement is that the states receive a huge sum of money each month but “are neither responsible to the centre nor accountable to their constituents for the use of the transfers” (Suberu 2010, 469). Suberu argues that the allocations are essentially “unconditional” and they are “a particularly powerful inducement to corruption at the subnational level” (2010, 469) The ‘Security Vote’, a discretionary portion of executive budgets that is not subject to oversight, has often been used to fund semi-official militias (Egbo et al. 2012).

³⁰ Lagos is a historical exception (see chapter five). LGAs collect some low level taxes, see: (Eme, Izueke, and Ewuim 2013).

2. Indigenous Conceptions of Good Governance in Oyo State

Indigenous understandings of good governance in Oyo state are varied and fluid, however they must engage with three key themes. The first is legitimate leadership, encompassing the processes that produce legitimate leaders and how these processes relate to identity. The second is the idea of leaders ensuring that economic benefits are distributed to ordinary people; this can involve the distribution of patronage and amassing a followership, or using state power to generate tangible immediate benefits for ordinary citizens. Third is progress, drawing on the Yoruba concept of *olaju*, meaning civilisation or development. This section looks at the ways that the three key themes have come into alignment or tension at different key points in the political history of the state, from colonialism to democratisation. It charts the struggles of leaders with different priorities to meet popular expectations for all three at once, and how their interpretation has evolved with developments in Yoruba society.

Key Themes: Legitimate Leadership, Economic Benefits and Progress

The first key theme is legitimate leadership. Legitimate leadership is partly shaped by identity, but in the sense of ethnic or religious identity as a linkage between voters and candidates. Identity matters insofar as legitimate processes for cultivating and selecting leaders are embedded in ethnic and town-based structures. Islam and Christianity are roughly evenly represented among the population (with about 45% each) (Nolte et al. 2016, 546). Religious tolerance is a key element of both Yoruba Christianity and Islam, and other forms of identity have historically overshadowed religious identity (Peel 1978; Peel 2000; Nolte, Danjibo, and Oladeji 2009; Adebaniwi 2014). The process by which individuals rise up through political society into leadership positions reflects “moral ethnicity”. This is a term that Lonsdale used to distinguish moral and instrumental ethnic claims in politics. On the one hand moral ethnicity is where ideas of moral political behaviour and obligations are constructed with reference to a bounded ethnic community. On the other hand, political tribalism denotes political claims that invoke divisive and morally vacant ideas of ethnic difference to capture state power (John Lonsdale 1994). It emphasises the capacity of indigenous political organisations to offer the possibility of accountability and avenues for redress.

In pre-colonial Ibadan, political authority, in the form of chieftaincy titles, was won according to military merit and citizenship of the town. The experience of the Yoruba Wars during the nineteenth century, and Ibadan’s emergence as the centre of Yorubaland through military conquest, contributed to a sense among Ibadan indigenes that they had proven themselves as natural kings of Yorubaland, or at the very least, that Ibadan should never be

ruled over by an outsider (Awe 1964; Moore 1969, 24; Falola 1984; Watson 1998, 467; Watson 2003). Within Ibadan, processes of leadership selection were gerontocratic. Whether individuals won their place in the hierarchy through being hereditary head of their 'ile' or town, or through political or military prowess, they rose through political structures according to a strict system of seniority. Adeboye (2007, 263) analyses how Yoruba language expresses the wisdom, tact and maturity accumulated through experience in the phrase "ogbon agba", meaning elderly wisdom. As the bases of political competition changed, first with education coming to replace military might as the key index of political power, and then with the rise of party politics, the system evolved but maintained its gerontocratic character. Elders had a right to occupy the 'summit' of political structures, with attendant social roles and rewards, but those who neglected their responsibilities would soon lose their status. Such norms meant that outsiders or upstarts were illegitimate leaders, not because they lacked the ascriptive identity of 'Ibadanlander' per se, but because they had not risen through the legitimate channels. Where processes of leadership selection were challenged it was typically by rival lineages of similar structures: the longstanding rivalry between traditional leaders in Oyo and Ibadan for priority (Watson 1998) and the challenges to traditional hegemony in Ijebu-Remo (Nolte 2009). Whilst the young were relegated to the bottom of the hierarchy, they enjoyed the prospect of mobility and their own "ascent" (Foner 1984, xiii; Adegbindin 2011; Adeboye 2007, 263–64).

Whilst Ibadan's establishment as the centre of Yoruba politics perpetuated a strong sense of indigenous identity and right to rule, its expansion was thanks to its acceptance of diverse groups of migrants from Yorubaland and further afield. Within 20 years of its founding it was a bustling, multi-cultural commercial centre. Indeed, many surrounding villages saw Ibadan as a source of security, and willingly placed themselves under the city's protection (Freund 2007, 16; Chokor 1986). However, integration and stratification continued simultaneously, with indigenes deriving income from migrants and strengthening their dominant position through the collection of rents on roads, markets and dwellings. This laid the foundations for a sense of differentiation between Ibadan indigenes and other Yoruba groups, which developed in response to various political developments (Guyer 1992; Ajala 2008, 153–57).

Delivering economic benefits is a second key theme in Yoruba politics, expressed both through the idea of being a good patron and sharing the resources conferred by political office. Like legitimate leadership, this theme has been contested and reinterpreted over time. From pre-colonial times, the norms of leadership dictated that not only should leaders be military figures, but they should cultivate a following of clients, through their patronage and generosity. The "gaze" of followers confers *ola* a form of social honour or authority (Barber

1995, 213; Watson 1998, 467; Watson 2000, 26–27). Traditional *oriki* poetry and proverbs reflect norms of generosity and the importance of leaders sharing their wealth. An *oriki* from 1871 remarks about one leader that “there’s always something to eat in [his] house” and of his followers who eat from his “thousands of plates” in his kitchen³¹ (Watson 2000, 477). The English translation of a Yoruba proverb re-affirms these values: one cannot be tight-fisted (selfish), and be endowed with honour (Omobowale and Olutayo 2007, 432).

Yet money has negative associations too, “as a destabilizer and corrupter” (Agbaje 2002, 5). Through Ibadan’s history its populace has been cautious about the generosity of wealthy leaders, on the basis that acceptance of patronage should not oblige the populace to support irresponsible leaders (Barber 1995; Guyer 1995). Omobowale and Olutayo (2010, 459) argue that in Yoruba society patrons are chosen not only on the basis of their financial clout but also their good character, based on “philanthropic deeds and wisdom.” What a patron is able to provide materially is closely intertwined with what they can contribute emotionally, and in terms of advice and playing being a good *baba-isale* or role model (Omobowale 2008). Therefore whilst leaders are expected to share economic benefits, this must be done appropriately, and patronage cannot trump accountable leadership.

A final key theme is progress. This builds on the Yoruba concept of *olaju*, meaning development, enlightenment or civilisation. *Olaju* has connotations of “connection with distant places” (Peel 1978, 146; Ajala 2008, 153). First used to refer to the “the cultural package brought from outside by, above all, missionaries”, it built on a long-held conviction among Yoruba rulers about the relationship between knowledge and power, with the two reaching “a kind of fused pinnacle in the person of the King.” (Peel 1978, 147, 145)

The significance of *olaju* changed over the course of the colonial encounter. Whereas in the days of the warrior kings knowledge was seen as scarce, and to be hoarded by the king, the association of *olaju* with conversionary religions such as Christianity re-cast it as “something to be spread about” (Peel 1978, 149). With the rise of tools of bureaucratic government, such as taxation and controls on international trade, *olaju* became a concept supported by material power and the opportunity for ‘individual career advancement’. These developments disrupted the system of political authority in Ibadan. The rise of the

³¹ The case of Baale Dada serves as an example of the costs of stinginess in a followership based socio-political structure of colonial Ibadan. Baales who did not spend ‘adequately’ for their chiefs were accused of stinginess, and their followers taken over by more junior rivals. In 1907 Baale Dada fell afoul of these political expectations and had his followership taken from him: “[w]ith no people, he had no civic power and consequently, no political life – he committed suicide” (Watson 2000, 469).

bureaucratic state opened positions of power to those with Western education but no indigenous connection to Ibadan. Moreover, ‘pacification’ of the region by the British eliminated military experience as a route to authority. New strategies of contestation emerged with the ‘War of the Pen’ (Watson 2000, 29; Watson 2003, 8). *Iwe*, or Western education, became a route to the most desirable jobs in the colonial administration. The region’s embrace of Western education resulted in the educated making up the majority of “school teachers, clerks and other white collar workers within Nigeria” during colonialism (Bescom 1969, vii–viii). However, there have long been tensions between the promise of modernity in *olaju* and a return to Yoruba tradition, what Ayandele (1966) calls the “paradox of Yoruba cultural nationalism”. This was the tension between the educated Yoruba elite’s attempts to assimilate themselves in European modernity represented by the colonial state and the contempt with which the bastions of European modernity regarded Africans and African culture. The Yoruba elite therefore wanted to be modern whilst also defending and validating African tradition in the face of racial disparagement.

However, these religious, educational and governmental processes did not seamlessly converge around a shared understanding of progress. Together, the two themes of economic benefits and progress represent the balance that leaders must strike between short term and long-term benefits. The most prominent Yoruba politicians through the late 19th through to the mid 20th century combined a command of *iwe* and *olaju*, and in turn translate it into *oselu*, meaning mastery of partisan politics (Peel 1983, 10; Ajala 2008, 158–62).

Key Themes in Political Competition: Progressives and Populists 1940-1999

Debates within and between political groups reveal the ways that key Yoruba values have been in tension throughout Oyo State’s history. There are two broad political traditions, the progressive and the populist. Obafemi Awolowo, first Prime Minister of the Western Region, is seen as the father of a ‘progressive’ line of thought in the politics of Yorubaland. His efforts to build a pan-Yoruba identity show the intersection of debates about what qualities a legitimate leader must have and education. Peel (1989, 200) writes “the vast bulk of peoples who now know themselves as Yoruba did not do so in 1900... ethnic consciousness had to be worked at.” During the 1920s the spread of Christianity and education carried Pan-Yoruba identity to the educated elites. Christianity was in key ways the midwife of a distinct Yoruba identity, with the decisive *History of the Yorubas* written by a Church Missionary Society educated priest (Johnson 1921). Regional and international economic processes like export of cash crops expanded the sphere of social relations with sub-groups increasingly seeing themselves as part of a Yoruba whole (Peel 1989, 200–201).

Starting out in politics in the National Youth Movement in the 1940s, Awolowo was soon, like other members of the Yoruba intelligentsia, disillusioned by attempts at pan-Nigerian nationalism. Nigerian politics increasingly split into three mega-tribes: the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the Igbo in the east and the Yoruba in the west (Peel 1989, 201; Nolte 2002, 176). Awolowo focused his energies instead on anti-colonial Yoruba organisation, founding the ‘Egbe Omo Oduduwa’³² in London in 1945. The Awoist form of Yoruba identity evolved in contra-distinction to a central Nigerian identity, and reinforced economic agendas of regional independence within the federal system (Laitin 1986, 97). Other strands of Yoruba identity were incubated from the nineteenth century onwards in Lagos’s communities of former slaves and Brazilian immigrants, many of whom were successful international traders (Whiteman 2013). Ajayi (1961) describes how these Lagos-based elites were more enthusiastic about a nationalist Nigerian identity, with a positive progressive vision that was not defined in localised ethnic terms. By contrast, Awolowo argued that Nigeria was not a nation, in the sense of having a shared identity (*West African Pilot* 1946). The diversity between different linguistic and cultural groups in Nigeria, he argued, was an obstacle to their shared development. Instead, he proposed devolution of power to the regions and total autonomy to allow groups like the Yoruba to accelerate beyond their less developed neighbours (Awolowo 1947; Arifalo 2001). From this point on the promotion of development and civilisation took on a parochial ethnic tone. The Yoruba identity became consolidated as ‘inherently modern’ and ‘progressive’ (Adebanwi 2014, 59).

Awolowo was strongly modernist, focusing on the role of education as a universal means of empowering and developing Nigeria (Falola 2015). This informed the emerging belief among progressives that legitimate Yoruba leaders must be educated and exposed to enlightenment, such that they can fulfil the progressive potential of the Yoruba people. The Egbe Omo Oduduwa went on to form the Action Group political party in 1951, which enacted this vision of enlightened leadership (Olayode 2009, 8–10; Arifalo 2001). Peel (1983, 159) describes the Action Group as using social policy as “the grand enactment of *olaju*.” For the Action Group, education and progress both shaped domestic policy objectives and formed the basis for Yoruba demands for regional autonomy and self-actualisation.

Whilst *olaju* and pan-Yoruba identity shaped how progressives made claims to legitimate leadership, it also marginalised those who did not have formal education. Ibadan elites, who had traditionally been suspicious of Western education, found themselves marginalised. Few

³² Translation: Society of the Children of Oduduwa

of the independence-era Action Group leaders were from Ibadan, rather they were from other Yoruba sub-groups such as: Ijebu, Egba, Ekiti and Oyo. Ibadan was for a long time conservative towards Western education, whilst mission schools were permitted in the city it was the children of outsiders who were sent there. Quoranic education was preferred by local elites. The inequality in education levels influenced the distribution of political power from the 1960s onwards, when local government expanded, multiplying the need for educated representatives who could navigate the bureaucracy. Therefore, Ibadan was the seat of government, yet Ibadan elites were not participating fully in the new political dispensation. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Ibadan could “not generate enough manpower to compete within its socio-economic and political space.” Rather, “Ibadan indigenes served only at the lowest level of administration as gardeners, gate men, cleaners and security guards” (Ajala 2008, 160–62). This meant that, for Ibadan elites, the need for progress defined in Awolowo’s terms, came into conflict with long-standing Ibadan-centric processes for generating legitimate leaders.

From this intersection of political aspirations and demographic tensions within Yoruba society emerged a populist line of politics in Ibadan. It was made up of politicians who were willing to build political alliances with other ethnic blocs at the centre to gain access to patronage, rather than commit to a separate Yoruba identity. This is represented most clearly by Adegoke Adelabu and later Lamidi Adedibu³³. Adelabu was an Ibadan indigene who contested the 1956 parliamentary election on the NCNC ticket, hoping to become premier of the Western Region (Layonu 2003, xiii). Indeed between 1951 and 1966, the end of the First Republic, Ibadan and Ibadan supported the NCNC, which was seen as the Igbo-led nationalist party, over the Action Group (Peel 1989, 201). Adedibu was another Ibadan native, of a younger generation, who “learnt his politics” from Adelabu, building up patronage systems within Oyo State based on connections to central government (Ademola Adeyemo 2008). Adedibu’s political career started with running for office with Awolowo’s Action Group in the 1950s, but he then devoted his energies to supporting other candidates, first for the Action Group then for the National Party of Nigeria from the 1970s onwards (Agbaje 2002; Omobowale and Olutayo 2007; *The Chronicles* 2007).

These populist politicians emphasised short term economic benefits over long-term progress whilst responding to unmet needs for a sense of connection with leaders. Popular acquiescence was secured through distribution of the most extreme examples of short-term

³³ In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Alhaji Adedibu, also known as a *Eruobodo* dominated Ibadan politics using a similar clientelist structure as Adelabu (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 453).

economic benefits, hot meals and small sums of cash, to legitimate a system where the major economic benefits were controlled by political elites. Adelabu's support base was among the socially excluded *mekunnu* – cocoa workers. The 'mekennu' movement renounced the power of Western education as a means of controlling state resources and the inequality that resulted. Williams (1974, 122) describes Adelabu as a populist whose appeal lay in his promise to "secure for the small man the favours that were monopolized by the (predominantly educated) 'big men'".³⁴ Similarly, by the 1990s Adedibu had built up a following of popular mass grassroots associations - social groups, religious unions and trade unions - whom he would feed daily a Yoruba staple dish of amala and gbegiri at his residence in Molete (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 454; Animasawun 2013, 15).

This populist trend has been subject to extensive debate. Scholars like Agbaje and Albin-Lackey contend that the progressives and the populists do not represent alternative conceptions of good governance, but that the progressives represent good governance and the populists poor governance. Agbaje describes the populists as 'new' elites and describes Adedibu as a "warlord". He highlights the use of thugs and control of the police to intimidate opponents, which has more recently been extensively documented by Human Rights Watch (2007). Based on his analysis of Oyo State politics in 2003-4, Albin-Lackey (2012, 134) argues that the godfather relationship is only about money and violence and their power comes largely from "their proficiency in criminal activity" and their only motivation is personal wealth. Agbaje argues that the populists have little legitimacy beyond the provision of patronage through their alliances with military governments in the centre. Whilst working class Muslims may have been susceptible to mobilisation by Adedibu because they too lacked Western education, Agbaje sees little positive grounds for their supporting populists (Agbaje 2002, 5-10).

Other scholars argue that despite the role of violence and patronage, godfather politics can nonetheless be grounded in political values. Beyond his use of violence and access to state resources, Adedibu's populist appeal lay in his enduring reciprocal relationships with mass grassroots organisations (Hoffman and Nolte 2013, 27-28, 43). After initially backing

³⁴ Whilst Adelabuism politically played on a fear of the educated elites, he embraced ambitious intellectualism in his self-presentation. His autobiography explains how he was accelerated beyond his age cohort three times in his "brilliant scholastic career" yet "[d]espite this, I never took second position throughout my school days ... I was always several laps ahead of my runner up..." He hints at the "coherent philosophy" he had invented "which will do for intellectualism what Einstein has done for physics" (Layonu 2003, 20-22).

Abiola in the annulled 1993 election, Adedibu shifted alliances in 1996 in an attempt to re-insert himself into central oil revenue-based patronage networks by backing Abacha's attempts to stay in power (Omobowale and Olutayo 2007, 439–40). However this was unacceptable to his local base of support who responded with riots and civil unrest, and he was forced to do a U-turn. Hoffman and Nolte (2013, 27–28) argue that in this way “the local roots of politics continue to contain the possibility of popular expression”. Moreover, Olarinmoye argues that godfathers play a ‘brokerage’ function. They act as a go-between, mediating politicians’ relationship with voters due to their “intuitive grasp of what appeals and what incentives are most appropriate to each group [of the voting public]” (Olarinmoye 2008, 67). On this view the godfather’s position is not one of absolute control over the protégé but he is “dependent and precarious”, relying on “a continuous renewal of his knowledge of local terrain and networks” (Olarinmoye 2008, 67). Adedibu himself said in a 2005 interview “Anyone who succeeds in by-passing his followership will regret it at a later stage” (Omobowale and Olutayo 2007, 440).

In Adedibu’s and Adelabu’s politics, and the later accounts which celebrate them, small-scale short term economic benefits were couched in a discourse that emphasised the closeness of populist leaders to the masses. This combination of patronage and discourse responded to the sense that ordinary people were excluded from the elite visions of progress and an unmet need for inclusion in a valued political community. The professionalised elites of the progressive camp promised voters that they would fulfil their obligations as patrons by providing the benefits of development in the long run, even if voters did not have the education to understand development now. Falola and Ihonvbere (1985, 1) give an especially pointed evaluation of Independence era leaders’ attitudes to the uneducated poor as follows: “The question of involving the masses of the people whose lives were being planned in the process of development was out of the question. They were seen as too ignorant and too lazy.”

In contrast, populist figures offered something of value to their followers that the progressives were seen to lack: an empathetic connection. As Sklar (1979) observed of Adelabu: “No Nigerian leader was closer to his people or more familiar with their thinking.” Adedibu drew on idioms of traditional Yoruba leadership, conveying a sense of caring patrimonial authority, and rejected tropes of the modernity from which many felt excluded. Adedibu had some Quoranic education and attended primary and secondary school in the ‘Western’ system but never attended university nor did he come from an affluent background (Omobowale and Olutayo 2007, 429; Agbaje 2002, 17–18; Adeboye 2007, 276; Ajala 2008, 161). He became known as “Alaafin” of Yoruba politics (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 454) or “Aare/Baale Molete of Ibadan” (Ajala 2008, 166). Adedibu echoed Adelabu in his

performed suspicion of *olaju* in favour of a “symbolic attachment to Ibadan culture”, manifested in dialect and dress (Ajala 2008, 161). Thus money-politics can only be understood through its normative framing which sought to capitalise on the failures of the progressive line of politics.

The conflicts over gubernatorial elections in the 1980s brought the tensions of legitimate leadership based on sub-regional identity, and those based on progress, into sharp focus. Whilst Ibadan fielded some minor political candidates it was consistently non-indigenes who served as Governors. In 1983, Chief Bola Ige, who had won the election for Governor of Oyo State against an indigene candidate, rebuked Ibadan elites for believing they could ever field a governorship candidate when they were so uneducated. This statement led to outrage among the political elites in Ibadan. Adedibu, as recorded in an interview in 2004, explained that “enough is enough: that Ibadan is the capital of the Yoruba nation.” Whereas Ibadan had historically supported leaders from sub-groups³⁵, it would now ‘*parapo*’, come together, and perform ‘*layipo*’: a political trick that only Ibadan knows. That year Omololu Olunloyo, an indigene, won the Governorship election, and the slogan *Omo wa ni e je O se* – our own son must be allowed to lead the government – was established. The motif of *layipo* signalled that Ibadan was willing to drop ‘ingrate’ non-indigene Yoruba political leaders in favour of national coalitions with other major ethnic groups. To this day there remains a strong belief in Ibadan that the city is entitled to have one of its own control the state government (Ajala 2008, 162–64).

In the late 1990s a movement emerged in the southwest which revealed the failure of both populist and progressive elites to respond to popular grievances. The Oodua People’s Congress (OPC) was a membership organisation, made up of urban Yoruba youth, based in Lagos and the southwest. At a time of demographic explosion (Alanana 2003), the OPC represented a generation of young people who came of age with no job and no prospects for individual advancement under the current system. The state and formal economy had been decimated by structural adjustment, unemployment was high, incomes had been eroded through devaluation of the naira and the southwest’s productive potential had been intentionally neglected under Abacha (Mustapha 1991; Ihonvbere 1993; Meagher 1995; Meagher and Yunusa 1996; Agbaje and Guyer 2002). The OPC rejected existing political structures and were linked to communal violence and ethnically motivated killings (Ajala 2008, 164; Nolte, Danjibo, and Oladeji 2009, 71).

³⁵ Chief Obafemi Awolowo from the Ijebus, S.L. Akintola from the Oyos and Bola Ige himself, from the Ijesas.

Adebanwi (2005, 342) offers a penetrating analysis of the pertinence of the OPC. Adebanwi returns to Peel's (2000, 317) observation that "the main strategic choice faced by the contemporary Yoruba has been where to place the continuities and the ruptures with what has gone before." In this case the 'return to culture' was in response to perceived oppression of the Yoruba by the Hausa-Fulani dominated central government in which figures like Adedibu were complicit. Rather than drawing on modernising discourses of Christianity, as with the earlier Yoruba nationalists, the OPC mobilised discourses of democracy and human rights. The OPC's members were ill served by ideas of progress which had visibly failed to raise living standards over time (Subramanian and Sala-i-Martin 2003) and neglected the pressing needs of everyday survival. However they nonetheless resented the piecemeal efforts of populists connected to central government to buy them off with *amala*. One of the OPC's leaders, Gani Adam, was an okada-rider and failed carpenter. He positioned himself as a man of the people who could represent the excluded majority against elitist, out of touch Yoruba elders (Adebanwi 2005, 345; Nolte 2007; 2008). There was a sense that elites on both sides had failed them and so the OPC, with its young leader who had not risen up through established processes, challenged the gerontocratic norms that previously defined legitimate leadership. The supposed wisdom and responsibility of elders - "*ogbon agba*" - (Adeboye 2007, 263) and processes for generating accountable leaders had failed to deliver on its obligations of progress or economic benefits to those lower down the generational hierarchy.

3. Leveraging Indigenous Conceptions of Good Governance in Oyo State Politics

The themes of legitimate leadership, economic benefits and progress continue to be important in Oyo State politics as they intersect with political competition on the ground. The decentralisation of spending after democratisation in 1999 raised the stakes of state-level politics; the renewed importance of mobilising the masses for electoral purposes combined with the existing informal power structures gave ‘godfather’ figures like Adedibu an important role in the new dispensation (Albin-Lackey 2012, 140; Animasawun 2013). Whilst Adedibu was outmanoeuvred in the immediate aftermath of 1999, from 2003 his approval was required for almost any political office. Once in office his ‘protégés’ paid regular tribute and allowed him control of the state treasury (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 454). This section sets out the trajectories of Oyo State’s three major political figures since 1999, showing how each embodies a plurality of values across the spectrum of what it can mean to be a ‘godfather’. Adedibu, introduced in the previous section was the first godfather, but his support was built on radically different bases to the other two: Lam Adesina and Alhaji Abdulazeez Arisekola Alao (Arisekola). Each wielded different combinations of resources to mediate the intersection of state power with social support and representation; whether economic benefits, progress or regional or religious identity. This demonstrates the fluidity of the godfather role and how it blurs with the obligations of patrons and politicians more generally. This final section looks at how the three themes and the interests of the key godfathers played out in the tenure of Governor Christopher Adebayo Alao-Akala between 2006 and 2011. It explains the way that changing circumstances and interests led to a shift in elite conceptions of good governance in the years leading up to Ajimobi’s election in 2011.

Arisekola was a multimillionaire businessman and the *Aare Musulumi* of Yorubaland, meaning the leader of the Muslims in Yorubaland with close ties to Islamic leaders and groups in Ibadan. He was a major ‘kingmaker’ in Oyo State, meaning he was influential in the selection of the Governor. Between the 1960s and 1990s he built up a network of contacts among the northern military elite, serving as supplier of provisions and Islamic religious adviser to a number of heads of state including Abacha and Babangida. Over time he acquired banks, a motor dealership, petrol stations and flour mills. He famously supplied the Nigerian ECOMOG troops in Liberia in 1990, demonstrating an ability to profit from connections to Abuja. Yet, as with Adedibu, he was perceived by the Ibadan grassroots as having betrayed the city with his support of successive military leaders. On several occasions in the 1990s Arisekola and his properties were attacked by anti-Abacha youths (Ejime 1998; IRB 2002; Agbaje 2002, 13–15; Paden 2006, 65,170).

Arisekola managed to rehabilitate his image and used his money and status to exert significant influence on political outcomes after democratisation. Political aspirants at the national and state level sought out his approval and relied on his financial support (Akinrosoye 2003; *ThisDay* 2000; Ehigiator 2003). Like Adedibu, he was a well-known philanthropist; he endowed mosques and fed the poor from his home each week. Arisekola therefore embraced the role of the generous patron, whilst drawing on his identity as a Muslim to access Muslim northerner controlled networks. While he had no special claim to western education, his position as an Islamic leader and his connections to other centres of Islamic learning beyond Nigeria gave him the gravitas of a scholar and a civilised man, with an American scholar of Muslim civilisations quoting him as an expert on Islamic history (Paden 2006, 101–2).

The Awoist movement returned to prominence in the 1990s in opposition to military rule and the perceived marginalisation of the southwest by repeated northern-dominated administrations. The Yoruba progressive elites formed a new organisation, the Afenifere, which would serve as their focal point through the 1990s. The group grew directly out of networks of Awolowo's associates, taking the name Egbe Afenifere³⁶ in 1993. The group went on to be the backbone of pro-democratisation struggles in the 1990s; fielding the People's Solidarity Party under Babangida, and later creating the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO). Yet out of this sense of sectional grievance the movement coalesced around MKO Abiola's campaign for the presidency. Abiola himself was a northerner and not a member of the Afenifere, and his aborted electoral success represents a rare moment of cross-ethnic solidarity. For the Yoruba leaders, 1993 represented another example of the West's deliberate political marginalisation at the hands of the north (Olayode 2009, 10, 18; Adebaniwi 2014, 233).

When Abacha died suddenly in 1998 the Abubakar-led interim regime quickly handed over to democratic elections. The Egbe Afenifere joined together with a multitude of other progressive groups to form the Alliance for Democracy (AD), a pan-Yoruba party (Olayode 2009, 10). Lam Adesina, a Yoruba stalwart, won the 1999 election and was Oyo's first democratic Governor of the Fourth Republic. Adesina does not fit the description of a godfather put forward by Albin-Lackey – he was democratically elected to office where he was respected for delivering public goods. His legitimacy came from a perception of him as a 'civilised' educated man, who like Awolowo before him, demonstrated *olaju*. Before

³⁶ Translation: Society of the lovers of good things (Olayode 2009, 5).

entering politics, he was a teacher and a public intellectual, with a popular newspaper column.³⁷ He balanced an ambitious, somewhat technocratic vision of developing Oyo State, with a willingness to engage in public patronage and philanthropy (Olasebikan 2002).

Identity was both a resource and a constraint for Adesina. At the time he drew legitimacy from the public belief that the Yoruba had been disadvantaged by the successive military regimes and doubts about Obasanjo's loyalty to the northern elites over his Yoruba home region (Adebanwi 2005). Adesina himself had been detained by the military and represented the Yoruba pro-democracy legacy (Animasawun 2013, 15). Obasanjo's party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) had strong central control, winning a majority in the federal Senate and House of Representatives in addition to the Presidency. This gave the PDP power to control patronage from oil revenues (Ihonvbere 1999; Lewis 2003; Suberu 2007). As members of the opposition, Adesina and the rest of the AD Governors were cut off from central government patronage. This was initially accepted as an acceptable trade off for the pride of a united Yoruba opposition (Hoffman and Nolte 2013).

Whilst his identity as a strong Yoruba progressive worked in Adesina's favour, he was not from Ibadan. He perennially came under attack from Ibadan elites – both in the PDP and traditional rulers – for marginalising Ibadan interests under his tenure (Adetunji 2003). Adesina's Deputy Governor and Secretary to the State Governor were both from the Oke Ogun hinterland region and Adedibu accused them of running the Adesina government from the backseat. Adesina had also just been challenged in court by Arisekola, the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes and the Olubadan for his proposal to create 34 new Local Government Areas, which was seen to be to the detriment of Ibadan's continued dominance in the state (Nwakanma 2002). Towards the end of his four years in office, Adesina's strength in terms of *olaju* was not holding up against his inability to deliver economic benefits whilst the AD was in opposition. Whilst he was not seen as stingy, he also could not deliver material benefits for his followers and electoral constituency (Hoffman and Nolte 2013).

The rise of the PDP and Akala

In the 2003 gubernatorial elections the PDP swept to power in a "hurricane" across all the southwestern states bar Lagos, thanks to Obasanjo prioritising the region (Adebanwi 2014, 230–34). Rashidi Ladoja of the PDP was elected with Adedibu's support. On coming to office Ladoja rejected the reciprocal obligations of the godfather politics that Adedibu

³⁷ I-40 Local Government APC Chieftain, Ibadan 30/07/2015

represented and refused to give him access to the state treasury (Omonijo and Ajayi 2006). In 2006 Adedibu orchestrated Ladoja's impeachment³⁸ and replaced him with a more compliant protégé, Christopher Adebayo (Akala) Alao-Akala. His political debut was as local government Chairman in nearby Ogbomosho, the second largest city in Oyo State, and it was Ogbomosho and the outlying towns and rural areas of the Oke-Ogun hinterland that provided his support base (Ademola Adeyemo 2007; Omonijo 2007). Akala served an 11-month interim period and contested the 2007 election as the PDP candidate (HRW 2007; Omobowale and Olutayo 2007; Ademola Adeyemo 2007; Hoffman 2011; Albin-Lackey 2012; Hoffman and Nolte 2013).

The 2007 gubernatorial election pitted Adedibu's power against a coalition of emerging political forces: support for Ladoja that was independent of Adedibu's backing and a growing base for the progressives. Akala was backed by Adedibu and the central PDP headquarters, defeating locally popular rivals including Ladoja for the PDP ticket. However, Adedibu's impeachment of Ladoja "lionized [Ladoja] politically in the state" where he enjoyed "public sympathy" especially among civil servants (T. Sanni 2007a). Ladoja's campaign as part of his newly adopted Labour Party was a test of how much of his previous support he could maintain without Adedibu (Omonijo and Gabriel 2007).

Whilst Lam Adesina was no longer Governor, he remained a central godfather figure in his party, which by then was called Action Congress (AC)³⁹. The serving Senator Abiola Ajimobi, who had come to politics from a multi-national oil company, ran for the AC ticket. In the context of constant violence between supporters of Adedibu, Akala and Ladoja, Ajimobi was seen as a vote for security and was favoured by Ibadan business elites. After a dispute though, Adesina blocked Ajimobi's bid and the AC ticket went to the more established Prof Taoheed Adedjoja. Ajimobi was welcomed into the much smaller ANPP where he was seen as very much an outside candidate in the gubernatorial election⁴⁰ (Omonijo 2007; Omonijo and Gabriel 2007; O. Ajayi 2009). The progressive opposition was split in two. At the last minute, Ladoja urged his supporters and other Ibadan elites to vote for Ajimobi, to stave off Akala's return or Adesina's candidate, both of whom were cast as

³⁸ The original Ladoja impeachment vote wasn't endorsed by the required two thirds of the State House of Assembly, and the impeachment was invalidated by the Supreme Court in December-January 2007. Ladoja returned to office to serve out his term until the 2007 election (Adeyemo 2007).

³⁹ The AC changed its name to the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) in 2011.

⁴⁰ I-40

unqualified to rule over Ibadan from the state's hinterlands (T. Sanni 2007a; Ogunyemi 2007a).

In the end Akala won with over 350,000 votes, in an election that suffered from extensive irregularities. Ajimobi came second, beating the AC candidate by around 90,000 votes. Whilst Adedibu's power to dictate state politics remained solid, Ajimobi exceeded expectations and was widely believed to have won the election had it not been rigged. Ajimobi challenged the election result in court, and was largely vindicated in his accusations against the PDP but was not instated as Governor. Akala returned to Government House for a four-year term, but there were signs that Adedibu did not have complete control over the political arena (Sanni 2007d; Sanni 2007c; O. Ajayi 2007; Bamidele 2007a; Bamidele 2007b; Aziken 2007; Adeyemo 2007; Ogunyemi 2007b; *ThisDay* 2007).

The cases of Akala and Ajimobi in the years before 2011 show that godfather politics does not involve a single all-powerful figure, free to impose his will over the state as represented in the Human Rights Watch report (2007). There were a number of elite godfather figures, including Arisekola, who had to be accommodated in the balance of power. Whilst the godfathers were influential in their own right, they were also interdependent, and when in competition served as a check on each other's ability to entirely determine political outcomes. For example, both Adedibu and Arisekola were influential in Akala's appointments of commissioners and nominations for federal ministerial roles (Omonijo and Ajayi 2006; Tunde Rahman and Sufuyan Ojeifo 2007). One political commentator noted in 2007 that "there were fears that Akala might not win the election" because Adedibu had failed to get Arisekola's support (Adeyemo 2007; Sanni 2007b). Furthermore, Adesina was strong enough within the Action Congress to determine who got the party ticket for 2007, but he was not able to command a support base to then vote for his chosen candidate.

In office Akala ruled via patronage, intimidation and grand corruption. He regularly emptied the state coffers, and procurement was known to be discretionary and based on personalistic ties (*The Street Journal* 2011). Akala's rule was marked by violence. Via Adedibu, Akala had the support of the NURTW, the Oyo branch of the National Road Transport Workers' Union. The Union, as they were known, were led by a key ally of Adedibu's and provided a pool of young men to enforce Adedibu's decisions through street displays of power and violence. Civil society groups were intimidated⁴¹, and other labour unions were treated with a heavy hand⁴² (Olusesan and Osakwe 2007).

⁴¹ I-25 Director of active Ibadan-based NGO, Ibadan 15/05/2015

The economic circumstances of Akala's tenure were favourable enough for the distribution of patronage to succeed as a strategy for forestalling outright popular resistance. Throughout his tenure the global oil prices were rising which in turn drove year on year increases in the federal allocation from the federal government to the states. Public sector employment expanded considerably under Akala. Under his administration the number of registered teachers increased by 82% between 2007 and 2011 (NBS 2012, 265)⁴³. He was nicknamed ATM for how freely he dispensed cash. His campaign director explained this as being "because his style of governance made sure there was money in the pockets of his people", adding that through using only local Oyo State contractors Akala avoided capital flight (Alao 2015; K. Filani 2015). At a speech to Muslim worshippers at Eid-el-Kabir he declared that his administration would "continue to deliver dividends of democracy to every nook and crannies of the state" (Bamidele 2007c) The implied promise was: the money will keep flowing, and everyone has a chance of benefitting. Akala signalled some sensitivity to the demand for economic benefits, through ad hoc distribution of patronage, but failed to provide social progress, and had weak claims to being a legitimate leader. Akala explicitly espoused a vision of politics as the exchange of economic benefits for political support: he explained in a 2011 interview that he couldn't understand why the Ibadan Elders Forum didn't back his re-election considering he had bought all of them cars and upped their pay (Adesina 2011). However, this was widely seen as illegitimate. In addition to being rebuffed by the Ibadan Elders Forum, the Olubadan, one of the state's most senior traditional rulers, joined Adesina and Ladoja in rejecting an Eid gift of a car from Akala, condemning it as a 'greek gift' and violating the rule of law (Loremiyan 2010). Approaching the 2011 election Akala was widely seen as having failed to meet the requirements of legitimate leadership. A commentator remarked that "the Oyo State people [were] tired of Akala's abrasive and ostentatious style of governance" (Gbadamosi 2011) and the Ibadan Elder's Forum admonished him for "contribut[ing] immensely to the backwardness and lack of accountability and transparency" in the state (Jegade 2011).

Lastly, the issue of identity was a source of power and weakness for Akala. Akala was plagued by his status as a non-Ibadan indigene, which meant he was judged as not having

⁴² I-14 Leader of Oyo State branch of major national union, Ibadan 21/04/2015

⁴³ Table 262: Teacher Registration Council of Nigeria, Registered Members by State and Gender. Source: Teachers Registration Council of Nigeria. Reprinted in the National Bureau of Statistics' Annual Abstract of Statistics 2012 pg. 265.

risen up through legitimate political structures. Though Adedibu backed him, his outsider status meant Adedibu conveniently had Akala ‘on thin ice’ as he had “no right to rule”⁴⁴. Akala’s supporters claimed that he was a “symbol of unity” because he upturned the “continual domination” of Oyo state by Ibadan. He drew on centuries-old lines of competition between Ibadan and Oyo town, over which traditional rulers should be recognised as most senior, aligning himself for the majority of his term with the Alaafin of Oyo (Samson 2007; Olumekun 2007; S. Balogun 2007; O. Ajayi 2008). However, Akala didn’t respect norms of traditional identity, which confer legitimacy on alternative leadership figures within the state, routinely offending traditional leaders. Several times Obasanjo or Arisekola had to intervene and calm the waters on his behalf (Ademola Adeyemo 2007; T. Sanni 2007b; O. Ajayi 2008). The next section explains why, by 2011, Ibadan elites were increasingly unwilling to put up with Akala’s behaviour and were keen to shift the state to an alternative mode of politics.

⁴⁴ F-8 Former aide to Arisekola family, Ibadan 15/05/2015

4. Domestic Meets the International: Changing Elite Preferences in Oyo State 2008-2011

Adedibu died in June 2008 changing the political landscape of Oyo State radically. His political legacy immediately started to unravel: the candidate believed to have been chosen by Adedibu for 2011 was ignored (Timothy 2008). Whilst elements of a PDP political machine remained, it had no central coordinating figure to grant decisive approval to aspirants, or dictate the terms of tribute from the state treasury. Furthermore, it opened the field to candidates who didn't rely on Adedibu's control of the NURTW and the police. Moreover, the interests and values of Arisekola and the other Oyo elites began to change. Based on their negative experiences with Akala, and a growing anticipation of future anti-corruption efforts, Arisekola and other influential elites changed their interests to focus someone less obviously corrupt (Timothy 2008).

As discussed in section one of this chapter, from 1999 until the time Akala was in power, donors were pushing for international good governance reforms at the national level, seeking to strengthen institutions, improve transparency and expand the role of the private sector in service provision. From 2004, the agencies of the central government that were responsible for complying with the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative and meeting the Millennium Development Goals - the National Planning Commission, Ministry of Finance and the Presidency - encouraged state governments to replicate donor initiatives at the state level. Through a 2005 benchmarking exercise which partly determined which states would receive donor funding, they tried to hold states to account for creating State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (SEEDS) (NPC 2007). States were ranked on four areas: policy, fiscal management and budget process, service delivery, and communication, transparency, and corruption (World Bank 2010a, 16-17). Oyo participated, creating a SEEDS Secretariat and producing a report in 2004, but it was amongst the poorest performing states, alongside much poorer northeastern states like Borno and Nasarawa (Ekwedike 2005; SEEDS Secretariat, Oyo 2004). Oyo was not selected for donor attention and 'OYSEEDS', as the scheme was known, was quickly forgotten.⁴⁵ However international ideas of good governance did filter down to the state level in other ways, which affected the

⁴⁵ Other donor initiatives in Oyo included: a state-level Community and Social Development Agency, which was a mandatory obligation upon all states in order to receive and direct funds from the World Bank's Community Development Funds (CSDP Nigeria 2011). There were a number of urban environmental projects prior to democratisation (Ogbazi 2013; Bank 2000; Chokor 1986).

interests of political operators on the ground. A wave of new anti-corruption legislation in the US and the EU raised the potential costs of corrupt transactions for foreigners in Nigeria. In 2010 the US passed the Dodd-Frank Act, stepping up the requirements for transparency in American businesses in extractive industries. In the same year the UK passed the Bribery Act which was seen as especially onerous in the requirement upon British firms working abroad to prevent corruption (Firger 2009; Alldridge 2012; Bean and MacGuidwin 2012; Vieyra et al. 2014). The prosecution of the Shell contractor Panalpina, on bribery charges in 2010, resulted in sizeable fines from the American SEC and Department of Justice (DOJ). Shell, one of the most high-profile multi-national companies in Nigeria, came under investigation and was forced to settle with the DOJ in the same year. These cases sent a message to multi-nationals in Nigeria to take extra care that they were not associated with corrupt dealings (Kochan 2011, 117–19).

An elite informant highlighted how for the first years of his tenure, Akala was at least predictable and easy to work with. After decrying Akala's profligacy, he remarked "but if you helped him [gave him money], he would acknowledge you".⁴⁶ However, after Adedibu's death, Akala was no longer accountable upwards to his godfather and increasingly failed to meet even the most minimal conceptions of acceptable governance. What he had earlier framed as generosity collapsed into outright venality with no sign of progress. He was seen as "profligate and arrogant" and Arisekola was becoming "fed up" by the demands of reining him in.⁴⁷ Even other "more respectable" PDP chieftains were looking to reject Adedibu's legacy (Timothy 2008). As one major businessman and politician said, "We all wanted Akala to go because of misrule."⁴⁸ The combination of these international anti-corruption reforms and the establishment of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2003 raised the stakes for those who were engaged in potentially corrupt acts. By 2008 the EFCC's prosecution record was poor. Yet the opportunity for determined individuals, like Nuhu Ribadu, to use anti-corruption bodies to pursue high profile individuals indicated that there was potential for more forceful investigations in the future (*BBC* 2005a; 2005b; 2005c). The EFCC was seen as targeting political opponents of Obasanjo (Aiyede 2008; Obuah 2010; Amundsen 2010, 24; US Department of State 2010), and Akala's repeatedly bad behaviour made him a liability for anyone connected to him

⁴⁶ F-5 Former aide to Arisekola family, Ibadan 15/05/2015

⁴⁷ F-5

⁴⁸ I-31 Businessman and political operator, Ibadan 30/05/2015

(Aiyede 2008; Obuah 2010; Amundsen 2010, 24; US Department of State 2010). If elites wanted to keep making money and doing business they had to think strategically about emerging anti-corruption standards.

The neopatrimonialism thesis, and Albin-Lackey's (2012) application of it to godfather politics, assumes that godfathers have fixed preferences for corrupt politicians who they can manipulate. In the case of Oyo State, godfathers were instead agents in the push towards a cleaner, more reliable mode of governance, albeit for largely pragmatic reasons. Arisekola's entourage became paranoid about how past corrupt deals might be dealt with in the future, with some making preparations for possible future plea bargains by collecting incriminating evidence against rivals. In the words of one informant who worked closely with the Arisekola family:

“He wasn't careful. Everyone, like Ari[sekola] started getting worried that he would be indiscrete and then they have the EFCC coming after all of them. ... They said, we need to find someone who we can work with, who won't have the EFCC after us”⁴⁹.

Finally, there was also the belief among elites that a politician who had visibly performed might have some protection against a corruption investigation, compared to someone with few achievements to point to⁵⁰. Fashola was given as an example: “Of course Fashola is really really rich, but at least he's done something.” That the Governor engaged in corrupt deals wasn't in itself a risk factor, so long as this was mitigated by a record of delivering some public benefits⁵¹. In this way, developing conceptions of good governance in a neighbouring Yoruba state – Lagos – coincided with shifting priorities for political operators on the ground. For both ideological and practical reasons, elites were turning against the style of governance that endured under Adedibu.

⁴⁹ F-5

⁵⁰ Moreover, a story from an informant close to Arisekola showed how the godfathers reinforced their moral position by drawing on shared conceptions of good governance. He recounted an alleged meeting between Arisekola, other traditional leaders and Akala before the 2011 election. The informant claimed that, when challenged on his unimpressive record in government, Akala retorted “I am not accountable to you!” Arisekola is said to have replied, “But your 5-year-old son, is he not a citizen of Oyo State? Are you not accountable to him?” The point is not whether this is a veridical account of a real meeting, but that this sort of story is used by godfathers in an effort to legitimise the otherwise dubious control the godfathers had over the state. They draw upon the idea that godfathers exercise their power in the interests of the people. Therefore, pragmatic and self-interested concerns about being implicated in corruption were interwoven with claims to stewardship or responsibility for the general wellbeing of the state.

⁵¹ F-5

As the kingmakers approached the 2011 election, the enduring themes of good governance in Oyo State – patronage, *olaju* and Ibadan identity - remained salient. After Akala it was felt that the Governorship should return to an Ibadan native. Whilst Adesina and Arisekola⁵² lived to see Ajimobi come to power, and were influential in his success, the impact of Adedibu was felt by his absence. The demise of Adedibu and the declining importance of the violent groups he commanded meant that new elite coalitions and political strategies could be employed to win power. Yet the influence of godfathers like Arisekola, whose legitimacy was built in part on mass philanthropy, remained. Emerging political circumstances, driven by the international environment, meant that a new mode of governance was required to protect elite interests.

Conclusion

Whereas modern ideas of good governance urge a break with what is seen as Nigeria's exclusively corrupt and neopatrimonial past, this chapter has argued that there are various existing values and principles which structure understandings of good governance in Yorubaland. Yoruba political culture contains both a strong instinct towards progressive, developmental, enlightenment thinking, as well as the seeds of an equally well-established opposition to elite claims to enlightenment. The realities of everyday struggles for survival and dignity in a situation of economic turmoil and poverty mean that whilst progress is a necessity to build a better future, and ordinary voters also have more immediate material needs. Leaders must find ways of responding to both, as they abide by norms of accountability and legitimate leadership. Whilst the progressive line has a more natural claim to progress, and populists to immediate economic benefits, the history of contemporary politics in Oyo State shows that political competition is shaped by each side's innovative responses to popular needs unmet by the other. With the approach of democratisation, there were doubts over whether either political tradition was capable of meeting popular demands for good governance.

This chapter has shown that, through demands for progress, indigenous Yoruba conceptions of good governance have long developed in conversation with external Western values. Over the years various modernising projects have been couched as natural corollaries of the Yoruba enthusiasm for progress and imitation of the West. How progress is interpreted, and how Yoruba society should assimilate into Western modernity is contested and continues to be contested in the period under study in this thesis, 2011-15. The rest of the thesis deals

⁵² Arisekola died late in Ajimobi's first term, on 19th June 2014 (NAN 2014).

with how the Governor of Oyo State from 2011 to 2015 has built on the progressive line in Yoruba politics. It looks at how he has remade good governance as conceived of by Obafemi Awolowo to reflect new political goals and a renewed engagement with international conceptions of good governance. This evolving conception of good governance undergirds the policies and principles of the Lagos Model described in the next chapter.

Even in moments of progressive dominance, when leaders have been fully committed to embracing all that is foreign and new, the idea of a break with the past remains ambiguous. Traces of past political practice, old legacies and historical attachments linger in the political imagination. Disagreement over which practices are important to retain and which have lost legitimacy are always couched within the core political principles through which people think and act. Therefore, the key themes raised in this chapter form the basis for the structure of the second half of this thesis: chapters six interrogates the idea of progress in the Lagos Model, chapter seven considers contested ideas of legitimate leadership and chapter eight explores the contradictions in the Lagos Model's approach to delivering immediate economic benefits.

Chapter 5 - Good Governance as Rupture and Continuity: The Lagos Model in Lagos and Oyo States

Introduction

An IMF Working Paper from 2003 described past efforts at increasing the transparency and accountability of government in Nigeria's petro-economy as "impossible", and that "even the most optimistic observer" would admit that strengthening such functions would take "a long time" (Subramanian and Sala-i-Martin 2003, 18). Nigeria was seen as an example of neopatrimonial bad governance; state authority is exercised via the head of state's personal relationships, with the formal bureaucratic rules of the state simply a façade. In the years after democratisation in 1999, the consensus was that Nigeria's neopatrimonial structures had been largely resistant to efforts at reform and intervention (Adebanwi and Obadare 2011; 2013). Against this background of a transformation longed for but frustrated, the success of Lagos State as an active reform-minded state government was welcomed by international institutions. It represented a break with the past and a symbol of Nigeria's future. Here was a state government that was both willing to work closely with donors implementing governance reforms, as well as having a commitment to a transformative vision of good governance that was independent of donor pressure.

This chapter introduces the Lagos Model, a model of developmental governance, first developed in Lagos State, Nigeria, from 1999 and later replicated across a number of other states in the southwest of Nigeria. It is a vision of good governance that values modernisation, transformation and performance. Through this model, successive state Governors have achieved significant gains in infrastructure, economic growth, quality of governance and service provision. Whereas Lagos State has been the subject of both academic and donor attention, less is known about the implementation and effects of the Lagos Model in other states. This chapter contributes to filling that gap by detailing how the Lagos Model was replicated in Oyo State under the leadership of Abiola Ajimobi from his election as Governor in 2011. It extends debates about how ideas of continuity and change between the Lagos Model and existing forms of politics in Nigeria are used to legitimate different forms of state action. This chapter does not deny that Lagos State has achieved improvements in governance and development that have benefited its population. Rather it draws attention to the way that this model has been framed in debates about good governance, and how an eagerness to welcome the Lagos Model as a 'good news story' has permitted a number of troubling political trends to emerge.

Lagos State has been celebrated as not only having achieved a transformation, where the rest of Nigeria lags, but that this transformation has been the product of a commitment to the “rupture” (Joseph 2013, 310). Political elites associated with the Lagos Model also have their own purposes for which they drew lines of continuity and rupture between their ‘new’ form of governance and what had gone before. The chapter explains how good governance was part of their political strategy of rupture at three levels: political rupture in terms of good governance, regional rupture to gain independence from and differentiate themselves from the central government, and indigenous rupture, where old Yoruba politics ideas were repurposed to legitimate new political configurations and win elections. The Lagos Model draws on continuity with certain parts of the Yoruba project, to render new forms of government action legitimate.

The chapter closes by considering whether the claim that the Lagos Model is a rupture is accurate. The dominant framing of Lagos State politics as a rupture with the past allows the reframing of old acts as new. A discourse of rupture occludes direct continuities of authoritarian governance that extend back to the 1980s, including legitimising the state government’s forced evictions of the exact same communities that suffered under military rule (Amnesty International 2006, 2013). These authoritarian continuities are not anomalies within the Lagos Model, but core to its modernising project.

1. Model: Political Rupture

The Lagos Model is a model of developmental governance first set out by Bola Tinubu as Governor of Lagos State between 1999 and 2007, and developed by Babatunde Fashola, his Chief of Staff and then, from 2007-11 his successor as Governor. When Tinubu came to power he was the state's first democratically elected Governor since 1983 and expectations were high. At the same time, there was a sense of deepening urban crisis. Tinubu feared that the city, already one of the densest and fastest growing in Africa, would not be able to support its growing population considering already intense pressure on land due to its coastal position⁵³ (UN 2011; M. Filani 2012, 11–14). Tinubu and Fashola were united in the ambitious goal of breaking with the chaotic past and transforming Lagos into “a modern, orderly, and prosperous megacity” (de Gramont 2015, 5). As Fashola built on Tinubu's legacy it became clear that a consistent ‘model’ was emerging, with continuity between the two Lagos Governors. Tinubu and Fashola came from the same progressive opposition party, and Tinubu has explained that subsequent Lagos governors from the All Progressives Congress (APC), as the party has been known since a merger with other smaller parties in 2013, have all been working to the same programme. In office Tinubu “laid the governance foundation and started the first lap” and then “handed the baton to Fashola” (Ezeamalu 2015b). Their style of governance came to be known as the Lagos Model, a coherent vision and associated policies that could be replicated elsewhere.

The Lagos Model is one of long-term economic transformation through private sector led growth, with interventions from an activist state to attract investment. The core policies were: governance reform, a focus on urban environment and transport infrastructure, security, tax reform to increase internally generated revenue (IGR), and the use of PPPs. The Lagos Model involves not only a change in government action but an attempt to change the standards and values by which governance is assessed; namely, the idea that government should be held accountable to the idea of performance as defined by the mega-city vision (Fourchard 2011; Filani 2012; de Gramont 2015). This model strategically engaged with donor-backed international conceptions of good governance, as well as forming the basis of a political strategy for Tinubu and the APC.

⁵³ The official 2006 census put the state's population at 9.1million (NBS 2013) whilst the Lagos State government estimated it at 17million in 2010 (Ekundayo 2013, 225) and 20million in 2016 (Lagos State Government 2016).

International

Donors have been involved throughout Lagos State's transformation, and its status as a poster-child of good governance has led to its repeated selection for further donor funding and assistance⁵⁴. It was one of five states selected by the World Bank for funding and partnership on the basis of selectivity, whereby they chose which states to work with based on their willingness to reform and proof of commitment to international engagement (Ekwedike 2005; World Bank 2010a). In July 2015 the World Bank approved a \$200m loan to the Lagos State government to support budget and investment reforms in the state (Ezeamalu 2015a). The Lagos State government's planning processes involved close cooperation with donor sponsored consultants and built on numerous interventions by international institutions (Lagos State Government 2010). DFID's SPARC programme focused on public financial management and accountability in service delivery, and major reform programmes focussed on tax collection (SPARC-Nigeria.com 2015). For donors, the Lagos Model sets an example for the rest of Nigeria to follow (DFID 2014).

The Lagos Model is celebrated by donors and the business press as representing a break with more typical and historical modes of governance seen in Nigeria. Richard Joseph has been a leading academic proponent of the idea that Lagos State has achieved international conceptions of good governance. Writing in two volumes edited by current and former World Bank Chief Economists (2013; 2015), he argues that Lagos State is both "developmentalist" and that it is "adhering, in significant measure, to a 'good governance agenda' of accountability, transparency, the rule of law and operational efficiency." (Joseph 2013, 307). He draws on work theorising corruption as a collective action problem (Rothstein 2009). Lagos, according to Joseph, has succeeded thanks to a "macro-institutional rupture" solving this collective-action problem, with a simultaneous shift in "multi-level as well as multi-sector strategies" (Joseph 2013, 310). Joseph's analysis reflects a binary way of thinking about good governance and existing prebendal modes of governance (Joseph 2013, 305).⁵⁵ Indeed, the interpretation that Lagos State has achieved success, against a

⁵⁴ Along with Kaduna, Lagos is the state that has participated in the most donor-led governance projects; DFID's State and Local Government Programme, Security, Justice and Growth Programme (DFID 2007), SAVI (State Accountability and Voice Initiative), and SPARC (State Partnership for Accountability, Responsiveness and Capacity). The World Bank has engaged via the 2005 State Governance and Capacity Building Project. Lagos was also a lead state in the multi-agency Country Partnership Strategy between 2005-09 and UNDAF 2009-12.

⁵⁵ He presents a diagram with the two as opposing positions of how different African states have developed. On it Nigeria as a whole is placed on one side as worryingly prebendal whereas Lagos is placed on the positive developmentalist side (Joseph 2013, 305).

background of generalised Nigerian failure, through wholesale rupture with the past is popular among international commentators (*The Economist* 2011; 2015; *Financial Times* 2012; Kaplan 2014;).

However, Joseph's comparison of Lagos State to a more familiar example of an African developmental state, Rwanda, suggests some of the ambiguities of 'rupture'. There is a sense that the ends will justify the means. He observes favourably that what Rwanda only achieved following a genocide, Lagos State Governors, Bola Tinubu and Babatunde Fashola achieved through a commitment to a developmentalist vision. Some scholars have highlighted how the changes in governance were more incremental than this analysis allows (de Gramont 2014b). It is important to examine the effect of ideas of rupture in the actual politics of the Lagos Model on the ground. Despite the rather sinister comparison to genocide in Rwanda, Joseph casts rupture as a positive thing. It is positioned as an instrumental idea that politicians can pick up and have 'elite commitment' to, in order to further the goals of development. However, whenever there is rupture, there are some institutions, things and people who will be washed away. In this somewhat Manichean view of the world, the rupture is with prebendal governance – interpreted expansively to mean "state/politics/economy fabric" -- which should be washed away (Joseph 2013, 310).

2. Explaining the adoption of the Lagos Model

Good Governance and Rupture as Regional Political Strategy

The Lagos Model goes beyond lip-service of good governance and genuinely incorporates policy recommendations from the good governance agenda: specifically, the governance reforms in the civil service and tax agencies, the liberalisation of the business environment with simplified regulations and the willingness to engage the private sector via PPPs.⁵⁶ In fact, Lagos State voluntarily embraced initiatives like PPPs that the World Bank has long been encouraging in Nigeria at the Federal level with little success.⁵⁷ However, the adoption of these good governance policies can be explained as simultaneously meeting donor prescriptions and facilitating a political strategy of rupture from regional networks which advances the economic aspirations and party-building agenda of key southwestern elites. Revenue from non-oil and gas sources in Nigeria has been consistently low (Guyer 1992); in 2012 income tax was only 0.8% of GDP and VAT and sales tax only 0.2% (UK Parliament 2012, 7). This has left state governments heavily dependent on oil revenues, disbursed via a monthly statutory allocation from the federal government. However, “a historical antagonism between Lagos-based politicians and the federal government” since colonial times, left Lagos at the mercy of erratic and politically motivated withholding of the statutory allocation (Suberu 2001, 88; Fourchard 2011, 45).⁵⁸ Following democratisation in 1999 there were very high expectations of government from the population at large, who anticipated benefiting from the ‘dividends of democracy’. Moreover, within Tinubu’s political networks there was demand for patronage to build the party, ready to fight elections (de Gramont 2014b, 2015). Whilst Tinubu and Fashola were trying to implement their plans to rapidly transform Lagos, the central PDP government obstructed state-led plans to build power stations and roads, and withheld the state’s federal allocation, ostensibly because the

⁵⁶ Public Private Partnership is defined as “a risk-sharing relationship ... between the public sector and one or more partners from the private and/or voluntary sectors to deliver a publicly agreed outcome and/or public service” (Grimsey and Lewis 2007, xiv).

⁵⁷ In 2008 the Federal government established the Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission via the specialist World Bank Institute for Public Private Partnerships. Its stated objectives are to improve the use of performance indicators in PPPs and increase the “acceptance” of PPP in Nigeria (Dowden 2013).

⁵⁸ A thorough discussion of the historical evolution of this issue can be found in (Fourchard 2011, 45).

state had created new local councils and were exceeding state powers. In reality, central government simply withheld funds from Tinubu to reduce his chances of re-election (de Gramont 2015, 6; *Today* 2014; Fourchard 2011, 47). Tinubu responded to this political and social pressure by adopting a strategy of autonomous development at the state level, independent of the federal statutory allocation. Central to this plan was a sustained push to improve the state's ability to raise funds internally. Compliance with the fiscal provisions of the good governance agenda coincided with the political imperatives on the ground. Tinubu pursued internal revenue generation policies that served three purposes. He demonstrated the state's fiscal responsibility to international audiences as well as building up an economic base that allowed continued social spending and reduced his reliance on the statutory allocation from the central government.

Policies

Tax reform was a flagship part of the governance reform under the Lagos Model. Various reforms aimed to improve efficiency and transparency, including computerisation, the hiring of private consultants and a reinforced cadre of enforcement officers. By focussing on enforcement, the state avoided raising tax levels on international firms and investors. In tandem with a reformed Land Bureau, multiple or nuisance taxes were streamlined, lightening the regulatory burden on companies in order to create a welcoming economic environment for foreign capital (UK Parliament 2012, 108). Tax receipts increased astronomically from N600m a month in 1999 to N7bn in 2007 to more than N15bn in 2012. Over a similar time period, the number of people paying tax in Lagos State expanded from 500,000 to 4million, mostly under PAYE (Filani 2012, 22–33; de Gramont 2014b; de Gramont 2015; Eurasia Research Group 2015). DFID was closely involved in governance reform, working alongside the Lagos State Inland Revenue Service on tax reform and the creation of a 'better business environment' through consultancy and advocacy work (UK Parliament 2012, 108).

Working with donors helped to build up Lagos State's credit rating with other commercial lenders (Burnell 2005). Moreover, with the state's finances improving steadily – by 2014, 70% of the state budget came from IGR and the government was able to raise its own capital through bond sales, leveraging its income to further expand finance available for improving services. This included the Lagos Security Trust Fund, for police and security, and the floating of capital bonds in 2002, raising \$15bn to refinance other short term loans and pay for infrastructure (*Financial Times* 2012; Ezeamalu 2014).

There was an overlap between the good governance agenda's emphasis on streamlining the civil service to make it more efficient and the political need for Tinubu and Fashola to

disentangle themselves from the civil service as an antagonistic political constituency. Institutionally, the public service was a symbol of the old modes of governance, with inefficient, rent-seeking civil servants who were resistant to new market-inspired ways of working. Key economic agencies, like the Lagos State Inland Revenue Service, were transformed into technocratic enclaves with elevated salaries, and insulated from the rest of the state civil service (Adenugba and Ogechi 2013). Tax collection was contracted to a private company Alpha Beta, which is reported to have links to Tinubu himself (*Sahara Reporters* 2016; Ezeamalu 2016; Ezeamalu 2015a). Within the civil service, reforms were implemented that borrowed private sector methods of operating from New Public Management and there was a shift to meritocratic recruitment rather than hiring of indigenes. In 2015 the State Head of Public Service launched the Service Charter Initiative which aims to “ensure that there is no difference in the way businesses are run in the private sector and the public sector” (“Governance Share Fair” 2013, 6; *Nigerian Tribune* 2015). Thus the public sector was implicated in the old system from which the APC sought to make a break.

When Tinubu arrived in office the institutional arrangement for urban governance was fragmented across the city’s 20 LGAs⁵⁹, with little ability to plan on a city-wide scale. Under Tinubu, the relationship between the city and government was rationalised, with technocratic planning and managing of development towards specific goals of cleanliness, order and infrastructure development. Tinubu merged existing organisations into a variety of city-wide agencies to deliver coordinated services and enforcement⁶⁰ such as Lagos State Waste Management Authority and Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority (Kofoworola 2007; Oresanya 2008). Environmental and physical planning coincided with donor aspirations for the city. It was listed as a priority in the 2005 LASEEDS document, the state’s version of the national level collaboration with donors, and was a key aspect of the \$200m, World Bank funded, Lagos Metropolitan Development and Governance Project (World Bank 2006; M. Filani 2012, 18, 35).

⁵⁹ 16 of these are in Lagos State and four are in Ogun. A further 4 LGAs in Lagos State are not counted as part of the city.

⁶⁰ These included: Lagos State Signage and Advertisement Agency (LASA), Lagos Waste Management Authority (LAWMA), Lagos State Bus Services, Lagos Metropolitan Area Transport Authority (LAMATA), Lagos State Water Authority, Lagos State Emergency Management Agency (LASEMA), Lagos State Emergency Medical Services (LASEMS) and Lagos State Microfinance Institution (LASMI).

Cleanliness, order and infrastructure development came together under the policy of urban renewal, overseen by the revitalised Lagos State Urban Renewal Authority (“Lagos State Urban Renewal Authority (LASURA)” 2016). Informal sector shops and hawkers were cleared from around major roads and new roads and flyovers built. In place of traders came landscaped green spaces; a policy known as beautification. Modernisation of the city meant cleanliness, orderliness and large-scale infrastructure projects. Fashola in particular adopted an old proverb as the city’s motto: *Eko O Ni Baje*: “Lagos shall not spoil”. He radically improved waste disposal coverage and regularity, through collaboration with over 90 small private contractors (de Gramont 2015, 9). The state government invested in expanding and upgrading roads, and created new agencies to enthusiastically enforce traffic regulations. The result was a dramatic improvement in the traffic congestion in Lagos, despite a growing population (*Financial Times* 2012).

Urban renewal was an end in itself but it was also a component of a broader economic strategy. Part of the Lagos Model is the belief that a clean orderly modern city is part of creating a literal ‘enabling environment’ for domestic and foreign capital. Security was a further priority as it was a major obstacle to attracting foreign companies and to the authority of the state government. In 2000, President Obasanjo threatened to impose a state of emergency in Lagos, bringing it under federal control, if Tinubu could not impose order and stop the wave of violence attributed to the ethnic organisation, the Oodua People’s Congress (OPC) (Johnson 2000) and local gangs who menaced Lagos Island, known as Area Boys (Rasak 2000; Momoh 2000; Adebaniwi 2005, 348). Tinubu took on the Area Boys, and absorbed some of them into the state traffic enforcement and waste management services (de Gramont 2014a, 64–68). A rapid response team and emergency call centre were set up to respond to criminal incidents more swiftly (Filani 2012, 38).

The state government played an activist role in attracting private sector investors and companies to collaborate with the public sector. Tinubu believed that the public sector did not have the capacity to deliver the scale of benefits quickly enough to guarantee re-election (de Gramont 2015). PPPs had already gained popularity internationally in the late 1990s and 2000s primarily because they allow government to deliver public infrastructure rapidly “without immediately raising taxes or borrowing” (Akintoye and Beck 2008; Loxley 2013). Lagos State government collaborated with private sector representative to promote the use of PPPs, through forums like the Biennial Lagos State Economic Summit, first held in 2000, and passing legislation facilitating PPPs (M. Filani 2012, 19–21; “Governance Share Fair” 2013, 6). In Lagos PPPs have been used to build and finance major high-cost transport infrastructure investments such as the Lekki-Epe expressway, the Lekki-Ikoyi Link Bridge, the Bus Rapid Transport System and the Blue Line Light Rail. The state government also

involved private providers in utilities, for example Independent Power Plants and the privatisation of the Lagos State Water Corporation (BMI 2009b, 2009a, 2010; IRJ 2011; *Financial Times* 2012; M. Filani 2012, 27–30; K. Smith 2013; Briginshaw 2013).

This new Lagos Model was a success. The economy of Lagos grew out of step with the rest of Nigeria, tax revenue multiplied and the APC appeared to have found the recipe for development and electoral success. Tinubu was re-elected in 2003 and succeeded by Fashola who served two terms from 2007 to 2015, with landslide victories (*Financial Times* 2012; Filani 2012, 21–28; Ezeamalu 2014; *Today* 2014; Adams 2015; Wallis 2015; *Premium Times* 2015).

The Lagos Model as a Response to Indigenous Rupture

Alongside a political strategy which required the Lagos Model to be cast as a rupture with the past, there was also a need for elites to position the Lagos Model with reference to existing, indigenous conceptions of good governance. From the beginning, Tinubu asserted that the Lagos Model was a continuation of the politics and philosophy of Obafemi Awolowo, and was part of “rebuilding the Awolowo political family” (Adebanwi 2014, 223,30). The Egbe Omo Odu’a, Awolowo’s Yoruba political grouping, turned into the Afenifere in the 1990s. This maintained continuity between the Awolowo’s parties, the Action Group and then the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), and the Tinubu-led progressive parties: Alliance for Democracy, Action Congress, Action Congress of Nigeria and from 2013 the All Progressives Congress. Tinubu joined the Afenifere when he returned from exile in 1998 (Adebanwi 2014, 232). They drew continuities with Obafemi Awolowo’s brand of Yoruba Nationalism and the achievements of the UPN that legitimised the Lagos Model as “moving forward by returning to the past” (Adebanwi 2014, 223).

Adebanwi draws on Giddens, noting that “[o]ften, the 'authority which the past exercises over the present' is fabricated in the present” (Giddens 1979, 201; Peel 2000; Adebanwi 2005, 341–42). Tinubu repurposed the Awolowo’s ideas to meet popular needs that had previously been neglected by a progressive politics. The progressives had long built their legitimacy on the grounds that it was the vehicle of Yoruba nationalism in Nigerian politics, however, demographic and social changes described in the previous chapter meant that political innovation was needed to respond to unmet popular needs. The OPC highlighted the failure of Yoruba elite to deliver economic benefits alongside long-term progress, and led them to challenge the gerontocratic structure of Yoruba politics. This imperative was especially strong in Lagos, which was especially badly affected by the OPC crisis with repeated incidents of ethnic and communal violence (Ikelegbe 2001; Ukiwo 2003).

Tinubu succeeded in responding to the unmet need for economic benefits that had led to widespread disillusionment with Yoruba elites as shown in the rise of the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) in the 1990s and 2000s. Whilst the Lagos Model offered a clear vision of progress, the progressives at democratisation had to skilfully adjust their offering to respond to demands based on the other two key themes: economic benefit and legitimate leadership. Tinubu's pragmatism represented a means of balancing the need for progress or *olaju* with social programmes that indicated that the benefits of state power would not solely be enjoyed by the elites. He set up free healthcare programmes for high risk groups (Lagos State Ministry of Health 2016) and created thousands of jobs to absorb the otherwise unemployed young men who had made a living as criminal Area Boys, via mass employment in agencies like LAWMA, KAI and LASTMA. Tinubu was also able to direct patronage through a broad network of market and traders associations (Carothers and de Gramont 2013; de Gramont 2014a; 2015). Lagos State's ability to provide economic benefits was dependent on its success at tapping the potential for internally generated revenue as the commercial capital of Nigeria.

Moreover, from Awolowo onwards, high profile positions within the Action Group and UPN went to Christians. Among the Muslim masses there developed a sense that they were being denigrated by the progressive Christian elite (Agbaje 2002). By having a Muslim figurehead in Lagos, in the form of Tinubu and then Fashola, the Yoruba progressives signalled the compatibility of Islam and modernity, and ended what had been seen as the implicit marginalisation of the Muslim masses. Other contemporaries in the Alliance for Democracy like Bisi Akande and Lam Adesina, Governors of Osun and Oyo, were also Muslim. In 2011, when the next wave of ACN Governors were in power across the southwest, four out of the five ACN governors were Muslim (Adebanwi 2014, 237–38). The incorporation of Islamic versions of modernity was a key element of the Lagos Model's re-positioning to respond to unmet indigenous demands. Moreover, this shift made a parochial pan-Yoruba vision of development more politically acceptable to the southwest's religiously diverse electorate.

3. Propagating the Lagos Model Across the Southwest

The Lagos Model in the Southwest

Whilst Lagos was surging ahead of the rest of the federation in terms of IGR, in the other southwestern states, ACN Governors relied on sporadic allocations from central government and were unable to keep up with popular demands to see the immediate benefits of democracy, referred to as the ‘dividends of democracy’. In the 2003 gubernatorial elections, the centrally funded PDP ‘hurricane’ swept the ACN from power in all the states of the region, bar Lagos. Whilst a sense of regional pride and opposition to Obasanjo had carried the ACN to power in 1999, it was not enough to sustain electoral majorities in the face of dwindling resources (Adebanwi 2014, 230–34; Hoffman and Nolte 2013). Therefore, the provision of development and resources outside of central government patronage became an electoral imperative beyond the Lagos bubble.

In addition to autonomy from the rest of the federation, Tinubu’s strategy in the southwest was to build a new economic base for political power, through connections with external sources. When Tinubu stepped down as Governor in 2007 he became “the new power centre in Yoruba politics” (Adebanwi 2005, 224–25). He devoted his energies and financial resources to cultivating a network of ACN Governorship candidates who could replicate the Lagos Model in the other southwestern states (Adams 2015; Ezeamalu 2015b; Ogunlesi 2012).⁶¹

The DAWN Commission is a regional development organisation funded by the Governors of the South West zone, with a framework for the development of a regional political and economic strategy (Oladele 2015b). The DAWN Commission is firmly part of the machinery of the Awoist progressive movement in its origins and symbolism. It originated in online discussions among Yoruba in the diaspora and in its early stages the process was overseen by the Afenifere Renewal Group, a late 1990s spin-off of the Egbe Afenifere (Adebanwi 2014, 242).⁶² Plans for the commission were developed in 2011 at a summit in Ibadan, and it was officially launched in 2013 with its offices at the iconic Cocoa House in central Ibadan⁶³. It

⁶¹ As Fashola took over, journalists started to talk about a “Tinubu Tendency” and a “Tinubu School of Politics”, reflecting the prominent role that Tinubu still played from behind the scenes (Omonijo and Gabriel 2007).

⁶² I-33 Senior staff member of DAWN Commission 1, Ibadan 05/06/2015.

⁶³ Cocoa House was built by Obafemi Awolowo, from cocoa revenues, and was the first tower block in Nigeria. It is seen as a symbol of Oyo State as a land of ‘firsts’ and the progressive potential of the Yoruba people (*Osun Defender* 2011)

conducts research, advises on policies and facilitates coordination across the 6 states, organising workshops and information sharing events⁶⁴ for civil servants and politicians (DAWN 2011, 6–10, 2016; Olofinlua 2015).

Like Tinubu and Fashola in Lagos, the DAWN Commission simultaneously positions itself as fulfilling international conceptions of good governance, as well as pursuing political strategies facing progressives in the southwest and normative concerns rooted in Yoruba political history.

From a donor perspective, DAWN is helping to propagate the new technocratic mode of governance and outward-looking economic strategy seen in Lagos State that DFID explicitly advocates should be replicated across the country. Its ‘five pillars’ include policies to continue building an alternative economic base for the southwest which depends not on central government oil revenues but private-sector investment. DAWN facilitates the economic integration of the states so they can operate more as a regional block, which brought political and economic advantages. The ability of states to act as an economic unit and to implement the same “core economic policies” also allows for “economies of scale” (DAWN 2011, 8–9. 16) and joint ventures among states have already been undertaken in power and infrastructure (BMI 2011).

Just as actors within the donor community are keen to partner with reformist southwestern governments, the DAWN Commission actively pursues the involvement of international aid donors, as part of the region’s political strategy. DAWN’s strategic roadmap explains that the southwest must mobilise capital to escape the “glass ceiling” imposed by the current political arrangements and “establish strong links and partnerships with international development partners, multilaterals, and international DFIs [Donor Funded Institutions] to access global finance opportunities” (DAWN 2011, 6–23)

However, there are elements of the DAWN Commission’s agenda that reflect the practical political imperatives facing the ACN/APC. It notes that through replicating a shared economic strategy, in line with the Lagos Model, other southwestern states stand a better chance of “power retention and strengthening of democratic legitimacy”, i.e. winning elections (DAWN 2011, 17). Just as Tinubu had to include some provisions for short term

⁶⁴ Examples include a Pre-Inaugural Meeting on the Regional Technical Team on Climate Change and Sustainability in the southwest, Heads of Service Strategy briefing on the DAWN Development Index and a Regional Workshop on Security, Law and Order (DAWN 2016).

benefits for the masses, DAWN states that its fifth pillar is “social and human development” (2011, 6–23).

Furthermore, DAWN’s strategic roadmap also sets out a vision for the collective development of the Yoruba on ethnically-parochial grounds that are at odds with the liberal universal ideas of donor conceptions of good governance (Craig and Porter 2006). Drawing on Awolowo’s ideas of *olaju* dating back to the 1940s, it says: “differences in exposure to and embrace of Western education have created varying levels of modernisation and economic development amongst the various ethnic groups”. Those who are the most modern and the developed – the Yoruba – have been held back by the “concentration of legislative power and fiscal resources in the federal government” and “ethnic colouration” of government by certain “dominant groups” i.e. the Hausa-Fulani (DAWN 2011, 12). As a result of these obstacles, Yoruba progressives continue to demand greater regional economic and fiscal autonomy, through DAWN and the 2014 National Conference for example (*The Punch* 2014a; Ajayi 2014a; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2013a).

The Lagos Model in Oyo State

Governor Abiola Ajimobi in Oyo State was one of the ACN protégées. His bid for Senator in 2003 was sponsored by Lam Adesina, part of Tinubu’s generation of AD governors. In the Senate he swiftly went on to establish himself within what Adebanwi calls the “Yoruba-Awo-Progressive fold”, serving as minority leader for the Alliance for Democracy in the House of Assembly from 2003-2007 and Deputy Minority Whip from 2005. Ajimobi gained a reputation as a clean hard worker (Ologbondiyan 2005a; Ologbondiyan 2005b). He was reported to have rejected a bribe from Obasanjo, and spoke out publicly against godfatherism when Oyo State godfather, Lamido Adedibu, was at his most powerful. Like Tinubu, he was a Muslim and had a shared background working in an international oil company (Ekpunobi 2006; Ogunyemi 2006; Aziken 2006; Aziken 2007; Omonijo 2007; OSG Website 2011). Once Ajimobi was elected in 2011, the Oyo State government adopted the Lagos Model, stating there was no need to “reinvent the wheel” (“Governance Share Fair” 2013, 6, 13).⁶⁵

Oyo replicated the ruptures seen in Lagos. Ajimobi signalled a rupture with old modes of governance, explaining that the “modern” Oyo State would be “a clear departure from the

⁶⁵ The process of sharing led Oyo to adopt OYES, a youth employment scheme initially developed in Osun, and they stated an interest in replicating Ekiti’s social security scheme and Lagos’s SDP.

one bequeathed to him by past administrations” (*ThisDay* 2013) According to Ajimobi, Oyo state under PDP rule was marked by “violence, thuggery, maladministration, profligacy and impunity.” (Arulogun 2015). Ajimobi rejected *Amala* politics, a system of distributing small immediate benefits, like cash and food, to secure popular acquiescence to corrupt and violent elite rule, instead promoting the Lagos Model’s conception of accountability as performance (*Sun News* 2015; Ajimobi 2015b). Ajimobi’s “mission to transform the State” necessitated a rupture with the past in order for the state to be transformed into a radically new world, akin to a “revolution” (OSG Website 2013a; Oladele 2013). Where Fashola’s vision was the ‘Mega-city’, Ajimobi’s dreamt of the “New Modern Oyo State” and the “New Ibadan” (Ajimobi 2015b).

In contrast to the way that donors were at the heart of Tinubu’s reforms from the beginning, Oyo State had few donor interventions or partnerships until a major World Bank loan was agreed in 2014. During that time, however, Ajimobi nonetheless invoked good governance in all his major public speeches (*Osun Defender* 2011; Ajimobi 2015a; OSG Website 2014a; OSG Website 2013). The hypothetical spectre of judgement and sanction by external donors and investors was discursively called upon in Ajimobi’s justification of unpopular policies to deflect responsibility for policies that were in the APC’s strategic interests.

Ajimobi enacted Oyo’s version of regional rupture, tying the state to the regional political strategy of building an alternative economic base for the APC, separate from the central government. As such, Ajimobi signalled a decisive shift towards pro-private sector development and away from the perceived inefficiencies and antagonistic constituencies seen as inherent in a public-sector dominated economy. Ajimobi announced that the civil service must be “able and willing to evolve and productively manage a private sector led Oyo State economy” (OSG Website 2013). Soon after his election he cut the civil service payroll through updating computer records to eliminate ghost workers and retiring those who had reached the statutory age limit or 35 years of service (*The Street Journal* 2011). In 2014 further reforms were unveiled “with a view to eliminating overlapping functions and bureaucratic delay” (*Tribune* 2014). A member of Ajimobi’s cabinet explained that there were other wide-ranging reforms to government and the civil service that were not “codified”, i.e. not publicly advertised. These were explicitly inspired by the experience of key members of staff from Ajimobi’s administration working in multinational companies⁶⁶. Similarly, anti-corruption strategies allowed Ajimobi to simultaneously signal his

⁶⁶ I-46 Senior Member of Ajimobi’s Cabinet, Ibadan, 24th July 2015

commitment to international conceptions of good governance and strategically cut links between the government and the previous regime's patronage network. As soon as he arrived in office in May 2011 Ajimobi announced that the state and local government bank accounts had been frozen pending inspection, and he would review all 'hasty decisions' made and contracts allocated by the Akala government.

Ajimobi's tax policy aimed to replicate the rapid improvements in IGR seen in Lagos, both by "extend[ing] the tax net to those hitherto outside the net" and making the tax administration "effective and efficient" (Jegede 2013a). He was committed to a "realism of budgetary proposals" and the "monitoring and evaluation of budget implementation" (Ajimobi 2015b) i.e. not running deficits (*Osun Defender* 2011; Jegede 2013a; O. Ajayi 2011b). Oyo State government's internally generated revenue grew by 75% in between Ajimobi arriving in office in 2011 and the end of his first term in 2015. Despite these reforms, Oyo State's financial capacity was tiny compared to Lagos. In 2015 Oyo's IGR was just 6% that of Lagos State (*Tribune* 2014; *Tribune* 2014; DAWN 2014, 22).⁶⁷

As in Lagos, PPPs were employed by Ajimobi as a way of transforming the state using economic mechanisms that were both outside of central government control and bypassed a reliance on the potentially obstructive civil service. PPPs were mainstreamed for "the adequate provision of semi-public goods and services" including for waste disposal, refuse management and the upgrading of roads (Jegede 2013a). However, the utility of PPPs went beyond simply using private sector resources to provide goods and services that the government was obliged to provide to its citizens as a minimum. PPPs were also used to build flagship elite investments such as a light rail system as in Lagos, and a number of luxury shopping centres, hotels and housing estates (Oladeji 2014; Ajimobi 2015a; BMI 2015b; Oxford Business Group 2013a). The state government passed the PPP Bill in 2013, creating a dedicated office outside of the Ministry of Trade, Investments and Cooperatives. The Bureau of Investment Promotion and Public Private Partnerships (BI4P) was to handle the "administering and regulating of all PPP activities". At the same time the state government announced its intention to use PPPs to "revive moribund companies owned by the state" (Oxford Business Group 2013a), thus lessening the state's role in the economy in the long-term whilst creating new income opportunities for key agencies within the state in the short term. The state owned Oyo State Finance and Investment Company Limited made

⁶⁷ Table: Internally Generated Revenue at State Level (2015). Data source: National Bureau of Statistics / Joint Tax Board/State Boards of Internal Revenue. National Bureau of Statistics Website.

moves to reduce public ownership of wholly owned subsidiaries, including interests in paper production, management of a theme park, as well as concrete and cashew nut processing. The state government offered “a package on structured incentives to attract investors” in industries⁶⁸ identified as key to the state’s development strategy (Feyisipo 2014; Oxford Business Group 2013a).

To support the expansion of private investment the Ajimobi administration took action to create “an enabling environment for investors to come in” (Oderemi and Alao 2015). Whilst Oyo State did not have the same challenges of traffic congestion, Area Boys and an impending population explosion, it did have acute urban governance problems of its own. Waste disposal contributing to flooding has long been a major problem in Ibadan, which sits at the confluence of a number of major rivers.⁶⁹ Thus in Oyo State urban renewal was both a way of modernising the city for investors and preventing flooding along with other health hazards. As in Lagos, Ajimobi focused on cleanliness and order on the streets, infrastructure and security (Oladeji 2014). Ajimobi rehabilitated roads and bridges, dualized roads at the entrance to major cities, built a flyover at Mokola in central Ibadan and built motor parks (OSG Website 2013a). In the first two years of Ajimobi’s first term major informal trading centres that had previously defined the urban landscape were dismantled⁷⁰: shops were demolished and fines issued to traders who tried to return⁷¹. Speaking at the site of extensive demolitions at Molete Bridge in November 2012, the Governor explained how the urban renewal policy was “meant to make the state attractive to visitors and investors, as well as halt periodic accidents that claim the lives of street traders and hawkers” (Sanni 2012). Whereas in Lagos Area Boys were the major security concern, Ajimobi was faced with street

⁶⁸ These are: agriculture, agro-industrial processing, manufactures, transport infrastructure, culture and tourism, solid minerals and power.

⁶⁹ In 2006 it was estimated that 50,000 tonnes of waste are generated in the city every year, and much of this is dumped in open sites on the outskirts of the city, leading to significant contamination of water sources and soils. Waste disposed of in drainage systems causes blockages that exacerbate flooding. In 2010, 2011 and 2012 there were devastating flooding incidents in the city. The worst was on 26th August 2011, causing an estimated N30bn of damage, including the destruction of Apete Bridge (Adewumi et al. 2005; Omoleke 2004; Adelekan et al. 2014, 30–32; Sustainable Ibadan Programme 2010; Agbola et al. 2012).

⁷⁰ Demolitions and beautification were undertaken at all the city’s key intersections, including: Toll Gate, Iwo Road, Ojoo, Mokola, Molete Bridge (Sanni 2012), Mobil and Dugbe (*Osun Defender* 2012).

⁷¹ HM2-2 Focus Group of Roadside Traders. Highway Market, Ibadan 20/05/2015

violence between rival factions of the National Union of Road Transport Workers⁷² (NURTW). Ajimobi banned the NURTW in Oyo State and setup Operation Burst, a multi-agency law enforcement squad. Burst was funded via a Security Trust Fund, as in Lagos. A news article from late April 2015 lists “peace and sanity” as an achievement that won Ajimobi the election, and notes that “he caged members of the NURTW” (*Osun Defender* 2011; *Sahara Reporters* 2011b; Oderemi and Alao 2015; Ogunyemi 2015).

The Lagos Model in Oyo State and International Conceptions of Good Governance

The foregoing discussion shows how, within the Lagos Model, both international conceptions of good governance and indigenous conceptions of good governance were mediated by political actors on the ground to meet political imperatives. However, the interaction between international conceptions of good governance and those underlying the Lagos Model is multi-directional. There is evidence that Ajimobi and his team had internalised the values of the international conceptions of good governance – a belief in the superiority of corporate culture, and a need for private-sector intervention in government. In turn these values shaped how Ajimobi re-interpreted Awolowo’s ideas for contemporary political realities.

The presentation of Governor Ajimobi himself, by his press team and APC colleagues, reproduces the value of ‘exposure’ to foreign knowledge as a source of *olaju* or progress (Peel 1978). One senior politician, who had served on Ajimobi’s cabinet, defined exposure as:

“Travelling all over the world, reading the literature, attending programmes in enlightened communities like universities, lectures seminars, at least to broaden his horizons.”⁷³

Among his cabinet and colleagues, Ajimobi was seen as “very very enlightened” and “multinational”: they admired what they saw as his ability “to replicate what he has seen abroad, in his local environment”⁷⁴, such as dualized roads and generator powered streetlights. Moreover, Ajimobi’s position as a ‘technocrat’ emphasises the value of expert and elite knowledge, cultivated through western education. Colleagues are keen to describe

⁷² Around the time of Ajimobi’s inauguration there were several clashes, leading to at least 20 deaths, the burning of 60 cars and millions of naira of damage.

⁷³ I-23 Former member of Ajimobi’s Executive Council, Ibadan, 06/05/2015

⁷⁴ I-26 and I-32 Head of Ibadan-based law firm, Ibadan, 21/05/2015 and 30/05/2015; and I-46.

him as having a “track record” that includes a degree from an American university (O. Ajayi 2014b). His supporters claimed that voting for an “international person” like Ajimobi brought about “the era of intellectualism in governance” (Arulogun 2015) and also simply a vote “for intellect” (Adedayo 2015).⁷⁵ Likewise, innate intellectual difference was used to explain his predecessors’ poor performance records. Ajimobi’s press officer explained: “you couldn’t blame them: they did all within their grasp and depth” (Oladele 2013).

Under the UPN, the principles of equity, equality and social justice found expression in the expansion of government services, in particular education, on a universal and free basis (Joseph 1987, 118). Ajimobi, like other ACN governors, “constantly remind people that they too live by Awolowo’s ideas and ideals” and follow in the “footsteps of Papa Awolowo” (Adebanwi 2014, 223,30). The cardinal pillars of the UPN social policy included free healthcare, free education, full employment and rural development (Arifalo 2001). The statist orientation of the progressives prior to adjustment echoes broader tendencies towards bureaucratic modes of organisation and normalisation of state intervention in western Nigeria at the time. Enlightenment, accordingly, meant the wholesale transformation of society through these social policies. A healthy, educated populace would be better able to participate in modern society (Peel 1978; Akinola 2010).

The contemporary incarnations of Awoist thinking are significantly more in favour of markets and permissive of economic inequality than the classic programmes of the UPN. Rather than emulating the Western welfare state, as Awolowo’s UPN aimed for with its four cardinal programmes (Arifalo 2001), the Lagos Model locates enlightenment in exposure to international capitalism and the corporate culture of multinational companies. Ajimobi’s vision of modernity, for instance, was summarised on a poster outside government house that read: “In 2 years Ibadan is like London, in 4 years it will be like Dubai”. This combines the colonial era desire to emulate the metropole, in Nigeria’s case represented by London, as well as looking to beacons of Islamic capitalist development, such as Dubai.

⁷⁵ Anecdotes were used as part of the official discourse to present Ajimobi as someone who inherently embodies the values of excellence and intellect. In one news report his Special Adviser on Media describes a scene where Ajimobi almost cannot help himself, so strong is his internal dedication to excellence: “If you are ... with Ajimobi for thirty minutes, especially in the office or his home, you will notice that he stands up momentarily and goes to properly place a table that had slanted or a chair that was misplaced. He is a perfectionist who desires equilibrium in human affairs.” (Adedayo 2015). This story is invoked to show how deeply the values of the progressive movement are ingrained in Ajimobi as an individual.

Influential political elites in Oyo asserted continuities with Awolowo's politics whilst advocating ideological standpoints that represented a marked shift in its interpretation. ACN/APC party stalwarts and highly placed staff members within DAWN cited the UPN as inspiration for entering politics, in particular the transformative social programmes⁷⁶. Yet when they compared UPN programmes to Ajimobi's current policies they drew on quite different normative assumptions about governmental provision of services. As one local government politician explained "the AC is like the UPN" with its four cardinal programmes. He said that Awolowo's public provision of free health care was being replicated through the Governor's wife's non-governmental organisation, ABC Clinics⁷⁷. Therefore, whilst both are free at the point of use, the universal basis of government healthcare under the UPN is replaced with the philanthropic and ad hoc provision of healthcare by the state's First Lady (this will be discussed in more detail in Ch.6 and Ch.8). Others who, on the one hand, insisted that they wished to return to the policies of Awolowo, nonetheless objected to the idea of free services on principle. A senior member of the DAWN Commission expressed exasperation with the "something for nothing culture"⁷⁸ that had grown up over the years among citizens of Oyo state. He complained that: "they've been used to something for nothing they just want the government to do it ... 'The government should do it!', they want free education, free health, free this, free that."⁷⁹

Ajimobi's motto for the state was "Ajumose", which is a concept from Yoruba morality meaning partnership or cooperation. It is translated as "doing in unison" or "let us do it together"⁸⁰. There were Ajumose buses, Ajumose food banks and Ajumose Keke – a tricycle hire-purchase scheme (see chapter seven for more discussion of these programmes and the Ajumose Coalition Movement). Ajumose comes from a wider moral context which emphasises the cultivation of the individual character (*iwa*) through habitual expressions of one's character, such that the social collective can come together for a harmonious purpose of social survival (Omobowale 2008; Omobowale and Olutayo 2010). Whilst it might be expected that a government stressing communalism and collectivism would extend the scope of government to cover more services and areas of life, in Ajimobi's ideology it means the

⁷⁶ I-28 Local Level APC Politician and Member of Ajimobi's Campaign Team, Ibadan, 26/05/2015, I-39 and I-40 Local Government APC Chieftain, 28/07/2015 and 30/07/2015; and I-47 Senior Staff member of DAWN Commission 2, Ibadan, 26/06/2015

⁷⁷ I-39 and I-40

⁷⁸ I-33

⁷⁹ I-33

⁸⁰ Ajimobi gave a longer version in his 2013 budget speech: *Ki Oyo lee daa, Ajumose gbogbo wa ni* ("Text of Gov Ajimobi's Budget Speech" 2015).

opposite. APC politicians in Oyo suggested that the task of providing necessary services for the population was simply too huge for the government. Even the upgraded, efficient government, which the Lagos Model sought to build through governance reforms, would need 'help shouldering the burden' from the private sector. This helps explain Ajimobi's motto, which otherwise might suggest contrary political aspirations. Society should do the job of providing services together with government, and take on some of the 'burden'. Therefore, participation in government, by private companies, communities or individuals, means not an expansion in government but a restriction and transfer of responsibilities to the private sector and market. This usage echoes the slipperiness of 'participation' as a concept that has been noted elsewhere (Mohan and Stokke 2000; Miraftab 2004). This phasing out of the universal commitments of the welfare state, and their replacement with more market-based visions of development, risked ignoring popular demands for economic benefits from government for ordinary people who had faced declining livelihoods since structural adjustment. However, it also had more immediate implications for the most marginalised members of society.

4. Domestic Politics of Rupture: Criticisms of the Lagos Model

The preoccupation with rupture and change in the Lagos Model had political effects. The discourse of transforming the state to attract investors legitimates increasing inequality, and government use of resources to improve the wellbeing of the most well off in society. Examples from Lagos include the Eko Atlantic City project and the role of private companies in road rehabilitation. In Oyo State the provision of luxury hotels for visitors is justified by a reconfigured version of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The idea of rupture justifies the 'washing away' of not only physical waste but social cleansing of those who are uncondusive to the creation of an enabling environment for investors. Certain activities that were deeply embedded in Lagos and Ibadan urban society, such as *okada* motorbike transport, were rendered antithetical to the aims of good governance and development by their very presence in public space. For some social groups who were seen as an obstacle to the mega-city vision, they were not merely asked to desist from certain behaviour but removed from the state entirely.

The Legitimisation of Inequality

Critics have identified the highly unequal distribution of the costs and benefits of development in Lagos under Tinubu and Fashola. Eko Atlantic is emblematic of the Lagos Model's elitist aspects. The project will create a new luxury neighbourhood of Lagos on land reclaimed from the Atlantic Ocean, next to the upmarket city-centre Victoria Island. It is set to become a commercial hub and will include major infrastructure to prevent coastal erosion and flooding. A public-private partnership, it is advertised by the state government as a key element of Lagos's transformation into a 'global mega-city'; it will be "Africa's Big Apple" (Okeowo 2013). Initiated by Tinubu in 2006, the project is managed by a private concession and financed by major national and international banks (*Leadership* 2010; Okeowo 2013; *Africa Research Bulletin* 2013; Adeola Adeyemo 2013). Civil society groups and local traditional rulers have criticised the project as having no benefit for the vast majority of Lagos' residents, who will be excluded from the privately provided amenities, including safer buildings built to higher-specifications and private security (*Leadership* 2010). The Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre urged the government not to "hand over the development of Nigeria to individuals and to private agents" (*Africa Research Bulletin* 2013).

Looking at the Oyo State case study sheds light on how inequality is not a by-product of development under the Lagos Model but is written into its model of economic growth and the sequencing of different developmental goods. In Lagos, successive Governors were able

to draw on the abundant sources of internal funding to deliver broad social programmes and incorporate key groups into state patronage to deliver immediate benefits to the poor, whilst the private sector accelerated provided gains for the rich. However, Oyo reveals the tensions and trade offs at the heart of the Lagos Model because it does not have the resources or capacity to implement all stages simultaneously. Indeed, whilst Lagos could sweeten the pill, Ajimobi had to enforce deferred gratification.

The challenges of replicating the Lagos Model in Oyo State, with greater fiscal constraints, led to new ideological innovations to justify inequality as instrumental to development. Ajimobi and his close political associates combined ideas of modernisation, transformation and performance with a specific interpretation of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1943) to justify an elite-focused agenda as a route to poverty alleviation. In a 2013 interview Ajimobi's Press Officer cited Maslow's model and explained that in Oyo this meant that "after security of lives and property ... aggressive infrastructural drive and environmental renewal are next on the ladder, followed by education, health services and the like" (Oladele 2013). At other times Ajimobi described the model as "our Pyramid of Development" (Oderemi and Alao 2015), "the State's hierarchy of needs" (Ajimobi 2015a) and "like the Maslow's hierarchy of needs" (O. Ajayi 2014c). The first step in improving security was celebrated in Oyo State; but the order of the next two steps proved controversial. The Lagos Model already established that infrastructure and environment had to be improved so as to attract investors. However, through the idea of Maslow's hierarchy, the *sequencing* of government interventions chronologically, that is the order in which they are implemented, became blurred with the *basic-ness* of human needs. Ajimobi explained:

"The pyramid is similar to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, where you have basic needs; security as well as self-actualisation. We basically had four steps in our pyramids; we felt that the foundation of that pyramid must be peace and security" (Oderemi and Alao 2015).

Ajimobi justifies the priorities on the basis that by providing the top priorities, the ones further down the list will follow. This conflation of the need to attract investors, with the idea of a more basic human need leads to some surprising policies. In May 2012 the government commenced construction on a "150-room five-star hotel in the heart of Ibadan" via a PPP at a cost of N6bn with government covering 10% of the costs and providing 3.5 hectares of land (OSG Website 2012). The hotel will include "an international conference centre and banquet facility" and would be of "international standard and with a touch of class that his administration had been known with in the last one year" (OSG Website 2012a). At the launch ceremony Ajimobi said it was "a key prong his administration's

restoration and developmental initiatives” and would be part of a “developmental corridor” through central Ibadan. In explaining the rationale for the hotel, Ajimobi suggested it would employ thousands of local staff, provide IGR and become a tourist attraction, making up for an absence of an ‘international standard’ of hospitality facilities in the state. Additionally, the government encouraged the development of high-end bars and night clubs to bring to Ibadan, a famously sleepy city after dark, a “rebirth of night life” (*Facebook* 2014). He cited a mention of Ibadan in the *Financial Times* as evidence that his development strategy was paying off (OSG Website 2012).

Within this rubric, advances in consumption, such as having two Shoprites and outlets of Dominos Pizza, are regarded as equivalents to productive investments like food processing and private infrastructure such as high-speed internet (“Capturing Africa’s Transformative Urban Growth” 2011; Olofinlua 2015). The provision of luxury accommodation and leisure activities was positioned as a *basic* step to provide the *bare minimum* required to attract investors. This idea created two contradictions: whilst the state claimed to be struggling to meet the burden of providing health and education, it nonetheless was spending money on hotels for visitors. The choice of which goods and services were to receive scarce resources was inverted in the name of eventual development for the poor.

Secondly, there was a contradiction in terms of whose needs and what sorts of needs were important for achieving development. Because the enabling environment model was understood to mean not only making investment possible in Oyo State but making the state attractive and pleasant to potential investors, it raised the meeting of (hypothetical) investor ‘preferences’ to the status of a development necessity, whereas the demands of the masses for their basic needs to be met was postponed until long-term development had taken hold. Therefore, Maslow’s hierarchy of needs is turned upside down, and with it government priorities: on this model, meeting the preferences of the rich is the best route to meeting the needs of the poor. This reinforces the idea of two publics in Oyo State. The enlightened are also the affluent, whose desires are consistent with the immediate strategy of modernising Ibadan. The rest can only have their demands met in the long-term, once modernisation has been achieved (the idea of the ‘enlightened public’ will be developed in the next chapter). Thus in Oyo, the idea of a ‘pyramid of needs’, prioritises luxury corporate tourist infrastructure whilst dismissing short term demands of the poor majority as unattainable and illegitimate.

Modernisation as Social Cleansing

This final section considers how the Lagos Model requires and legitimates social cleansing, both through forced evictions and the removal of ‘social undesirables’ from the streets.

These policies were initiated in Lagos before being replicated in Oyo State. The propagation of the Lagos Model therefore brings the expansion of social exclusion as well as the expansion of development.

In Lagos, part of urban renewal involved ‘upgrading’ slums and ‘blighted areas’⁸¹ (Amnesty International 2006, 6). In 2006, one such upgrading project began, which was due to take seven years and affect 1.1m inhabitants on an average income of \$170 a month. This project included roads, toilets, boreholes, youth employment, healthcare and education. Redevelopment and upgrading projects, such as these, have involved the forced eviction of tens of thousands of residents in the city’s poorest areas. The state government claims that where homes are destroyed, they provide displaced families with temporary accommodation and financial assistance (M. Filani 2012, 35). However, in Badia East, Amnesty International has documented demolitions on at least four separate occasions between 2003 and 2013, affecting upwards of 12,000 people, carried out by Lagos State Kick Against Indiscipline Brigade, armed police and Lagos State Environmental and Special Offences Enforcement Unit (Task Force). Violence, arbitrary detention and the use of live ammunition against residents have been reported. There was inadequate consultation and no compensation was paid nor resettlement undertaken⁸². Indeed, rather than upgrading the slum areas for those who already live there, a pattern has emerged of evicting poor tenants and leasing the land for luxury developments. The repeated forced evictions at Badia East are “part of a broader pattern of forced evictions by the Lagos state government.” In Makoko, a floating slum in Lagos Lagoon, there have also been four instances of forced evictions, affecting over 5,000 people in 2005, 2010 and 2012 (Amnesty International 2006, 1, 2013, 6–44, 51–53; Okeowo 2013).

The practice of evicting poor communities is one example of a continuity between the Fashola-Tinubu era’s Lagos Model and earlier modes of metropolitan governance. A Lagos master plan developed with the support of UNDP in 1979, signalled an intention to ‘upgrade slums’. The World Bank granted an \$85m loan facility in the early 1990s for the Lagos Drainage and Sanitation Project, as part of which in 1996 16 slum communities were earmarked for destruction (Amnesty International 2013, 10, 15). Remarkably, in some cases

⁸¹ Lagos State Government: Lagos Metropolitan Development Project (LMDP), Draft Technical Proposal for Upgrading 9 Blighted Areas in Lagos, draft final report, Stoveland Consult, Kristiansand, Norway, 2002, p. 6.

⁸² Amnesty International and SERAC assisted residents with mounting cases against the state government, resulting in a minority being awarded some compensation.

the state government under Fashola engaged in demolitions and forced evictions in exactly the same places as the military government. For instance, the violent demolitions in Badia East from 2003 share marked similarities with government-ordered demolitions in 1973 (when the community was evicted from Oluwole Village), 1986 and 1997 (Amnesty International 2013, 13–15). Similarly, in Makoko a major eviction exercise was undertaken in 1990, with identical justifications of slum upgrading, where again consultation and compensation were absent (Amnesty International 2006, 1).

In Oyo State there is a similarly long history of demolitions to sanitise and modernise the city. Urban renewal built on repeated interest in sanitation and urban renewal from earlier governors (Manton 2013), but implemented changes to the built environment on an unprecedented scale. Under Buhari's military administration from 1983, a military-run Environmental Sanitation Task Force demolished illegal structures in Ibadan. A report from three years later observed that this push "largely succeeded in removing most of the unapproved structures and wastes that deface the environment" (Chokor 1986, 115).

Existing debates about elitism in Lagos help to contextualise the discursive division of society into those who are conducive to modernisation and those who are obstacles to it. Tolu Ogunlesi writing in the *Financial Times* (2012) notes that the poor and those in the informal economy bore the brunt of Fashola's reforms. Moreover, Neuwirth shows how Fashola's programme of urban renewal, and the crackdowns on street trading and hawking that came with it, harmed the city's informal economy and up to three quarters of the residents who earn their living from it (2012). Debates about the 'elitism' of the Lagos Model centred on *okada* motorbike riders, who Fashola banned from the city's major arteries. One APC governorship candidate in Lagos state explained the issue:

"For you to understand where we were, check the statistics in respect of Okada-related deaths, Okada-related accidents, Okada-related crimes, check the statistics.... So what we should encourage is enlightenment and let the citizens and Okada riders know that this is in everybody's good. In a good clime [good society], we should not be talking about this Okada riding in the 21st century." (Ezeamalu 2014)

The quote invokes the familiar discourses of modernity, with issues of security, safety, enlightenment and the need to join the club of 21st century 'good climes'.

Whilst *okada* drivers were prohibited from plying the main roads of the city, beggars were removed entirely: forcibly deported to their assumed states of origin. The Lagos deportations received mixed attention from the press, as well as criticism from Governors of the states to which beggars were sent back (*Sahara Reporters* 2014; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2013f; Falana 2013). This precedent was replicated in Oyo the same year. Similar removals were

undertaken, and extended to include the collection and detention of ‘lunatics’ from the street. Drawing on the Oyo case, these deportations can be understood in the context of broader aspirations of urban renewal revealing that social cleansing is not an anomaly in the Lagos Model but part of its core modernising agenda.

Indeed, there was a repeated assertion of a chain of equivalence linking dirtiness, old-ness, poverty and social undesirability in the government descriptions of urban renewal. Urban renewal targeted “motor park touts” who have a legal role in public transport but are seen as potentially aggressive. News coverage celebrated Ajimobi’s programme for removing those social groups who were linked to insalubrious practices. The report describes the Toll Gate area as previously un-modern and backwards, looking like a “village market” which “used to house the mentally deranged and miscreants” (Oladele 2013). However it had now been ‘beautified’ and “sex workers and traders in illicit products” who seen as bringing an air of criminality to the area were removed (Oladele 2013).

This discourse was reflected in policies which sought to cleanse the Ibadan environment of both material waste and people who represented obstacles to modernity. In 2013 an investigation by Tribune Newspaper, which is otherwise relatively sympathetic to Ajimobi and other ACN/APC leaders, revealed that along a main thoroughfare in the centre of the city, ‘lunatics’ had been picked up in the street and put in a minibus marked with state colours. Initially the removal was managed by the Ministry of Environment⁸³: the same ministry that carried out urban renewal demolitions. The state government reportedly commissioned the ministry to “rid the road of mentally challenged” and take them to a “designated camp”. Unlike other urban renewal actions the government did not publicise the policy and there was no press release: the newspaper only found out when contacted by “astonished” residents (*Tribune* 2013). Ajimobi later explained that the state government had contracted three companies to “clear the roads of mad people” and rehabilitate them including returning non-indigenes to their state of origin (*Vanguard News* 2014; Obilo 2015).

A similar policy of detaining people who the government didn’t want to see on the streets was enacted towards beggars. In January 2013 Ajimobi’s government announced that street begging would no longer be tolerated. Speaking at an event where 200 disabled people were given food and gifts, the Special Adviser on People Living with Disabilities said that the government would provide “destitute persons” with the skills and resources to start a

⁸³ The programme was later moved to the Ministry of Women Affairs.

livelihood. However, he warned that if they were still on the streets of Ibadan after two weeks they would be “detained in rehabilitation homes” (*Osun Defender* 2013).

Joseph (2013, 308) concedes that Lagos state has not entirely purged itself of prebendalism, but fortunately “it has not been of a level to hinder the significant socio-economic and infrastructural advances.” But misuse of state resources for private gain, as he defines prebendalism, is not the only sign of poor governance. Authoritarianism, however scrupulous financially, is also a problem. The importance of these forced evictions and deportations goes beyond simply noting that development has costs. Rather, it provides counter-evidence to the narrative that the Lagos Model is fundamentally different to the modes of governance seen elsewhere in Nigeria and previously in the state: what Joseph (2013, 310) describes as “macro-institutional rupture”. In the case of Lagos, where good governance is framed as the ability to enforce a rupture in politics, and the effects of modernisation of the city are celebrated, there is a risk that exclusionary and authoritarian policies like social cleansing and forced evictions are justified as a means to an end.

Different Presentations of the Lagos Model for Different Audiences

Yet the need for the Lagos Model to fulfil different objectives, and fulfil different criteria of good governance at once, posed tensions. The extent and significance of continuities with the past, specifically the emphasis on Awolowo and ethnic difference, are subtly managed in DAWN and state government dealings with different audiences. In contrast, the importance of political ideas is downplayed when dealing with business audiences. In a DAWN Commission economic outlook report, there is no mention of the Yoruba people, race or nation, and Obafemi Awolowo is referred to only once on page 33 as someone who previously took a regional approach to economic development. The document is aimed at investors and business audiences, and instead focuses on projections of growth and economic opportunities in the region with numerous graphs and statistics. The document simply notes that the people of southwest Nigeria are “accommodating, enterprising, highly sophisticated and educated” (DAWN 2014, 3,33) Awolowo’s vision is leveraged in dealings with donors, even though the implicit ethno-nationalist framing of progress in DAWN Commission documents is at odds with the universalist normative commitments of the international conception of good governance.

Similarly, the idea of continuity between the Lagos Model and Awolowo serve certain objectives of the donor community. This idea of an intellectual continuity between and indigenous Nigerian thinker and the Lagos Model was widely noted by those international observers who interpreted the Lagos Model as an African example of widely agreed donor conceptions of good governance (Joseph 2013, 307). The idea that policies that they

advocated had legitimacy in the Nigerian context through connection with popular post-independence figures was useful to donors. It helped them to frame Lagos State as a ‘home-grown’ African Developmental State, and was a counter-example to claims that good governance and other donors’ interventions were imposed on African states. This fits with the role of ideas and elite commitment or political will to reform, being an integral part of developmental transformation. Developmentalism, according to the Developmental State school, is propelled by leaders who are committed to “moving their societies out of the low-growth equilibrium, building globally competitive economies” (Joseph 2013, 306; Booth and Golooba-Mutebi 2012). Ideology and a nationalist wish to ‘catch up’ with the west were equally important in the rise of the southeast Asian developmental states (Leftwich 1994, 380–81). Having a clear Nigerian intellectual precedent for current desirable reforms, meant that Lagos was an example of elusive ‘local ownership’ (Lawson 2004; Whitfield and Fraser 2010). Therefore, it is convenient for donors to frame the Lagos Model as a rupture with Nigerian business as usual, and yet a continuity with Awolowo.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the Lagos Model. It has explored how it was developed and implemented in Lagos State between 1999-2015 and considered its role as a broader replicable model of governance and its adoption in Oyo State. This shows how the same model of a strong state facilitating outward-looking private sector led development was reproduced in a state with a different set of governance challenges. The Lagos Model is seen as achieving good governance through rupture with the neopatrimonial politics characteristic of Nigeria more generally. This is useful to donors who were on the look-out for home-grown African versions of development strategies, providing local ownership of policies that international donors had long promoted. Furthermore, it serves as a counter-example to accusations that the World Bank and other development donors persist in imposing reforms on unwilling, but powerless developing countries.

The Lagos Model was part of a political strategy of building fiscal independence from the hostile central government, and expanding its resource base to respond to political and developmental challenges. However, whilst ACN politicians used the idea of rupture with the immediate past, they also relied on existing indigenous conceptions of good governance for legitimacy. As shown by the idea of *ajumose* and the reconfiguration of *olaju* as knowledge that comes from interaction with international market-based institutions, ideas from the past are being put to use in new ways which signify continuity as well as change. The success of these politicians in Lagos State using the Lagos Model to navigate these divergent demands, was evidenced in the repeated re-election of APC Governors. Re-

election meant that the wider task of building an APC economic and political block in the southwest could continue.

The final section examined the impact of a politics of rupture and transformation within domestic politics. It argued that exclusionary forms of state action, which could be viewed as a repetition of earlier, pre-democratisation authoritarian practices, are legitimised as part of a transformative agenda. In Oyo State, the population is divided into those who understand the imperative of development as transformation, and those who don't.

The Lagos Model also legitimised the widening of inequality on the grounds that it was part of a long-term development strategy, whether through the dubious use of PPPs to serve the needs of the richest in Lagos, or the prioritisation of luxury tourist infrastructure over basic needs in Oyo as dictated by the 'pyramid of needs'. Finally, the Lagos Model includes an authoritarian tendency towards social cleansing, forced evictions and demolition of shops. This is not the vestiges of a lingering 'old' form of politics as Joseph's analysis would suggest, but is part of the process of modernising the city and beautifying it to attract investors.

In summary, this chapter has considered the way that continuity and change between the Lagos model and the rest of Yoruba history is instrumentalized both by donors and local elites themselves. This chapter has shown that accounts of why states adopt donor-friendly good governance policies must take a longer-term historical view. In the case of the Lagos Model the creation of the DAWN Commission in the early 2010s can be traced back to a political strategy of differentiation, and a desire for autonomy from central government based on a parochial Yoruba ethnic nationalism dating to at least the 1950s. Yet, along with the power of the past in the present to legitimise government interventions, the opposing idea of rupture is simultaneously revealed to be a productive political imaginary. 'Rupture' both enables changes that radically shift a state's development trajectory, as well as being a potentially more sinister way of legitimating exclusionary and authoritarian state practices.

The rest of this thesis considers how the much vaunted 'new' model of good governance is contested by alternative models of good governance within Oyo State. It asks how, in a context of much more limited financial resources than in Lagos, the Oyo State government led by Ajimobi sought to navigate these competing demands, and the contradictions this involved.

Chapter 6 - Neighbourhood Market: the Enlightened Public and Surviving the Sacrifices of Development

Introduction

The sounds of the busy roundabout fade, and you join the highway that swings westward round the bottom of Ibadan's commercial centre. As the road opens out, the buildings on either side grow into unassuming blocks. After a minute or two, the taxi swerves across the three empty lanes, cuts the median and drops you at the kerb. You're looking for the Governor's flagship urban renewal project: Neighbourhood Market. 'Hyper-modern', with 6,000 stalls, it should be easy to find.

But you appear to be in the middle of nowhere. An old guy selling *mineral* drinks is perched on a stool in front of a bank of scrubby bushes. He looks up, surprised - "Neighbourhood Market?" - and waves you up a potholed slope. After 100 yards you reach the gates. Long red-roofed blocks zigzag into the distance. It is half past nine in the morning and two dozen women have set up their wares around the entrance. There are onions, peppers, and stacks of floppy cow skin set out under umbrellas.

However, as you turn into the shaded corridors of the buildings, where it is cooler and quieter, you realise that the hubbub at the entrance quickly peters out. The buildings are mostly empty. You walk through block after block. In a few, there are dusty tables and storage boxes. You greet a group of women, sat on the step of an empty stall, a baby asleep on a wrapper on the ground⁸⁴.

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From 2011-2013 Governor Ajimobi relocated tens of thousands of traders from various roadside areas to newly built neighbourhood markets. This chapter focuses on the eponymous Neighbourhood Market. Soon after it opened, the governor attended in person with great fanfare to distribute loans to the traders who thronged the market, sharing each open stall between four. However, by the time I arrived in spring of 2015 the place was

⁸⁴ From author's field notes, Ibadan 13/05/2015.

nearly empty, with only one in five stalls being actively used⁸⁵. As the vignette above shows, the first puzzle of Neighbourhood Market is: where is everyone? Faced with poor sales in the new market location, from mid-2014 many traders returned to the roadside, and with the election approaching the government did little to stop them. As more and more traders left, trade at Neighbourhood Market declined even further.

I talked to a middle-aged garment seller called Momo and her friend in front of her lock-up shop. A new puzzle emerged. I asked about sales and Momo explained, “[Sales are] little bit. Because nobody is in the market now.” “It’s a new place”, her friend added by way of explanation. I asked how much they sold on an average day: “Small. In a week you may not even make 1 naira. [I’m] hungry now, since morning.” I was confused and checked that I understood correctly, “So you’re saying you haven’t had a sale in maybe one week?” “Yes. For a month!”⁸⁶ Whereas my first question when I arrived in the market was “why had everyone left?” the crux of this chapter will focus on a second question: why would anyone stay?

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The story of Neighbourhood Market and the ‘hardcore’ traders helps illuminate the tensions within the Lagos model’s conception of progress. Progress, along with economic benefits and legitimate leadership, is one of the key themes in Yoruba indigenous conceptions of good governance that politicians must respond to. For Ajimobi, progress meant transformation from a backward present to a modern future. This conception of progress as requiring a rupture from the present contains an inherent tension in terms of accountability. Whilst some of Ibadan’s elite residents were already seen as enlightened, from ‘exposure’ to foreign influences or good education, the majority of the population were seen as trapped by the backward understandings of the existing political system. Seeing as they were not seen as understanding the need for transformation, then being accountable to their current desires and demands would stand in the way of the transformative progressive project.

⁸⁵ I carried out a survey of traders in Neighbourhood Market on two separate days in May and July 2015 covering 125 and 332 stalls respectively. Both times myself and an assistant walked the same route, on the second trip missing out a block for the sake of time. We covered 8/33 blocks on the first day and 9/33, giving a sample of about a quarter of the total market stalls. The lock-up shops, unlike the stalls, were not allocated free of charge so were subject to different conditions, thus I excluded them from my study. On both days the percentage being used for selling (wares on display, even if no one was attending them) was 20%.

⁸⁶ NM2-2 Focus Group with Garment Seller and others, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 20/05/2015

The Lagos Model, as enacted by Ajimobi, attempts to resolve this tension through the construction of an ‘enlightened public’ to which the governor should be accountable. Membership of the enlightened public is defined by whether one understands the government’s agenda. Understanding the role that the ‘enlightened public’ played in Ajimobi’s politics helps explain why the ‘hardcore’ traders stayed in Neighbourhood Market, despite the costs to their livelihoods. Being present and visible in the market is part of a strategy of producing themselves as enlightened members of the Governor’s public, and complying with his instructions to leave the roadside. However, the traders must find ways to adjust to the reality of progress that has not yet delivered any tangible benefits. The tensions within the principle of progress, as conceived by the Lagos Model, are revealed in the case of Neighbourhood Market as lived contradictions for the traders.

The chapter starts with a brief discussion of methods before giving an overview of the government’s urban renewal policy and the field-site. The second section draws on newspaper reports, speeches and interviews with policy makers to show that Ajimobi’s administration sought to resolve the tensions inherent in the principle of progress through constructing “an enlightened public” to whom a transformative government could be accountable. It develops the implications of this enlightened public in the case study of urban renewal. Section 3 shows that the discourse of an enlightened public is frequently reproduced by those who have chosen to stay in Neighbourhood Market, but contested by those who have been forced through economic necessity back to the roadside. Section 4 focuses on the family support and commercial survival strategies of the more affluent ‘hardcore’ traders. Section 5 explores the role of political associations linked to the Governor’s party, the All Progressive Congress.

Methods

For this case study I conducted over 50 interviews with traders, of which 20 were in Neighbourhood Market, the rest were in roadside locations and other markets where demolitions had taken place. I spoke to a small sample of the Neighbourhood Market ‘hardcore’, representing a range of different sections. Initially they were selected randomly from the traders who were present, but I later moved to purposive sampling to find informants with a range of experiences. Of these interviews nine were focus groups with two or more participants and eleven were with just one respondent. The vast majority of respondents were Yoruba from Oyo State, with a minority of Igbo who had been in Ibadan for decades, selling ethnic Igbo food in Neighbourhood Market⁸⁷ or electricals by the

⁸⁷ NM1-1 Focus Group with Igbo Food Sellers, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan, 13/05/2015 (four respondents)

roadside⁸⁸, and a couple of Yoruba from neighbouring states⁸⁹. I also spoke to four staff of Prestige Associates, the company that has the contract for building and maintaining the Neighbourhood Market, and two representatives from the State Ministry of Trade, Investment and Cooperatives.

All the traders I spoke to in Neighbourhood Market were women, and overall the market was dominated by women. The two market sections in which men dominated were butchers and mobile phone sellers, but these sections were at the two far ends of the site, and on my visits these sections were empty. The Market Manager and Assistant Manager at Prestige Ventures were male, and the Babaloja had no official female equivalent. This reflects the broader gender characteristics across the traders I spoke to at different locations, with only seven out of 51 interviewees or focus groups members being male respondents. This may reflect the different informal economic opportunities open to men and women, with *okada* motorcycle- and taxi-drivers, another major informal economic activity, being exclusively male. The market was divided into sections allocated to different trades such as food, clothing, cloth, events planning and hairdressing, which were predominantly retail rather than wholesale.

The rest of the interviews were in informal market locations that had previously been demolished and cleared by the government: Junction Market, Highway Market, and Central Market.⁹⁰ A further interview and focus group were conducted in one of Ibadan's very old established markets, which I refer to as Central Market Extension. The interviews were audio-recorded except for four⁹¹. The interviews were conducted in a mixture of English, Pidgin and Yoruba, with the sections not in English translated for me by a research assistant.

⁸⁸ JM2-2 Roadside Electricals Seller, Junction Market, Ibadan, 03/07/2015 (one respondent). JM2-6 Elisabeth, Former Roadside Trader, Ibadan 3/07/2015 was also Igbo but no longer a trader.

⁸⁹ JM1-7 Roadside Artisan, Junction Market, Ibadan 18/05/2015 (one respondent from Kwara State) and NM3-4 Focus group with Beauticians, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 30/06/2015 (one respondent from Ondo state)

⁹⁰ 20 in Neighbourhood Market, 16 at Junction, 8 at Highway, two at Central, five at Central, and one who was no longer trading at all.

⁹¹ The interviews that were not audio recorded are: HM1-1 Small Scale Roadside Trader, HM1-3 Roadside Phone Seller, HM1-4 Roadside Phone Seller, Highway Market, Ibadan 19/05/2015 and NM2-1 Manager of Neighbourhood Market, Prestige Associates, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 20/05/2015. The three traders at Highway Market were the most precarious, they were very close to the main highway and feared being imminently removed again, which could explain their increased wariness at being recorded.

1. Urban Renewal and Neighbourhood Markets

Ajimobi came to power promising a visible transformation of Ibadan. There was to be no roadside trading in the future (*OSG Website* 2012), in line with the Governor's aspiration to modernise the city and create the "New Ibadan". Starting in 2011, demolitions of informal shops and roadside markets were carried out by a mixture of police, YES-O cadets from a government youth employment scheme, and military personnel from Operation Burst (Adebowale 2013; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2013i). Demolition of informal and illegal shops were overseen by the Commissioner for Environment and Habitat, Mr Lowo Obisesan⁹², and, on occasion, the Governor himself⁹³. The demolitions were distressing for many of those affected. Many of the traders whose shops were destroyed had invested substantial capital in their businesses and their base of customers over time. Protesters objecting to demolitions also complained that they had not been provided with any alternative locations (*Osun Defender* 2012). Around December 2011⁹⁴ Ajimobi ordered that all local governments should build a modern neighbourhood market in their local government area. He announced the first round of neighbourhood markets⁹⁵ and declared that every trader who had been cleared from the roadside would be allocated a new shop (*Channels TV* 2012; T. Sanni 2012; A. Sanni 2013). These new markets, of which there were to be 27 in total, were designed to rationalise and sanitise consumption practices in Ibadan (*OSG Website* 2013a).

Many traditional markets in Ibadan lack basic amenities. A study of Oja'aba and Oje markets, found that 70% of the roads in markets had no drainage, there was no water supply, no parking and each market had only one public toilet (Balogun 2013, 1). Whereas the state government framed roadside trading as chaotic, messy and dangerous, the neighbourhood markets were designed to be ordered, planned and controlled spaces, thus achieving values that are important to the Lagos Model and Ajimobi's political vision: transformation, modernisation and performance. The modern markets consisted of covered concrete stalls in numbered rows with electric lighting, public toilets and organised waste disposal. With the

⁹² NM2-2

⁹³ JM1-3 Roadside Cloth Seller, Junction Market, Ibadan 18/05/2015, HM2-3 Iyaloja of Highway Market, Ibadan 20/05/2015 and DLG1-1 Head of Local Authority, Ibadan Downtown Local Government, Ibadan 13/07/2015

⁹⁴ NM4-3 Babaloja of Neighbourhood Market, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 2/07/2015

⁹⁵ These were: Temidire Market, Scout Camp, Samonda and Oke-Bola, and two at Toll Gate. Further stalls were announced at Ibadan South West Local Government Area and Adamasingba Shopping Complex.

traders gone from the streets, traffic moved more freely and it reduced what was seen as the haphazard disposal of refuse into gutters.

The building of new, orderly markets was framed as a flagship part of Oyo State's implementation of the Lagos Model. It replicated efforts in Lagos and elsewhere in the ACN controlled southwest to rid urban spaces of "indiscipline" through modernist infrastructural development. Scouts' Camp, another of Ajimobi's modern markets, was inaugurated alongside New Garage Motor Park in Podo (also "ultra modern") and the soaring Mokola Flyover (Oladipo 2012; *The Citizen* 2012). Mokola Flyover came to be a symbol of Ajimobi's first term, and a variety of high profile ACN VIPs attended the official launch,, including the father of the Lagos Model, Bola Tinubu (*The Guardian Nigeria* 2013). The modern markets became sites of political attention. Ajimobi visited Scout's Camp market on January 17th 2014 to distribute N20million⁹⁶ of interest free loans to the traders (*ThisDay* 2014).



Figure 1 View of stalls in a modern market.

By late 2014 traders started returning to the roads. The Ajimobi administration maintained that the policy of urban renewal was not being softened, they simply did not have enough enforcement officers to keep the traders away. However, it was widely believed that the

⁹⁶ £1 = N250 approx. Central bank of Nigeria: Monthly Average Exchange Rates of the Naira (Naira Per Unit of Foreign Currency) – 2014

government was making concessions ahead of the 2015 election, unwilling to harass potential voters⁹⁷ (Atoyebi 2015). Debates over whether these traders were justified dominated the 2015 election, with politicians from the PDP, Labour Party and Accord accusing Ajimobi of not having a ‘human face’ in his policies (Amusat 2015; Esan 2012; Taiwo 2014; Adekanmbi 2013a; O. Ajayi 2014d; *Vanguard News* 2015). That is, they condemned his policies as too harsh and not including sufficient palliative measures. This chapter presents the case of one such modern market, in an anonymised form. Using the pseudonym “Neighbourhood Market” it traces the constraints and aspirations of those traders who try to make a living in the new generation of markets, and interrogates their experience of participating, sometimes peripatetically, in the “New Ibadan”.



Figure 2. An example of a modern market in Ibadan

The story of Neighbourhood Market mirrors that of the other modern markets built by Ajimobi. Whilst traders arrived in their hundreds in the immediate aftermath of the demolitions in 2011, it took some months before the site was ready for traders to move in and the traders helped to clear the site⁹⁸. In the meantime, some of the traders prepared a small area and erected small shops with plastic sheeting and sun umbrellas⁹⁹, later moving to the access road when construction was underway. During this time, government officials from the State Ministry of Trade, Investment and Cooperatives instructed the traders to

⁹⁷ NM4-2 Babywares Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan, 2/07/2015 and NM4-3

⁹⁸ NM4-3

⁹⁹ NM3-3 Director of Prestige Associates NM3-3, Telephone Interview, 30/06/2015

group themselves into associations based on what they were selling, and that spaces at the market would be allocated on that basis. Eventually a list of names was published, and traders received their space free of charge, sharing each stall between as many as four traders¹⁰⁰. Initially, the sales were strong in the market with many sellers and plenty of customers. However, as happened across the city, from the middle of 2014 traders started leaving Neighbourhood Market and trading at the roadside again¹⁰¹. Yet some traders remained in the new market. This chapter seeks to explain why, drawing on interviews conducted between May and August 2015, after the re-election of Governor Ajimobi but before the appointment of a new administration. As was happening at a national scale, it was a time of political limbo and waiting, to see what configuration the new administration would take and what they would do once fully installed in office.

¹⁰⁰ NM4-2

¹⁰¹ NM1-2

2. Sacrifice for Development: Demolitions and the Enlightened Public

In his 2011 inauguration speech Ajimobi explained to the assembled crowds that the march to restore the state “requires a collective resolve to change our attitude, commitment to hard work, patriotism, respect for due process and diligence, as well as our general values” (Ajayi 2011). Whereas the problem had previously been seen as material – one of poverty – it was recast as a problem of attitude and values.

This idea of progress being tied to a certain standpoint or way of seeing, was reflected in the urban renewal programme, which was always explained through the imagined lens of an outsider. The Governor’s spokesman explained that urban renewal “won the state so much fame in the eyes of the world” (Adedayo 2015). In the pro-government press the rejuvenated city was described in terms of how it looks to “travellers from Lagos”, who see the “alluring green lawn and flowers” and “beautified” medians (Oladele 2013). Regionally this was reinforced by the DAWN Commission’s vision statement: “to make the Southwest Region of Nigeria the preferred place to live, to work and to visit” (DAWN 2011, 6; 2014, 4). This positions those outside the region – potential investors, resident and visitors – as the targets to attract via the region’s development.

As part of transforming the state, the people of Ibadan needed to re-see their environment and behaviours as if through the eyes of a potential investor. Looking back on his government’s efforts to fix the unclean environment, Ajimobi noted that “the major challenge was the psychology of a great people” who through the previous governors’ failings had been “left fallow”. Fortunately, he noted, the problematic psychology had been replaced with “a can-do environmental cleanliness spirit” and “a passionate disgust for filth” (Ajimobi 2015). Therefore, the key to development was for people to have the right understanding and affective dispositions. As his Special Adviser of Public Affairs put it: “The Ajumose progressive train is on the move around Oyo State ... no ticket needed, just a mind shift” (Arulogun 2015)

Together, this reformed populace was formed discursively by Ajimobi as a new enlightened public. Those who are members of the enlightened public want the ‘right things’, and are seen to have correct understandings of their own interests, thus the government can be accountable to their demands. For those who are unable to become members of the enlightened public, the government has a duty to give them what they need rather than what they want. Part of why people feared transformation was because they suspected that people like them, people of the past, might not survive transformation to become a part of the enlightened public. If, as one of his aides described him, Ajimobi was a tidal wave (Arulogun 2015), they feared they might be washed away.

In Oyo state, debates about urban renewal showed how the interests of roadside traders themselves could be overridden in favour of policies that were concerned with how traders might superficially appear to visitors. A major motivation for transformation was to lose what was described as Oyo State's reputation as "one of the filthiest states in the country" (Oderemi and Alao 2015; T. Sanni 2012) The origins of the nomenclature are a UN Habitat report on Ibadan from the 1990s. Since then, the report has achieved a mythic status as an objective outsider's view of Ibadan, which resonates the external, international orientation of *olaju*. Dirtiness came to symbolise not only untidiness and a lack of hygiene but all that was backward and old about the state. A news report in the Tinubu-owned *Nation* newspaper provides an example of the Governor's discourse. It describes Ibadan as "a typical African town grappling with the challenges of transition from an ancient settlement to a city in the 21st Century." (Oladele 2013) Signs of the 'ancient settlement' are listed as "[r]ustic roofs, heaps of refuse, flying dirt, untarred roads and rickety vehicles", whilst markers of the modern city include: "[b]eautiful landscapes, modern buses, clean environment, expanded and tarred roads and free flow of traffic" (Oladele 2013). The backwardness and lack of development was paired with ideas of Ibadan's specificity as an African and Nigerian city. As it moved towards modernity Ibadan would shed the practices and visual signifiers that marked it as African and adopt more universal homogenous practices of the 'modern world'.

The drive to achieve a more modern aesthetic in Ibadan and Lagos was not limited to physical infrastructure. The waste disposal and dumping problems that were castigated as obstacles to modernity existed for the most part in low-income, high-density neighbourhoods (Alakinde 2012, 890). In a video that Ajimobi's team posted on YouTube, the governor is shown inspecting a flyover under construction. From out of shot a journalist asks, "What about the traders who have been evicted?" Ajimobi responds:

"I have already spoken to them. We have moved them to a new location where they will not cause any... any eye sore. I mean the message is, is that Oyo State must change, we want a clean state. Everyone is saying we... there was this United Nations World Body that in 2011, 2010 said Oyo State is the ... dirtiest state in the world. And we are removing that. We don't want to be the dirtiest state. So we want the cooperation of all our people".¹⁰²

This interview snippet captures a number of the key themes from the discourse of urban renewal in Ibadan. Firstly, roadside traders need to be moved out of sight where they are not

¹⁰² YouTube video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HJkrIXcHnCI#t=118>

an “eye sore”. Secondly, the state must be transformed from a dirty state to a clean state, and traders are part of that. Third, he mentions the imperative to clean up, and the authoritative evaluation of the state as dirty comes from outside eyes: in this case the UN. Finally, the traders themselves are exhorted to participate in the clean up but ultimately the clearing of roadsides will happen whether the people consent or not.

The destruction involved in demolitions posed a framing challenge for the government: how could it say it was a good government whilst causing so much suffering? This speaks to the broader questions raised in chapter five about the ideas used to legitimise a government in the process of developmental ‘rupture’. The biggest complaint against the Ajimobi government was the scale of the losses suffered by those who saw their shops destroyed as part of the urban renewal programme. But Ajimobi didn’t deny or downplay the negative impacts. In 2012 Ajimobi said that the urban renewal programme “like anywhere else in the world, would not come without some measure of pain.” He urged traders to “take it as their sacrifice towards beautifying the state and making it better than it used to be” (T. Sanni 2012). In fact, the idea that development would require a sacrifice from the people was an oft-repeated and explicit part of Ajimobi’s agenda. In his budget speech in January 2013 he re-emphasised that “sacrifice will be required from all concerned” (OSG Website 2013). Even in strongly partisan pro-government pieces in the news media the divergence of opinion between elites and “victims of the urban renewal programmes in the state” is noted (Oladeji 2014).

There were some moves to diminish the perceived injustice of the traders’ sacrifice. Ajimobi suggested the sacrifice would in fact fall heaviest on the “the administrative and political leadership” who bore the burden of unpopularity, rather than the demolished traders (OSG Website 2013). There was also some moves towards labelling the traders as ‘illegal’ and thus the demolition was not illegitimate (A. Sanni 2013; T. Sanni 2012). However, on the whole Ajimobi did not shy away from accepting the scale of loss and disruption caused by the demolitions. Where Ajimobi did differ from the protesting traders however, was in terms of what their attitude towards sacrifice should be. Ajimobi’s special adviser on Public Affairs, explained that in voting for Ajimobi the electorate had shown that they had an appreciation for the necessity of, what he describes as, the saying, 'No Pain No Gain'. He explained that they could put the sacrifice in its correct perspective of future gain: “They can see the promise land and are willing to break eggs to make the developmental omelet [sic]” (Arulogun 2015). It is the ability of people to see their sacrifice in the context of expected benefits that distinguishes those with the correct understanding.

From the beginning, the government had to work hard at linking the suffering of demolitions to the overall benefits that would accrue to the state through development. The following quotes are taken from two newspapers strongly supportive of the Governor, the Tribune, based in Ibadan, and the Nation, a Lagos-based paper owned by Ajimobi's political godfather, Bola Tinubu. A key component was a specific discursive construction of the suffering as being worth it:

“While some traders ground their teeth, the political opposition screamed blue murder. But the government insisted that the pains that came with the traders' movement to the new market, which was under construction then, were a *sacrifice* during a change process.” [italics my own] (*Sunday Tribune* 2015)

Not only was the move from the roadside constructed as a sacrifice, it is described as a sacrifice imposed on the unenlightened by a benevolent authority. The Babaloja of one of the new markets, Scout's Camp, had close interactions with government by virtue of his position. He justified the policy through a metaphor of a kindly father looking after a baby, the traders:

“Surgery is painful but the baby and the father had to endure the pains because they are confident that after the surgery the baby will enjoy a good health.” (Okwuofu 2014)

The paternalistic theme is repeated when the Governor explains how ordering the demolitions was in fact something of a sacrifice for himself as well, because he knew it would make him unpopular but it was for the best. Reminiscent of the disciplinarian's refrain 'it'll hurt me more than it'll hurt you', he says: “The decision of the governor to clean up Ibadan, though hard for the government to take, drew a lot of criticisms from some of the people, especially those in the opposition.” (Okwuofu 2014). There are frequent narratives of transition from an unknowing past, to a new understanding. The Babaloja explains, “Today, we have forgotten those pains and now we are very happy.” (Okwuofu 2014) In this repertoire of transition and discovery, there is no need to downplay the “hue and cry” at the time of demolition, because the initial pain only vindicates bravery of Ajimobi's ultimately right decision (Okwuofu 2014).

The idea of sacrifice provides a gloss not just for the pain of demolition, but for the need for government force. Taking a rather Rousseauian approach (Rousseau 1762), the government can maintain that for those who understand the need for sacrifice, they will not feel the government's actions as coercion, but as being set free. When Ajimobi visited the market to distribute small cash loans, he said the money “was the *dividends of obedience* for the traders who decided to assist his government's urban renewal programme by removing their

wares from the streets” [italics my own] (Okwuofu 2014). The phrase ‘the dividends of obedience’ echoes the much-used phrase in Nigerian politics, ‘the dividends of democracy’. In Nigeria this phrase is used to assert a claim by individual citizens to benefits from government. The ‘dividends of obedience’ would therefore resonate with an audience of traders, whilst emphasising that compliance with government demolitions makes one deserving of consequent benefits. In summary, the government uses discourses of modernity, reasonableness and safety to define the public to whom it should be accountable, and to whom accountability is not required.

3. Discursive Identification with the Enlightened Public

One of the ways that traders constructed themselves as participants in the reasonable public was through emphasising that they were not coerced or forced to leave the roadside. Rather they chose to, in line with Ajimobi's advice. The hardcore traders distinguished themselves from other 'unenlightened' traders who failed to understand the need for urban renewal and therefore had to be forced to comply with government's policies.

The traders who remained in Neighbourhood Market described themselves as having willingly moved from the roadside when asked. Mrs Thomas¹⁰³ was one of the Igbo food sellers. She was in her forties, Catholic and came to the city from eastern Nigeria decades ago. Her account of the demolition process was sedate and uneventful: "they just told us calmly to move. But some stubborn people remain so the authorities came and removed them forcefully." Asked if she was still there when YES-O cadets came to demolish the stalls she answered, "No, I already left because I like my life and I didn't want any trouble." Whilst not denying that some people were removed by force, she delineates herself as a compliant individual from the stubborn people who brought the violence upon themselves. Similarly, Momo¹⁰⁴, the garment seller with the lock-up shop, explained that "No, it was not us that was destroyed, it was the people who refused to pack their things that was destroyed." Asked outright, the beauticians¹⁰⁵ stated that no one was forced to come to Neighbourhood Market, "We were asked to leave those locations because of accident and bad happenings and that was how we all got here."

Others emphasise how they took the instruction to move and aligned their own reasoning to it. Rather than an instruction, it became a reasoned decision that they should leave the road because the dangers were too great. Where the government constructs the idea of a reasonable public that will understand the rightness of their decision, some traders responded by constructing themselves as members of that enlightened group. Mrs Adelola, a stall holder, narrates the process of relocation as instruction followed by affirming the instruction. She said,

¹⁰³ NM1-1

¹⁰⁴ NM2-2

¹⁰⁵ NM1-4

“Haa! They asked us to leave the road for the fear of accident and untimely death, *iku leni iku lola!* [death today! death tomorrow!]. Oncoming vehicles crushing everybody including children of the traders and hawkers to death and when I also reasoned I decided to leave and never want to go back to the road side”¹⁰⁶.

The Babaloja corrected me when I asked what happened when he and the other traders from his area were first moved from a nearby roundabout to Neighbourhood Market:

“no be government move us self... we the traders move ourselves to come here because government did not force us to move to this place...we the traders know the right thing...we know the quality of this place than that market...”¹⁰⁷

Crucially, the Babaloja places the traders within the same sphere of knowledge as the Governor: “we the traders know the right thing.” They are of like minds with the Governor, and therefore part of the enlightened public.

The most extreme form of the discourse of knowledge and sacrifice was from the interview with a well-connected provisions seller in the market. I asked her how she first found out she would be moving to Neighbourhood Market. She explained how the governor sent his representative to clear the streets and explain to the traders how dangerous the roadside was. She continued by explaining the lifestyle of some traders on the roadside who face health threats with ignorance: “Some people are smited, they wouldn’t even know.”¹⁰⁸ Finally, she discussed how Ajimobi was able to transcend ignorance through travelling abroad. He “knows that comfort is good for human beings.” The implication was that roadside traders are not intelligent enough to understand the threats they faced, and if they did they would have stopped trading in that place. Her account does not acknowledge the imperative to generate an income, which for most of the traders I talked to who returned to the roads, was an overwhelming imperative (see the following section).

In a more limited form, the same sentiment was repeated by the other hardcore traders in Neighbourhood Market. The Igbo Food Sellers justified the moving of traders on health grounds, saying “It’s because of their lives this is why the governor asked them to leave the roadside but people don’t want to leave and that are the problem.” Finally, this idea of being

¹⁰⁶ NM3-1 Ready-made Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 30/06/2015

¹⁰⁷ NM4-3

¹⁰⁸ NM1-5 Provisions Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 13/05/2015

forced to be free, or at least, forced to be safe, surfaced in ambivalent statements from the hardcore traders. The ready-made garment seller explained the relocation process as follows:

“We like it oo! Because *he chased us away from road side and death...*even when rain falls now we have where we can hide our heads and markets. So we like it.”¹⁰⁹
[italics my own]

The paradoxical idea of having to be chased away from death, rather than fleeing death, exemplifies the complicated position of traders who attempt to participate in the enlightened public. The above account suggested that the demolitions were imposed against her will, but that over time, she came to view her own situation through the lens of transformation and retrospectively agreed with the demolitions. Thus actions that in the moment were coercive, with hindsight become almost a form of freedom. These quotes illustrate the discursive practice of producing oneself as the enlightened subject: not a victim of forced demolition, but one who moves when asked and understands the Governor’s motives.

The traders who had either remained or returned to the roadside engaged with the government’s actions and justifications in markedly different ways than those who stayed in Neighbourhood Market. By returning to the roadside despite the government’s warnings, they were violating the idea of the correct modern ways of conducting trade, just through their presence. None of the traders I spoke to disagreed with the government outright: they described trading close to the road as dangerous, polluted and stressful, and would prefer to trade from calmer, more secure premises. But they also believed that it was the government who had understood the situation wrong.

Some explained that the government had shown a lack of understanding of their livelihoods by moving traders without providing an alternative. Poverty drove people to trade in dangerous conditions¹¹⁰. An elderly man who worked as an artisan at Junction Market explained:

¹⁰⁹ N3-1

¹¹⁰ JM1-7, JM2-7 Very Small Scale Roadside Trader, Junction Market, 03/07/2015, JM2-1 Local Trader, Junction Market, Ibadan, 03/07/2015, JM1-1 Cloth Seller, Junction Market, Ibadan, 18/05/2015, JM1-5 Underwear Hawker, Junction Market, Ibadan 18/05/2015

“It is because there is no money. If there is money [i.e. capital or credit] I will also go to New Gbagi [a large built market] to secure a shop where I can trade. People will come and locate me and I will be happy to attend to my customers”¹¹¹.

For some of those who returned to the roadside it was a case of survival: the next step would be to steal¹¹². One of the Phone Sellers in a focus group at Highway Market had lost his stock and display cabinet in the demolitions, but remained at the roadside. He said:

“[W]e still have wife and children at home which we fend for day and night. We also pay for house rents and the likes. I cannot steal nor become a robber I just have to continue with this business”¹¹³.

Rather than aligning their views to the governments, the Iyaloja and other traders at Highway Market described “pleading with the Governor” to make him see the situation from their perspective¹¹⁴. Furthermore, some roadside traders challenged the idea of a binary between dangerous and backward roadside trading and safe and modern markets. Instead they explained how the situation could be resolved by moving traders by just a few feet further from the direct traffic, or onto nearby service roads. The Babaloja at Junction Market indicated that such adjustments had already been made.

“our own traders [under my control at Junction market] are not so close to the road o...if you look here now, you will see it is free [of shops] ...even if you look at the other side, it is the same thing. So, we have moved them back”¹¹⁵.

The inhabiting of these shades of grey between roadside trading and modernity showed that these traders were not engaging in the same discourse of transformation, as the present situation could be remedied through pragmatic and incremental adjustments. The next section details the hardcore traders’ performances of loyalty and dedication to the market continued as the traders faced renewed economic hardship in the market.

¹¹¹ JM1-7

¹¹² HM1-1

¹¹³ HM2-2 Focus Group of Roadside Traders. Highway Market, Ibadan 20/05/2015

¹¹⁴ HM2-3, HM1-5 Roadside Vegetable Seller, Highway Market, Ibadan 19/05/2015 and HM1-6 Iyaloja and Babaloja of Highway Market, Highway Market, 19/05/2015

¹¹⁵ JM2-3 Babaloja, Junction Market, Ibadan 03/07/2015

4. Familial and Economic Adaptation Strategies

There were a number of factors that contributed to economic hardship from 2014 onwards. As international oil prices fell, the state government saw its federal allocation fall and consequently civil servants' salaries were 3-5 months in arrears by May 2015. Over the summer of 2015 there were also two fuel crises, where the price of petrol and kerosene dramatically spiked. I highlight these issues to make clear that the hardship in the market was not unique, though perhaps it was amplified. However, the economic activity in the market was limited even compared with the rest of the city. The problem of low sales, and the attendant financial struggles such as struggling to pay school fees¹¹⁶, moving their children into cheaper public schools¹¹⁷ and skipping meals¹¹⁸, was the number one problem for traders in Neighbourhood Market. Everyone I spoke to in the market mentioned it. Remaining in Neighbourhood Market the traders had to pay transport costs, reaching several hundred naira¹¹⁹. Some of my informants attributed this to the hard to access location¹²⁰ but the consensus within the market was that it was because it was new and unknown¹²¹, and that the traders on the road picked up all the customers and stopped them having to come inside the market¹²².

Above I discussed how the hardcore of Neighbourhood Market traders construct themselves as obedient and willing subjects of demolitions. They performed a similar discursive move in response to the challenge of low sales: the traders who remained insisted that they had never gone back to the road. In interviews with the hardcore of Neighbourhood Market traders, I had the sense that their insistence was not only an explanation of their practices,

¹¹⁶ NM4-1 Focus group with Food Sellers, Neighbourhood market, Ibadan 2/07/2015: "It has affected me ooo. In fact, I have withdrawn my first born from school."
NM1-1: "You are now looking at me. I am emaciated, I have changed already. I have nothing in my hand. Then if you call me, ...Yes to feed me and my children. Last term I am still owing my children's school fees. But there's no much there. It's affecting me seriously. But nobody to tell, only government."

¹¹⁷ NM3-4

¹¹⁸ NM2-2

¹¹⁹ For the women in Focus Group NM3-4 and the Ready-made Seller in NM3-1 it was around N400.

¹²⁰ NM1-5 Provisions Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 13/05/2015

¹²¹ NM1-4 Focus group with beauticians, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 13/05/2015, NM1-6 Provisions Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 13/05/2015, NM2-2, NM3-1, NM4-2.

¹²² NM1-1, NM3-4, NM1-2, NM1-4.

but a performance of loyalty in itself. An elderly herbal medicines seller assured us that she had consistently stayed in the market. My research assistant translated to me her account:

“She said once they asked them to move she left and she’s been around this place since then. So they allocate a shop to her, and she has never gone out. She didn’t go out to sell. She thanks god.”¹²³

The hairdressers echoed this sentiment. Asked if any would go back to the roadside they replied, “No, no we are not going back. We are not going back; we like it here. We are going to make it here.” Another woman added: “We like it here, we believe it that we are going to make it.” The secretary spokeswoman translated for the women sat next to her: “She herself has made a point of it to always come here every day despite the fact that there are no sales.”

In a focus group the food sellers repeated a similar theme:¹²⁴

“For instance, people like us whether we sell or not we are still sitting and we remain here. We have decided and prayed that this market will be our own prosperous domain since the Governor has built it for us”¹²⁵.

Faced with livelihood challenges, these contradictions invite us to ask how traders find ways of performing this vision; how do they stay in Neighbourhood Market whilst staying alive? What are the costs of maintaining this vision, and how are they met? Who is able to participate, who is forced to go elsewhere?

Those who were able to stay in Neighbourhood Market drew on a variety of socio-economic and political resources. I spoke to 23 traders in Neighbourhood Market. In the following section I map their various strategies for maintaining an active presence on the market. I then briefly contrast this with the stories of those who were not able to remain and their attempts at and motivations for maintaining a more limited presence.

Almost all the traders who stayed in Neighbourhood Market when I was there had alternative sources of income. Among those with alternative income, the traders were divided between those who were supported by relatives and those who supported themselves through other businesses.

¹²³ NM1-3 Herbal Medicines Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 13/05/2015

¹²⁴ NM1-6

¹²⁵ NM4-1

I had previously read in a newspaper that the government provided “free education” to indigenes in Oyo State (Ogunyemi 2014). Seeing as she said she had three children in school, I put this claim to Mrs Adelola:

“Haaa! *Ijoba bon i o mob a wa san wo ile iwe!* [How will government pay our children school fees for us, when government doesn’t sleep with us!] It is the father, ooo. ...We thank God but it is my husband that caters for the family so we thank God”¹²⁶.

Mrs Adelola’s husband was a tanker driver and returns to Ibadan every month. This helped explain how she could continue to spend the N400 a day on travel to and from the market, whilst reporting almost no sales in the market. Normally she traded wholesale, and still had some customers who would call her for stock, but she had also diversified into smaller scale retail in the hope of picking up a few small sales in the market¹²⁷. Her friend, Mrs Adekunle sold soap in the other half of the stall¹²⁸. She was also supported by her husband, a civil servant at the State Secretariat. She had downscaled her business recently too, only buying N20,000 or N30,000 a month in stock. With no children and some financial backing from her husband she was confident that she could endure low sales for another four to five months.

Most of the active sellers had moved their goods to the stalls on the edge of the market, with direct access to the internal road and with it a chance to attract any passing customers. Walking through the quiet middle lanes of the market I met a group of older women. They were sat together around the benches at the back of the stall, with a few bright plastics laid out in the middle: bowls, bins and washing up racks. Perched on the step, the owner of the stall agreed to talk to us¹²⁹. “Firstly”, she said, “because of my age my children give me money, so whether I sell or not I’m not really concerned, my children take care of me.”¹³⁰ She explained that her son was in the military and she built her own house years ago using money saved from 30 years of trading. About a fifth of the 50 plastics sellers in her association are retired. Whereas these older ‘mummies’ came early in the day to enjoy the

¹²⁶ NM3-1

¹²⁷ She had been to Lagos the day before to stock up, with N200,000.

¹²⁸ NM3-2 Soap Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 30/06/2015

¹²⁹ NM1-3 Focus group with Plastics Sellers, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan, 13/05/2015

¹³⁰ NM1-3

calm of the market, the rest tended to arrive later, in time for the evening rush hour¹³¹. The older plastic sellers stayed in what they felt to be the market's pleasant environment because they could afford to. However, some of the women are able to cultivate alternative commercial activities to support themselves to stay in the market.

The day we met, Momo was dressed in a glossy pink fabric, with glittering embellishments, and had heavy gold on her ears and around her neck. She commanded a small congregation of friends and discussants on the benches outside her lock-up shop where she sold garments – one in a row of identical windowless shops with lockable front doors. She invited me inside. I browsed in the shadows, and, among the bolts of fabric and piles of plastic wrapped clothing, I stopped at her collection of photos stuck to the wall. She showed me customers wearing her wares, family members in *aso abi* uniform¹³² and podgy babies zipped into frilly dresses. She said that this lock-up was costing her around N70,000 a year, on top of the N5,000 she paid initially for the form¹³³. She estimated that she made one sale a week in the market, maybe one a month. Fortunately, she still had another shop, twice as big as this one in Central Market, which she was paying N75,000 a year for. An apprentice looked after it whilst she was in Neighbourhood Market. With the other business still running, she kept up a healthy stock turn over, travelling to Lagos or Kano to spend upwards of N500,000¹³⁴. Building up to this size of business had taken time - she started trading in 1995 - but her commercial success had enabled her to withstand the economic shock of demolition in the first place. Significantly, it also allowed her to invest time in establishing her personal profile at Neighbourhood Market.

Other traders who lacked capital cultivated alternative commercial activities which were less lucrative, but functioned as survival activities. Lady Ayesha was the Secretary of the Babywares vendors¹³⁵. She was a middle aged, energetic Muslim woman. It was her idea to do an interview, after she initiated conversation by playfully taking some biscuits out of my

¹³¹ NM1-3: She saved regularly through her life and built her own house and sent her children to school.

¹³² Often families or groups wear matching outfits of the same cloth, known as *aso abi* or 'family uniform' on special occasions.

¹³³ Paying for a form to register, or express interest, is common practice in Nigeria. Forms to stand in election, sit exams or apply for a nursery place for your child all cost money.

¹³⁴ She may have been exaggerating this a little to make herself appear a big woman. She remarked "Its not for everybody o, some people are just 200, so it is not everybody who has big money." In comparison, her friend who also owned a lock-up shop here, but didn't have another shop elsewhere was more modest about her own stock trips, estimating that she took about N200,000 every two to three months. NM2-2

¹³⁵ NM4-2

hand one lunchtime. Occasionally as we were talking in an empty stall other women came up and gently harassed us – “you should collect money from her!”. She dismissed them with a reassurance that things were under control: “they are student...we are only lending them brain”¹³⁶. She was clearly both well known and respected by other traders in the market.

Like the Momo the garment seller, Lady Ayesha ran a successful business before the roads were cleared. She sold babywares wholesale: all high value branded goods. Previously she had purchased a container to use as a shop for N150,000. However, unlike Momo, her main shop was destroyed as part of the urban renewal programme. Including the container, she estimated the total value of her losses at N400,000. Since arriving in Neighbourhood Market, her daily sales in the market were erratic, perhaps N500 or N1,000 a day. She explained that this money was used to cover basic daily expenses:

“It is not easy I have children at home that I will send them to school, I buy a lot of things for them, is it what I am selling now that I will use to buy something for them.”¹³⁷

Talking about the general experience of other traders in the babywares section, she explained that even with significant stock, it was hard to accumulate any capital with such poor sales:

“...since the time we have come here some people use almost N1m to buy a lot of goods that they wanted to sell but one day, you can just sell N2,000...N3,000, from there you are just taking the money to buy food and it is not easy to get the money together again.”¹³⁸

For her, she managed to stay in the market by adjusting her important money-making activities, which were in fact conducted elsewhere. At 3pm every day she left Neighbourhood Market to sell to her existing network on credit. Meeting her old customers in their shops, she would lend them around N20,000 each time for a couple of days. This allowed her to maintain a turnover, and she still occasionally made stock trips with N500,000 to N1million every few months, depending on how sales were going.

For both Lady Ayesha and Momo the maintenance of existing networks of customers was decisive to their enduring commercial success. However, they also needed resources to maintain that network. In the case of Momo, she had to be able to employ an apprentice to

¹³⁶ Translated from Yoruba: “omo school ni won...awa kan ya ni opolo ni.”

¹³⁷ NM4-2

¹³⁸ NM4-2

continue to serve her existing customers in Central Market. For Lady Ayesha it was her continued ability to buy in bulk and extend credit to her network that facilitated her continued position as a wholesaler. For those who had no access to capital, their diversification took on different forms.

Mrs Adegbite¹³⁹ had already seen two lines of trade fail before she decided to sell apples. Unable to progress beyond secondary school she had trained in selling pharmaceuticals, before trying her hand at cloth trading across the Benin-Nigeria border. Finally, she settled into selling apples, spending 10 years at a busy roundabout in Ibadan. Sales there were good enough for her to make a start on building her own house. “Though I wasn’t force, I still felt bad when the YES-O officers came”, she says, “Sales were better [at the roundabout], it is incomparable... [there] I was able to do my parental responsibility but things are hard now.” With no access to capital, she hawks her goods round the city each day after she leaves Neighbourhood Market. As the stories of the Momo, Lady Ayesha and Mrs Adegbite show, traders who chose to stay in Neighbourhood Market seek alternative sources of income, with varying levels of success. Whereas Momo and Lady Ayesha continue to command significant revenues (if not necessarily profits), Mrs Adegbite deals with much smaller volumes which she can hawk as a survival strategy, with no prospect of accumulation.

Others were able to draw on a combination of familial support and external customer loyalty. Niyi, for example, was an elderly seller of herbal medicines, who trades alongside her grown up daughter. She had been trading over 20 years and has built a house already. Though she set out her wares in Neighbourhood Market each day, her customers were mostly people she had worked with for years¹⁴⁰ and they often phoned her with orders. However, the question remained why these traders chose to invest time in maintaining a presence in the market when other income opportunities were open to them¹⁴¹. A further question concerned the other 16 of the 23 Neighbourhood Market traders I spoke to, who had no apparent family support or commercial strategies for adjusting to low sales in the market. How did they manage to stay in the market?

¹³⁹ NM5-1

¹⁴⁰ Families stick with the same herbal medicines seller for years, returning to one who they found to be trustworthy and effective.

¹⁴¹ For Niyi, as for anyone who has loyal customers who prioritise trust over convenience, or are able to differentiate their product from rivals, Neighbourhood Market actually offered a good deal. Obtaining a shop space was free and the environment was comparatively quiet and sheltered.

5. Political Strategies

Along with the food sellers, the beauticians were the biggest group I encountered. And yet, they seemed the worst off. They were young and most had children¹⁴², but none mentioned any family members they could rely upon, or economic diversification strategies. Did they have another strategy, of which staying in the market was part? During my first focus group with 5 or 6 beauticians¹⁴³, one woman with a feathery weave and gold earrings took charge. She introduced herself as the Secretary of the Beauticians' Association. She wore a tight navy t-shirt, and sat back, filling the one plastic chair, whilst the other women sat on the step. The raucous conversation bubbled around her, but occasionally she would talk over her colleagues to give the 'official' line on an issue. I asked how business was going and there were moans from around the group: "it is very dry here". The Secretary shook her head. "The business is fine," she said firmly. When I pushed her - "but it looks like no one is here?" - she conceded that some people left because the market was not yet "moving". "Why didn't they go back?", I asked. "We... we don't want to disappoint our governor. Because he has done well!"

Later in conversation we returned to this issue. Asked why she believed the market would improve she replied, "I trust my Governor; he will work on it. ... The one and only!" In this final section I show that there were two forms of political incorporation in Neighbourhood Market. The first is participation in a number of Ajimobi loyalty groups, and the second is to take on a leadership role in the market association. Together they explain why some traders were able to survive at Neighbourhood Market despite low or no sales in the short term, and also why they expected benefits from political participation in the long term. The headline requirement of both was loyalty to Ajimobi, primarily performed by remaining visible in Neighbourhood Market and not returning to the roadside.

Many of the Food Sellers are part of the Ajumose Solidarity Forum, a group set up in 2011 as a spin-off from the APC and Ajimobi's Campaign organisation. 'Ajumose' is the slogan that Ajimobi uses with many of his projects meaning "We will do it together"¹⁴⁴. The brand

¹⁴² NM1-4

¹⁴³ NM1-4

¹⁴⁴ See chapter five for analysis of the word's connotations and chapters five and nine for details of more Ajumose projects.

extends to another, albeit formally unrelated¹⁴⁵ youth group, the Ajumose Marines¹⁴⁶, and is the official name for the subsidised buses¹⁴⁷ and motorised tricycle taxis that the state government rolled out in Ajimobi's first term (Salami 2013; *ThisDay* 2013; OSG Website 2013a). They meet regularly with the umbrella body in Ajimobi House¹⁴⁸ which is the APC campaign headquarters in Oyo State. They claimed the group had more than 500 members and they used the hotel near the market for meetings.¹⁴⁹ The presence of pro-Ajimobi political groups was not surprising: Neighbourhood Market is seen as Ajimobi's market. Asking one of the food sellers why she went to an Ajimobi rally, she responded that she is not in any political party, but "I went because I am in Ajimobi's Market."¹⁵⁰ Others referred to the area as the "Ajimobi Market Zone."¹⁵¹

By building the market and directing patronage to its traders through interest free loans, Ajimobi can build a base of support. If the markets are replicated throughout all the local government areas as he has directed, then this will build a physical and social infrastructure of support to be called on at key political moments. Some of the food sellers had attended a pre-election rally near the governor's house and they saw it as their role to tell people about the governor's good schemes, like his wife's healthcare projects¹⁵².

The benefits of being a member of the Ajumose Solidarity Forum were inclusion in the government's social empowerment schemes. These schemes were well publicised by regional newspapers and on the Governor's Facebook page, but always after they happened. I spoke to the informal leader of the food sellers, who was nicknamed *Ewedu*, after the vegetables she sold:

"Part of things we have benefited [from] as members is that they give us slots whenever there is a programme coming up such as the one I told you earlier. When they want to give free vaccines for the children, they gave our members slots and

¹⁴⁵ F4 Field Interview with Ajumose Vocational Centre Manager, Ajumose House, Ibadan 27/07/2015

¹⁴⁶ Ajumose Marines Youtube channel [accessed 22/09/2016]

¹⁴⁷ However, most people I spoke to called them Ajimobi Buses.

¹⁴⁸ NM5-1

¹⁴⁹ NM4-1

¹⁵⁰ NM4-1

¹⁵¹ NM5-3 Focus group with Food Sellers, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan, 9/07/2015 and NM3-1

¹⁵² NM4-1

when they want to make provisions for the widows, our members are invited and given slots. We sent five aged women and they were given drugs and N10,000 each to support themselves. And some of our members in this market contested for elections and they won as honourables [executive members]”.¹⁵³

Leadership in the Ajumose Solidarity Forum came with the power to choose who was allocated 'slots'. *Ewedu* was one of the group executives, and she explained that they tried to be fair when it came to choosing who would benefit from each new round, focussing on women who were new to the group and hadn't benefited before. Interestingly, *Ewedu* mentioned that not everyone in the Ajumose Solidarity Forum actually wanted the slots, because “some of us don't really like going out while some have the time and like it.”¹⁵⁴ This reinforces the idea that maintaining the visibility and identity of someone who is a loyal follower takes time and resources, which some of the members do not see as a useful investment. One of the Food Sellers, specialising in *garri*, a food staple, described some of the benefits that had attracted her:

“As a new member not much benefit just yet but there are a lot of benefits in this forum. Recently the governor gave 10 education scholarships, also sponsored some pilgrims -Christian and Muslim- to the holy land”.¹⁵⁵

The links between the Ajumose Solidarity Forum and the governor trace Ajimobi's two bases of power: his control over party members in local government and his personal political following funded partly via his wife. *Ewedu* explained how they found out about upcoming events:

“Number one, the chairman of Ibadan Downtown¹⁵⁶ LGA is close to us, like our patron, he will inform us. Also, there is a woman very close to the First Lady Iya Omotola¹⁵⁷ she can inform us and we will ask of how many slots is given to us”.¹⁵⁸

To get access to these benefits, the Neighbourhood Market group had to put in a good showing at the higher level meetings. Being a member of Ajimobi's market required

¹⁵³ NM4-1

¹⁵⁴ NM5-3

¹⁵⁵ NM5-3

¹⁵⁶ Pseudonym

¹⁵⁷ Pseudonym

¹⁵⁸ NM4-1

constant work at identifying the group as loyal. The food sellers at the focus group told me about an occasion when traders from Neighbourhood Market attended a rally *en masse*, “We are so many o. All of us went.”¹⁵⁹ Another urged my research assistant to make sure I noted their readiness: “Please help me to tell her that we have a group for him [Ajimobi] here in the market”.¹⁶⁰ Ewedu explained how she ensured that the Neighbourhood Market contingent is noticeable at the Solidarity Forum meetings:

“For instance, if we are given twenty slots, we may add extra five in case they will allow them. We also have uniform and they know us. Our own is tagged Ajumose Solidarity Forum, Neighbourhood Market: we have t-shirt, we have Ankara, and we have Kampala”¹⁶¹.

She emphasises that through this sort of visual branding “they know us”. In addition to clothing, the members contribute N20 a week which is often spent on buying banners; another tool of visibility and self-identification¹⁶². They used the banners “occasionally, when the Governor is around and during general meetings whereby different zones are in attendance as a means of Identification and relevance”. She explained that the benefits of visibility were numerous, “it shows the relevance of your zone thereby attracting gifts e.g. money, scholarship etc. as incentives even employment in some cases”¹⁶³. Visibility as a group is therefore a route to gaining access to benefits. In addition to the discursive work of identifying oneself as a member of the enlightened public, here traders identify themselves in rather more visual ways, by emblazoning themselves with their group identity.

Within the market there were associations for each section, as well as some ad hoc associations such as for the elderly.¹⁶⁴ Strong norms of group loyalty mean that members face high social costs, and a possible loss of the material benefits that come with membership, if they betray a collectively made decision to offer loyalty to a patron. This enables associations to make credible commitments which make them desirable to politicians in electoral calculations (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 458). Government patronage, such as interest free loans, was distributed through the associations. The loans in

¹⁵⁹ NM4-1

¹⁶⁰ NM4-1

¹⁶¹ Types of fabrics popular in Nigeria.

¹⁶² NM5-3

¹⁶³ NM4-1

¹⁶⁴ NM6-1 Focus group with two Beauticians, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 27/07/2015

2014 were distributed first via the Babaloja and market executive, and then through the sections¹⁶⁵. Lady Ayeesha, the babywares seller, was also Acting Secretary of a women's group linked to the market¹⁶⁶. She explained that there was an expectation that should any funds be distributed in the future, it would come via these channels: “[I]f government wants to do anything for us, it will be done group by group, so we are advised to separate ourselves group by group.” For her group, being seen as united and organised (with weekly meetings in a nearby building) provided a springboard to collectively negotiate to give their support to someone who could “help” them. She said that by associating as a group, “[if] they wanted to raise us we are ready.” This strategy had worked: before the election they were visited by representatives from the four main parties in the election¹⁶⁷ including the wife of the main opposition candidate, Ladoja.

Leadership of one of the market associations also provided an opportunity to become part of the patronage distribution network. Being able to command a followership, whether based on sectional association or not, provides opportunities for political leverage. As with groups, visibility was key to individual advancement. In the first instance this requires attending meetings in person. One must have 'good attendance' to become a prominent member¹⁶⁸. Lady Ayeesha emphasised the importance of being “active” to rise to a leadership position:

“Reason is because when we started then I was very active. Because everything depends on how active you are when you are in a congregation of people. For example, when I saw you here I came to meet you by myself and asked about what you are doing”¹⁶⁹.

Whilst the hope of getting some patronage from Ajimobi via the Forum was a strong motivation, the actual receipt of those benefits was shaky. Another woman admitted that she knew of no one from the Neighbourhood Market forum who had been employed as yet, but explained that it was because “it is a new forum, we are still growing.” She was hopeful for the future, saying she expected “empowerment”, meaning money, training or trade materials. Finally, I pushed her on why she thought it was necessary to join the forum to get empowerment: “Simple, you have to understand that to enjoy benefits and opportunity from

¹⁶⁵ NM3-1

¹⁶⁶ NM4-2

¹⁶⁷ Accord, APC, PDP and SDP, excluding Akala's Labour Party.

¹⁶⁸ NM5-3

¹⁶⁹ NM4-2

a government you have to associate with the government.”¹⁷⁰ Her assessment of the contract involved in benefiting from government captures well the mode of operation of the schemes *Ewedu* mentioned. She said that they had sent widows to various events to collect food and money, and that on another occasion she went to receive food gifts with up to two hundred other women. These events are typically promoted after the fact in Tribune Newspaper and the Governor’s Facebook page, under the banner of the Ajumose Food Bank and Ajumose Widowhood Support Initiative¹⁷¹. In official news reports and press releases these events are described as helping targeted disadvantaged groups such as poor widows. Fairness was supposedly guaranteed by the geographical distribution of benefits, where an equal number of widows are invited from each of the local government areas or the project rotates through a different LGA every two months.

In reality, the women from Neighbourhood Market had been attending the Food Bank not as widows of the local area but via the Ajumose Solidarity Forum’s city-wide network. *Ewedu* confirmed that the project she attended was called “Ajumose Food Bank” and that they received invitations to attend events in a wide range of LGAs, which they travelled to, not just their local one. She said, “they are organizing it from one local government to another and the wife of Governor instructed us to go to any where it is organised and we are given slots.”¹⁷² She confirmed that it was Ajumose Food Bank, organised by the wife of the Governor. The programme involved hundreds of market women:

“They also did one at [the town hall] and we requested for slots and all the people that went with us were up to two hundred. We all lined up before Ajumose bus to collect the Food Bank then.”¹⁷³

She described the benefits of obtaining a slot at the Food Bank in a central location in Ibadan, over two years before. She had received “Rice, beans, milk, corn, Bournvita, cornflakes are all packed in nylon [a plastic bag].”¹⁷⁴ She listed another four events in different local governments that members of the Ajumose Solidarity Forum had attended recently.

¹⁷⁰ NM4-1

¹⁷¹ For a detailed list of news sources for Ajumose Food Bank and Widows Initiative, see Appendix 3.a.

¹⁷² NM5-3

¹⁷³ NM5-3

¹⁷⁴ NM5-3

I asked *Ewedu* if she could introduce me to some members of the Forum. After a few days of false starts, I finally got introduced to two women who I was told were very “strong” members. Both hairdressers, Nike and Bunmi¹⁷⁵ were young, in their twenties or early thirties. They explained that actually they were part of the youth wing, Ajumose Youth League. Their branch of 45 members met every Thursday in the market, and then they went as a group to state level meetings in Ajumose House every Saturday. The leaders of each of the sub-groups form the EX-CO (executive committee) that meets in Ajumose house on Thursday. As above, the young women strongly believed that they benefited from participation, but the benefits came as part of being embedded in political networks where the flow of resources was not only one way. The Youth Forum supported the Governor at election rallies and by broadcasting short jingles about him on the radio. To join the group, they had to pay N1,000 for the membership form, and the radio adverts were paid for by collecting among themselves. However, the rallies were an opportunity to receive: the going rate was about N1,000 for attending a one-day rally.

Nike confirmed the importance of working as a group to take advantage of the opportunities of the state meeting:

“In the [general] meeting we discuss on how to strategize to get benefit and dividend of democracy from the government. This benefit includes employment, empowerment and scholarship etc.”¹⁷⁶

I enquired what sort of strategies they used as a group if they were trying to get recognised at the meeting. She reiterated similar themes to Lady Ayesha, of presence and visibility, in this case in numbers; “We are punctual and we attend with a large number of representative[s].” She insisted that “the strategy works and the benefits are numerous.”¹⁷⁷ Through the organisation Nike had been awarded a scholarship. She was studying Business Administration at a private polytechnic in Ibadan. However, it was not a full scholarship, leaving her to cover about half of the costs, which added up to N70,000. Whilst Nike had done well out of membership of the Youth Forum, her friend Bunmi had not yet managed to cash in. She explained that she had been offered a pilgrimage to Mecca but had to turn it down “because I’m not Muslim”. Again, the receipt of benefits was neither guaranteed, nor well targeted, but continued active membership was a strategy that had the potential to deliver a pay-off in the long term.

¹⁷⁵ NM6-1

¹⁷⁶ NM6-1

¹⁷⁷ NM6-1

The Outside Perspective:

The previous section explored the opportunities for advancement and remuneration for the hardcore of traders who remained in Neighbourhood Market despite low sales. What about those who had returned to the roadside? I found that many of the returned traders still cultivated some links to the market, with many attending weekly section meetings¹⁷⁸. However, for those who had left, participation was piecemeal and partial. Traders who were able to attend meetings regularly and be active, visible members were more successful in rising to leadership positions.

There were other reasons why traders discontinued their connections to Neighbourhood Market: either they found the sections socially claustrophobic¹⁷⁹ they preferred the freedom of hawking¹⁸⁰ or they didn't think the market would offer commercial benefits even in the long run. For some, the costs of cultivating any sort of continued connection were too high, and the long term benefits too uncertain, in the face of daily demands. Meagher describes the options available to those who do not have time or resources to devote to associations as 'desperation strategies'; "among these poorest of producers, membership in associations is minimal, owing to a lack of time and resources for effective participation"(Meagher 2007, 430).

Elisabeth¹⁸¹ was one of the traders who had left Neighbourhood Market early on. Before the shops were officially allocated the section leaders demanded a 'token' from those who wanted to sign up for a shop in their section, and at the time it was beyond her means. Instead she took up a number of other wage jobs from which she was able to eke out a living for her four children and her husband, who was recovering from a long illness. In 2015, I returned and found out she was now working in a warehouse in Oke Ado. I went to interview her one afternoon in July. The room was dark and opened on to the main road. It was stacked to the ceiling with bundles of paper, like hay bales. I perched on one of these bales, whilst Elizabeth sat behind the sole desk, a pen and A4 ledger open in front of her. As we talked, her husband sat in the doorway in the last of the evening sun, their youngest daughter on his knee.

¹⁷⁸ JM1-2 Roadside Photo Printer, Junction Market, Ibadan 18/05/2015 and JM1-6 Roadside Bag Seller, Junction Market, Ibadan 18/05/2015

¹⁷⁹ HM1-2 Small Scale Roadside Trader, Highway Market, Ibadan 19/05/2015

¹⁸⁰ JM1-5

¹⁸¹ JM2-6

We talked about the people I'd met in Neighbourhood Market; their associations, their numerous commercial ventures, the overwhelming sense of waiting for the future to arrive. In contrast, Elisabeth didn't go back for meetings, and had not visited the market in the two years which had passed.

“Because if you really want to stay there you will sacrifice your time and money, the reason had been that there were no sales there, so it will look as if you are gambling with your money. I don't have much fund on hand so I cannot gamble with my fund.”¹⁸²

Her choice of words echoed those of the government: staying in Neighbourhood Market was a sacrifice. Only, rather than wait it out, she had been unable to survive the sacrifices of development, and enjoy the rewards of relocating to a modern market in the long run. In contrast to the idea of sacrifice as a steady investment, she cast it as an uncertain gamble. The urgency of her everyday demands had forced her to abandon her earlier trading business and find a new source of income to get by from day to day.

Other traders I spoke to at the roadside faced similarly discordant temporalities to the ones imagined by the government. The two groups, the hardcore and those who had returned, were tied to the past and the future in divergent ways. The hardcore were waiting on the future in which they had invested. They suffered now but they were waiting on a pay off to come. Some people at Neighbourhood Market consequently saw those who had returned to the roadside as “impatient”¹⁸³ as they wouldn't, as they saw it, defer gratification. By contrast, those at the roadside talked not about investment in the future, but being tied to debts from the past, which they balance with meeting daily needs in the present¹⁸⁴. In Junction Market the electricals seller was indebted to her stockist by about N25,000 and scared she wouldn't be able to pay it back. She'd stayed in Neighbourhood Market long enough to get the N10,000 rotating loan, but this was just another payment to juggle.

Similarly, in Highway Market a middle-aged woman selling grain¹⁸⁵ had returned to the roadside on the hope of better sales and lost her stock when her precarious position on a hillside was flooded, putting her in debt. My research assistant translated: “Until she offset the debt before she can have rest of mind. The only thing she thinks of is the problem of

¹⁸² JM2-6

¹⁸³ NM1-7 Assistant Manager of Neighbourhood Market, Prestige Associates, Ibadan, 13/05/2015

¹⁸⁴ HM2-2

¹⁸⁵ HM2-1 Roadside Grain Seller, Highway Market, Ibadan 20/05/2015

flooding.” Other told similar stories of how the fear of debt¹⁸⁶ pushed them to choose the immediate certainty of sales at the roadside over the gamble of Neighbourhood Market¹⁸⁷. For the traders with less of a financial buffer, and no familial, commercial or political connections to call upon, they could never escape the debts of the past long enough to think about taking the leap and investing in an uncertain future.

Conclusion:

This chapter has explored the tensions within the Lagos Model’s conception of progress. In neighbourhood markets, which embody this conception of progress, the tensions can be seen to play out in practice. Traders experienced these tensions as dilemmas about whether the sacrifices involved in progress will pay off in the long term and for whom. Ajimobi invoked the long-term pay-offs of progress to justify the pain of demolishing roadside stalls by framing it as a sacrifice for development. In so doing, he discursively constructs an idea of an enlightened public. Due to the enlightened understanding of its members, characterised in this account by attitudes and mind-set, this public is constructed as the proper group to whom Ajimobi can be accountable. For Governor Ajimobi, accountability should only be offered to those who have undertaken the “mind shift” (Arulogun 2015) required to understand the long-run benefits of his urban renewal policies.

The case study of the ‘hardcore’ traders at Neighbourhood Market showed the extent to which people on the ground are willing to identify themselves as part of the ‘enlightened public’ and the material resources they command to participate within it. They seek to include themselves in that public by ‘speaking the same language’ as the government, and casting themselves as rational, modern subjects. This sheds light on how people respond to the Lagos Model’s conception of good governance as transformation. They position themselves on the side of transformation, the new, the enlightened, the people of the future.

However, to speak that language, they must remain in Neighbourhood Market, something that requires a certain level of resources to endure the losses of demolition and low sales in the short term. I have shown that those who stay in Neighbourhood Market either do so because they have access to alternative incomes from family members, or because they have sufficient capital to run other businesses at the same time. Those without recourse to family support or commercial alternatives invest their time and money in political organisations aligned to the party in power, the APC. Notwithstanding the definition of the enlightened public in terms of attitude or mind set, what actually determined the allocation of benefits in

¹⁸⁶ HM1-2

¹⁸⁷ Several traders in the hardcore knew other people in this position: NM3-4, NM3-1, NM4-1.

the short term is party loyalty. Once in such organisations, traders similarly invest in being active and visible, to maximise the chances of receiving benefits.

What ties the performance of the enlightened public to membership of party political groups is that the party loyalists must stay in Neighbourhood Market, as if it is a well-functioning market. They must act *as if* the vision of development described by government is already a reality. What makes the performance of their ideological reality possible is a network of party organisations which provides just enough piecemeal immediate benefits for the traders to survive despite not making sufficient sales to live on.

Chapter 7 - Legitimate Leadership in the Lagos Model: Performance and Popular Conceptions of Transparency and Accountability

Introduction: Competing Conceptions of Legitimate Leadership

The international conception of good governance presents legitimate leadership as government that is effective and accountable (World Bank 1997). However, there are inherent tensions between effectiveness, whereby the government is free to deliver policies without constraints, and accountability, where various groups within and outside of government can intervene to hold powerful state actors to account (World Bank 1992, 14; 2004). For government to be effective, they may therefore have to cut themselves off from certain forms of accountability. This chapter takes this tension as a starting point for investigating how the Lagos Model seeks to make its leadership legitimate, and how it is contested by alternative conceptions of transparency and accountability.

The international conception of good governance resolves the tension between accountability and effectiveness by distinguishing between technical and political decision-making. Technical agencies can legitimately be cut off from democratic accountability mechanisms and replaced with managerial forms of accountability (World Bank 1997, 10). These recommendations have specific implications in highly centralised executive political systems, like the subnational state governments in Nigeria (Suberu 2010).

This chapter considers how the Lagos Model interprets the demands of accountability and effectiveness in government, in the idea of 'performance', and highlights the continuities between this and the international conception of good governance. Empirical analysis of the internal workings of the state government under Ajimobi show how he reconfigured formal and informal structures so as to pursue his own political objectives and conceptions of accountability, whilst fulfilling international recommendations for governance reform. The creation of insulated technical agencies is shown to serve a variety of political imperatives and the centralisation of power in the office of the Governor is shown to be directly linked to increased state effectiveness in terms of implementing state government policies at the local level.

However, there is a tension between what the Lagos Model and international conception of good governance conceive of as legitimate leadership, and popular conceptions of good governance. This chapter reconstructs two interrelated principles that are commonly used to

evaluate leaders across different political and societal contexts, and that leaders invoke to demonstrate their legitimacy. The principles are transparency in people and accountability as accessibility. The common idiom of good leaders “carrying the people along” is explored as an idea that showcases elements of both principles.

Finally, core areas of the Lagos Model’s economic strategy are explored which highlight the tensions between these competing conceptions of good governance. The two case studies are the orientation of the Lagos Model upwards to Ajimobi’s regional godfather, former Governor of Lagos State Bola Tinubu, and the use of Lagos-based and international contractors for government projects. Empirical examination of how these policies were justified by Ajimobi and then received by people on the ground, show how it is exactly those aspects of economic strategy that make Ajimobi’s Lagos Model leadership ‘good’ according to international conceptions of good governance, makes his leadership untrustworthy and reduces its legitimacy according to popular conceptions of good governance.

1. Detaching from Accountability Downwards: Performance and Effectiveness

Accountability and Effectiveness in Donor Debates and the Nigerian Context

The international conception of good governance holds that key agencies of government administration should have freedom and autonomy to pursue goals and targets efficiently. Mahmadou Dia of the World Bank advocated the “Enclave Approach”, whereby ‘enclave’ agencies could be developed as efficient pockets within otherwise sluggish and bloated African civil services (Dia 1993; Anders 2014, 338). The organisational and institutional mechanisms used to pursue efficiency nonetheless encourage the disengagement from governmental checks and balances, potentially undermining accountability¹⁸⁸.

The World Bank resolves this tension between efficiency and accountability by dividing the work of government into two different spheres: the political and the technical (Polzer 2001, 7; P Newell and Bellour 2002, 9). Technical issues are conceived of as those which are susceptible to resolution through the application of rational, expert knowledge and subject to managerial forms of accountability to performance goals. For those issues which are technical, decision-making should be insulated from political processes usually used to ensure accountability. In the World Development Report 1997, the World Bank argued that “focused, performance-based public agencies ... can be provided more flexibility in exchange for their greater accountability for results, via financial accounting and performance monitoring” (World Bank 1997, 10) This is what Mkandawire, as noted in Ch.2, calls the “politics of insulation” (Mkandawire 1999, 338).

The division between technical and political branches of government in itself an act of politics. In practice, due to the direct donor and WB funding of these agencies and projects tended to be better resourced and better funded than the rest of the civil service (Bierschenk 2010, 8; Anders 2014, 339). Furthermore, they tend to closely mimic the political priorities of the donor institutions who help set them up and fund them. Under structural adjustment in the 1980s, the Nigerian federal government created ad hoc technocratic committees like the ‘Presidential Commission on the IMF Loan’ which produced neoliberal policy

¹⁸⁸ The debates in Development Studies closely mirror similar debates about the ‘regulatory state’ in the mainstream Public Administration literature (Loughlin and Scott 1997) such as the way that regulatory bodies make politically sensitive trade offs (Cave and Baldwin 1999).

recommendations almost identical to those of the IMF (Bangura 1994, 284)¹⁸⁹. Those agencies and individuals upon whom donor governance reforms confer the power to make “technical” decisions, are empowered with external legitimacy and resources (Boahen 1989; Mkandawire 1999). Indeed, IFIs have themselves instrumentalized the dichotomy of political and technical, deliberately enhancing “the political positions of those they think are more favourably disposed to their policies” as ‘reformers’ and denigrating opponents as meddling ‘politicians’ (Mkandawire 1999, 336).

In Nigeria, this debate about accountability and effectiveness has been concerned not just with the division of political and technical, but also the division between formal and informal institutions and systems. The need for accountability in the country is seen in the context of prebendalism and neo-patrimonialism: extensive patronage and the erosion, bypassing or subversion of formal institutions by informal institutions, resulting in corruption, waste and ineffective government (Joseph 1983). Therefore, the typical conclusions drawn by critics of Nigeria’s degraded political environment over the last 30 years (see: Joseph 1987; 1991 and Amundsen 2010) is that there must be a reduction in the opportunities for patronage and a strengthening of formal institutions. However, the formal institutions of government at the state level, as defined in the Nigerian constitution, are heavily skewed towards the executive branch and the office of the Governor. The Governor’s position is akin to the President at the federal level. The Governor is directly elected every 4 years, and once in power can appoint a wide range of office holders (*Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* 1999). The cabinet, known as Executive Council and shortened to Exco, is made up of Special Advisers and Commissioners, who head their respective ministries. The formal checks on the Governor’s executive power include the State House of Assembly (HOA), made up of 32 directly elected Assembly members (Suberu 2010). The HOA must screen appointments of special advisers and commissioners, as well as Caretaker Chairmen of local government when interim arrangements apply as they did throughout 2011-15 (Akindele, Olaopa, and Obiyan 2002; Adeyemi O. O 2012; Eme, Izueke, and Ewuim 2013).

Where the Governor’s party has a legislative majority in the HOA there are very few accountability mechanisms that formally constrain his power apart from the threat of not being re-elected. As Governors are subject to a two-term limit electoral accountability is weakened in the second term (*Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* 1999). This

¹⁸⁹ Bangura (1994) provides an excellent analysis of the relationship between technocrats, intellectuals and the Nigerian state between 1960 and the 1990s.

can enhance effectiveness, as the Governor can force through policies or it can lead to a government which is both unaccountable and ineffective, as the Governor is free to use or abuse his position. Moreover, the influence of informal institutions translates formal power into patronage opportunities. Commissioner and Special Adviser roles are a key way of the Governor incorporating key elites into patronage systems (Iredia 2012). Commissioners especially are lucrative positions as they have control over Ministerial Budgets¹⁹⁰. Whilst the Governor is a powerful position with potential for effective, if unaccountable rule, the rest of the bureaucracy and formal political system is “highly open” and “highly penetrated by interest groups”. Writing in the 1990s, Bangura notes that this interpenetration of state and society may have advantages of providing accountability even under military rule, but it proves an obstacle to the sort of ‘insulation’ that accompanies technocratic governance (Bangura 1994a, 292).

The juxtaposition of mainstream debates in the donor community with the Nigerian case study shows that effectiveness and accountability can interact in a variety of ways. Democratic accountability can be threatened either by technocratic government as argued by Mkandawire, by informal institutions as argued by Joseph, or by the overly centralised design of executive-heavy formal institutions as in Nigerian state governments. Likewise, different understandings of effectiveness bring with them new conceptions of accountability, whether the managerial performance goals of the technocrat, or the accountability to different elites through informal institutions.

Accountability and Effectiveness in the Lagos Model: Performance

The progressive elites involved in the Lagos Model had their own distinctive conceptions of accountability and good governance that intersected with the requirements of their engagement with the international system and the political realities of controlling state resources. The centrality of international networks to the regional political strategy meant that they were under pressure to follow the recommendations of international conceptions of good governance, leading to a trajectory of accountability ‘up’ to international donors and investors and ‘out’ of the structures that could impose immediate demands for patronage. However, this logic of ‘up and out’ is shared by the Lagos model’s conception of good governance.

¹⁹⁰ The most powerful is the Commissioner of Finance who attends monthly Federal Allocation Committee meetings in Abuja with the Governor, where federal money is disbursed to states. Personal communication with Former Technical Adviser to the Governor of Bayelsa State, London 24th February 2015.

During a public address in 2014, Ajimobi set out his vision of good governance. The following quote from that event clarifies how he conceived of accountability and effectiveness. Moreover, it contains clues to what the internal workings of government should look like under the Lagos Model:

“Government is like a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) which must provide quality services, such that set objectives are met timely and effectively. But bureaucracy makes government tedious in Nigeria. However, as leaders offered the opportunity to serve, we must find every means to deliver qualitative services. A good leader takes people to where they want to be while a great leader takes them to where they ought to be.” (Oladele 2014)

The tensions raised by Ajimobi’s quote, between accountability and effectiveness, and whether public sector modes of operation can deliver either, resonate with debates from the development studies literature discussed above. Detachment from immediate political accountability is described both necessary and justified on the grounds of accountability as long-term performance. Performance means the delivery of tangible, visible, high quality physical outputs and the idea of performance was at the heart of Ajimobi’s conception of legitimate governance.

Accountability as performance operates over an electoral cycle: after four years, people should evaluate the government based on the changes they have effected. Indeed, the experience of Tinubu and Fashola in Lagos strengthened the belief among ACN/APC party leaders “that preserving power depends on continued good performance.” It was seen that Fashola’s re-election in 2011, for instance, was attributable to his success in rehabilitating roads and providing other public goods in his first term (de Gramont 2014, 36; Momoh 2000). APC chieftains used newspaper interviews to urge the electorate to adopt this conception of accountability: “In Oyo State, we should be looking at the performance and achievements of elected public officers” (Adekanmbi 2015)

The concept of performance resolves the apparent conflict between accountability and effectiveness. Performance at once demonstrates effectiveness, because the state has been able to implement policy and achieve stated goals, and accountability, because the outputs are evidence that government resources have not been stolen or wasted. One local government Director of Finance described the desired effect of seeing tangible government outputs would have on constituents:

“[P]eople will now assess the government whether they are performing or they are not performing and that can only be felt through execution of capital projects and that will be a result of good governance.”¹⁹¹

The next section discusses Ajimobi centralisation of his power over the state government and political structures, achieving a high degree of control over policy implementation. This increased effectiveness was not achieved through a bureaucracy but through centralised, private-sector inspired executive action which bypassed both formal and informal institutions which could otherwise have imposed short term political demands. Whilst the state government was more insulated from external patronage demands than previous regimes, it created new opportunities for patronage. Examples of the implementation of state government policies at the local government level show how this centralisation improved state effectiveness, but at the same time the Governor faced competition from an entirely different conception of accountability and legitimate leadership.

¹⁹¹ IBCLG 2-1 Director of Finance for Central Local Government, Ibadan, 14/07/2015

2. Centralising Power for Effectiveness

The 'Tsunami' and Technocrats

The imperative enforced by accountability to international gatekeepers to streamline and professionalise the public sector coincided with Ajimobi's political strategic goals to bypass the restrictive political demands of the cabinet and state civil service, and deliver key programmes through ad hoc technical committees and technocratic consultants. Ajimobi strategically employed the discourse of 'performance' to frame contentious political activities as apolitical and technical. The appointment of Commissioners was a political process of appeasing and rewarding key elite factions. Ajimobi re-framed it as a technical process. Early in his term Ajimobi organised a three day retreat for all his political appointees to instil in them the correct goal-oriented attitudes: all commissioners were required to submit PowerPoint presentations of their '4-year action plans' and were issued with 'key performance-indices' (Issa-Kasumu 2011; Ajayi 2011b). The 2012 re-shuffle was described as a "performance screening exercise" where Commissioners not sufficiently committed to meeting goals were sacked for "non-performance" (*Sahara Reporters* 2012; Sanni 2013).

The creation of teams of technical advisers, outside of the more politicised system of Commissioners and Special Advisers, is significant in the context of shifting conceptions of good governance. Firstly, the division of 'leaders' from a 'management team' conforms to the understanding of economics in World Bank prescriptions for good governance, as an administrative task requiring management by technical experts, separate from the contentious realm of politics and representation of conflicting societal interests (Leftwich 1993; 1994). Moreover, the sense that political leadership must be supported by experts should be seen in the context of the Lagos Model's connection to Awolowo and the idea of *olaju* (see Ch.4 and 5), where political progress comes from a mastery of modern, specialised knowledge. So the form of governance that emerges is simultaneously fulfilling these two overlapping but distinct conceptions of good governance. Secondly, the insulation of economic decision-making within the Executive and away from political influence, was strategically productive for Ajimobi as it allowed him to protect the decisive aspects of his agenda from interference on the grounds that they were 'technical' decisions.

This section shows how, through canny political manoeuvres and circumstance, Ajimobi freed himself from the formal and informal checks that had the potential to constrain his power. Ajimobi consolidated his control over the state government through political

manoeuvres. When he first came to power his party the ACN only had 15 out of 32 seats in the State House of Assembly. This presented a major check on Ajimobi's power because appointments to the cabinet, known as Executive Council (Exco), as key form of patronage available to the Governor, are subject to approval by the HOA (Iredia 2012). Ajimobi struggled to get his initial list of appointees approved, and had to form an alliance with Rashidi Ladoja's Accord party¹⁹², appointing seven Accord members to the Exco as Commissioners, to secure their support. He continued to govern through a coalition for the next year (O. Ajayi 2011c). In May 2012 two Assembly members defected or "crossed the floor" to ACN, one from Accord and one from PDP. This tipped the balance, giving the ACN a majority in the HOA, of 17 out of 32 seats (O. Ajayi 2012; *Sahara Reporters* 2014a).¹⁹³

From mid-2012, Ajimobi focussed on limiting resistance to his rule within his own party. In November 2012 Lam Adesina, the former Governor, died. Tunde Sanni, long-time political journalist at *ThisDay* described Lam Adesina as "the only influential party member that was standing, technically, in the way of the governor" (2013). Within a week there was an initial reshuffle. Portfolios were re-allocated and three commissioners who Ajimobi said were "forced upon him by vested interests" were dropped outright (*Sahara Reporters* 2012). Among those sacked was the Commissioner for Trade, Kareem Adedeji, a member of the progressive Afenifere since the early 1990s who had served in the House of Representatives before Ajimobi. Adedeji had run against Ajimobi for the ACN ticket in 2011, and later complained that Ajimobi had broken a gentleman's agreement that he would step down after one term (Oketoki 2010; Ajayi 2011a; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2013j; *The Street Journal* 2013; Sanni 2013).

However, a further reshuffle initiated in September the following year was even more wide-ranging. Ajimobi dissolved the entire cabinet, terminating their contracts, on September 23rd 2013, and waited six weeks until he submitted a new list of appointees on the 6th November. People within the Governor's inner circle referred to the reshuffle affectionately as "the Tsunami".¹⁹⁴ The reputable *Premium Times* newspaper described it as "a total purge [of] all members of the state cabinet, including the secretary to the state government, ... Chief of Staff, ... leaving only the governor and his [elected] deputy, ... behind" (Jegade 2013b). It

¹⁹² Ajimobi and Ladoja had worked together politically before, when Ladoja issued a last minute endorsement for Ajimobi in the 2007 gubernatorial election (T. Sanni 2007a; Ogunyemi 2007a).

¹⁹³ The rest of the seats were divided: PDP had nine and Accord had six (Ajayi 2012).

¹⁹⁴ I-17 Special Adviser to the Governor, Ibadan, 22/04/2015.

was an opportunity to detach himself further from potential opposition, and left a hardcore of Ajimobi's most loyal allies as well as some weaker junior appointees¹⁹⁵. For instance, Ajimobi fired his powerful Chief of Staff, Dr Adeolu Akande, whose role involved acting as gatekeeper to the governor.

There was one member of the Exco who remained in the government offices over those two months, on caretaker duty: Abimbola "Bimbo" Adekanmbi the Deputy Chief of Staff. A chartered accountant, he was personally invited by Ajimobi to join the cabinet in 2011.¹⁹⁶ The role of Deputy Chief of Staff was low profile and received no media coverage at the time.¹⁹⁷ Adekanmbi embodied the international, technocratic attitude of the administration. Between 2011-2015 Adekanmbi was officially Deputy Chief of Staff as well as being appointed to lead on all the projects that involved working with the World Bank: the Ibadan Urban Flood Management Project, the Oyo State Community and Social Development Agency and creation of the YES-O youth employment scheme (Oladele and Johnson 2015; *The Nation Nigeria* 2013; *Vanguard News* 2013). The role in the Oyo Community and Social Development Agency (OYCSDA) was not stated on the agency's website alongside the other staff, but a senior member of the Exco¹⁹⁸ described Adekanmbi as the "Chairman" and staff of an Ibadan-based NGO said that in the course of their professional interactions with the OYCSDA they were introduced to Adekanmbi as the man in charge¹⁹⁹. Sources linked to the APC emphasised the pivotal role that Adekanmbi played in the implementation of Lagos Model reforms in Oyo State²⁰⁰, with one of Ajimobi's Special Advisers describing him as being "in the engine room of decision making"²⁰¹. Members of Arisekola's household entourage were of the belief that Adekanmbi had not only the Governor's confidence but Arisekola's too, and they suggested that Adekanmbi could follow in Ajimobi's footsteps.²⁰²

¹⁹⁵ Such as Dapo Adesina, who at 35 (b. 1978) was very young for a Yoruba politician.

¹⁹⁶ I-10 Senior Member of the Governor's Executive Council, Ibadan, 30/10/2013.

¹⁹⁷ There is no mention of the Deputy Chief of Staff in any news articles reporting the process of HOA approving Ajimobi's nominations (*PM News* 2011; *Daily Times Nigeria* 2013; Ajayi 2013; Ogunyemi 2013). Moreover, whereas other appointments to his administration, like the Chief of Staff and Secretary to the State Government, were advertised on the ACN blog, the Deputy Chief of Staff role was not ("Ajimobi Appoints SSG, Chief of Staff, Media Aide" 2011).

¹⁹⁸ I-46 Senior Member of Ajimobi's Cabinet, Ibadan, 24th July 2015.

¹⁹⁹ I-25 Director of active Ibadan-based NGO, Ibadan 15/05/2015

²⁰⁰ F-3 Professor, University of Ibadan, Ibadan 07/05/2015

²⁰¹ I-17

²⁰² Author's field notes: conversation with personal assistant to member of Arisekola household, Ibadan, 01/11/2015

All this suggests that Adekanmbi had a central role in the Governor's administration, beyond what would be expected of a junior title like Deputy Chief of Staff.²⁰³

Whilst the reshuffle enabled Ajimobi to assert his control, the new cabinet nonetheless reflected ongoing obligations to key state elites. At least four Commissioners in the new cabinet were children of powerful local kingmakers, including Arisekola, the Olubadan, the Alaafin and the Soun of Ogbomosho (*Daily Times Nigeria* 2013; O. Ajayi 2013; Ogunyemi 2013a; Bayo Adeyinka 2013).²⁰⁴ Rival elites' ability to check Ajimobi's power on the Exco were minimised but not eliminated. Ultimately the lingering patronage obligations in the political organs of the State Executive were of limited importance as Ajimobi bypassed the Exco and traditional civil service in key decision-making areas.

As Ajimobi curtailed the influence of rival elite political factions in his government, he expanded the role of technocratic advisers. He created ad hoc technical teams and appointed technocratic advisers on keys issues like economic policy. The creation of the Bureau of Investment Promotion and Public-Private Partnerships (BI4P) is one example of the way that major economic policies were managed by new agencies rather than traditional ministries. Another is the Oyo State Socio-Economic Management Team (OSSEMAT) inaugurated early on in Ajimobi's first term, in October 2011. OSSEMAT were allocated N20m a year in the 2014 and 2015 budgets, as part of the Ministry of Finance (OSG Website 2015b). The group was influential, with the Commissioner for Economic Planning and Budget recognising OSSEMAT's "tremendous contribution" to the design of Ajimobi's first budget in 2012 at its presentation to the HOA (Olarinde 2012). Ajimobi explained that 'visionary leaders' needed "a coherent, knowledgeable and committed economic management team" to assist them, and that the team would focus in particular on "purposefulness in [the state's] fiscal operations" (*The Nation* 2011; Facebook 2011).

The creation of technical economic executive agencies like OSSEMAT tied Oyo State into broader networks associated with the international good governance agenda. Professor Ademola Ariyo, the Vice-Chairman and Coordinating Consultant of OSSEMAT, provided a clear line of continuity to national and international neoliberal organisations²⁰⁵. With degrees

²⁰³ Though outside the time scale of this thesis, Adekanmbi was subsequently appointed Commissioner of Finance and Budget by Ajimobi in July 2016, placing him in control of the Ministry of Finance (Lawal 2016; Ojoye 2016; *The Nation Nigeria* 2016; OSG Website 2016).

²⁰⁴ I-23 Former High Ranking Member of Ajimobi's Executive Council, Ibadan, 06/05/2015

²⁰⁵ Mr Joseph Olasunkanmi Tegbe was another member of OSSEMAT who served as a link to the international private sector. He is a partner at KPMG Nigeria (*The Nation* 2011; KPMG 2010). Both Tegbe and Ariyo later advised the regional state-owned Odu'a Investment Company Ltd. on

from America, Prof Ademola Ariyo served on previous state and federal governments in the 1980s and 1990s. His role in shaping the Governor’s economic strategy came with a long history of promoting public-private partnerships. He has served as Director of the Centre for Public-Private Cooperation since its inception in 1995 and is Chairman of the Board of the University of Ibadan School of Business (“Profile: Prof Ademola Ariyo” 2016). He was closely involved in NEPAD, Obasanjo’s regional governance and free market initiative, that largely reproduced neoliberal prescriptions for development through liberalisation (*Vanguard News* 2003; Ariyo 2004; *African Cities Driving the NEPAD Initiative* 2006, 80; Bunwaree and Ndedi 2011). In 2006 he presented at a meeting of the NEPAD Business Group, Nigeria, where companies were invited to make use of international funding for business investment via various NEPAD affiliated-facilities (NBGN 2006, 5–7).²⁰⁶ Prior to OSSEMAT he presented at the Governor’s retreat on “Planning and Budgeting for Effective Transformation of Oyo State” (O. Ajayi 2011d; *The Nation* 2011; Facebook 2011). Ariyo was subsequently appointed to the technical committee of the proposed Ibadan Varsity (“Ajimobi Inaugurates Committee for Oyo Technical University” 2013; OSG Website 2013c). When a civil society delegation met with Ajimobi to discuss the budget in 2013, it was Prof. Ariyo who was called into the meeting to explain the budget rather than one of the special advisers or commissioners.²⁰⁷ Another Professor at the University of Ibadan, who has long been a senior member of the progressive Yoruba elite, described Ariyo’s position on the Exco as “very very influential... more powerful than the SSG, more powerful than the deputy Governor.”²⁰⁸

There is evidence that suggests that the key economic MDAs relied on external consultants, as Lagos State did with the Lagos State Inland Revenue Service. The budgets for overhead costs for each MDA for 2014 and 2015 are published on the Oyo State government website. Each of the 70 or so MDAs submit a figure for “item (8) Consultancy Services”. Thirty of the MDAs quote nothing for Consultancy costs. However, there are three MDAs which quote consultancy costs which are much higher than the rest. Key ministries were the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Economic Planning and Budget. The Ministry of Finance, in which OSSEMAT is based, spends the most of the consultancy fees, budgeting N1.2bn in 2014 and N2.8bn in 2015. Second is the Bureau of Investment, Promotion and

performance and profitability (Odu’a Group 2016).

²⁰⁶ The Infrastructure Consortium for Africa, the Investment Climate Facility, and the NEPAD Infrastructure Project Preparation Facility (NBGN 2006, 5–7).

²⁰⁷ I-25

²⁰⁸ F-3

Public Private Partnership, which budgeted N100m and N250m the next. Third is the YES-O World Bank Assisted Programme, which budgeted N150m and N100m. For the other MDAs who use consultants, yearly costs range from N50,000 to N50m (OSG Website 2015b). This means that the ministries associated with the Governor's special economic committee use non-civil service personnel to a much greater degree than any of the other MDAs. This is evidence that agencies that are important to implementing the Lagos Model, and which host key political allies of the Governor, are insulated from the rest of the civil service.

In summary, Ajimobi managed to gain control of the House of Assembly after initially lacking a legislative majority. This eliminated the HOA as a check on his decision-making power and to exercise more control over patronage appointments of special advisers and commissioners. He was not totally free of obligations to elites, and his appointments reflect the need to satisfy some demands from remaining elites. However, he created technical committees to bypass the cabinet and ministries, placing control of the most important policies outside the existing structures of informal political patronage, whilst at the same time creating new forms of patronage more directly answerable to his office.

The Governor's Role in Policy Implementation

The effect of centralisation of power with the Governor can be observed in the ways the policies were implemented. Intermediary institutions like civil service ministries and local government that formally mediate the creation of policy by the Executive and its implementation at the local level, were bypassed and replaced with direct lines of instruction and accountability to the Governor himself. This means that the state government was highly effective, seeing a consistent and coordinated implementation of demolitions and neighbourhood markets as part of the Governor's urban renewal programme. However, the state government became less accountable as the Governor had few checks on his ability to override local government decision making about the use of local government funds.

Urban renewal involved demolition of illegal structures. Shops by the roadside were the focus, but buildings constructed over drains were also demolished. I spoke to Abubakar²⁰⁹ a former Director of Environment at one Ibadan local government, who had been rewarded for good work and loyalty with a promotion to an even more senior position at another local government. He characterised the difference between Ajimobi's urban renewal Programme and similar initiatives under Akala²¹⁰ as being that Ajimobi had "objective and follow up".

²⁰⁹ DLG1-1 Senior officer, Ibadan Downtown Local Government, Ibadan, 13/07/2015

²¹⁰ See (Manton 2013).

What Abubakar described as “follow up” could well be characterised as policy implementation. This involved constantly evaluating the progress of the project, and regularly holding the Environmental Department to account: “Day in day out he will do assessment. ‘What has he been able to achieve with this programme? Any positive thing?’”²¹¹

What is striking about Abubakar’s account is that his local government environmental service was not being held to account by the ministry but directly by the Governor himself:

“He will come to the local government twice in a week and say “‘Hey *oga!* My brother, go look at so-so-so, it is not good!’”²¹²

He recounted an instance when the Governor had come to survey their progress in the LGA and saw an illegally built school that the staff had missed, blocking a drain. There and then the Governor granted approval for it to be demolished, and the staff set about dismantling the building.

Abubakar explained how under previous regimes they used to leave work around 6pm, but once Ajimobi came to power in 2011 their hours could stretch long into the night, and they would sometimes be called in on weekends. Ajimobi himself would call the local government headquarters asking for the Director of Environmental Services: “He [Ajimobi] will be on the road on his own and he will call you! ‘Come to so-so-so place!’ You would have to go.”²¹³

This was not the only story of of Ajimobi holding local government civil servants directly accountable. In a neighbouring local government that was home to a lot of elites, the lines of communication and accountability between the wealthy residents and the local government went via the Governor himself. A group of the most senior civil servants explained to me how they made sure they kept the public services up to date, and responded to any reports of pot-holes and the like in certain elite areas of the local government. They feared receiving a phone call from the Governor’s office, one of his friends or acquaintances having tipped him off about some failure of the local government. They feared that non-compliance would lead

²¹¹ DLG1-1 Senior officer, Ibadan Downtown Local Government, Ibadan, 13/07/2015

²¹² DLG1-1 Senior officer, Ibadan Downtown Local Government, Ibadan, 13/07/2015

²¹³ In fact, whilst he was working at Environmental he initially experienced the state government’s new capacity implement policy as a burden. “In fact, I nearly resigned! Because he forced us to *do* a lot of things. ... the workload was too much, because we’d been sitting idle [until] then. Haha, very nice. He [Ajimobi] come with his new ideas, with urban and regional planning programme and we now see that we have to do a lot.”

to them being re-located. Local government civil servants are placed by a central state-wide body, and they could easily lose their position in a plum central Ibadan constituency to be appointed to a remote rural posting²¹⁴.

Furthermore, state government projects were pushed through at the local government level via the informal control that Ajimobi had over both the selection of Caretaker Chairmen and local government funds. Ajimobi directed each local government to build a similar market, and two more were built (Okwuofu 2014). Yet, the neighbourhood markets were explicitly planned as Public-Private Partnerships, and it appears that these PPPs were driven by the state government (*Channels TV* 2012). Around the same time Ajimobi announced that the government had identified at least 27 locations for neighbourhood markets, which suggests the state would be taking overall control of the contracting and siting of the markets, not the local governments (*Daily Post Nigeria* 2012).

Speaking to staff in one local government that had recently completed a neighbourhood market, the picture was more complicated. I asked a focus group of community development officers whether they engaged with the government's market building programme. They answered all at once. "No and Yes," said one woman. "Yes, definitely!" said another.²¹⁵ The de facto leader of the group looked uncomfortable and quietened her colleagues. She explained: "The neighbourhood markets, the Governor started it. It is our money they are using; it is not our project but they are using our money."²¹⁶ She referred to another recent occasion where the Governor had presented a cheque to victims of a disaster; "He presented cheques, but it was from the local government's pocket".²¹⁷

This section started with a discussion of the theoretical tensions between accountability and effectiveness in the literature on public administration in Africa. These tensions are replicated in Ajimobi's public discourse in the invocation of the idea of accountability as performance as a justification for centralising state power. The examples in this final section have shown how this tension plays out in practices. Whether in the case of neighbourhood markets, environmental sanitation or potholes the Governors individual effectiveness was

²¹⁴ MLG2-1 Focus Group with Head of Local Administration, Director of Finance and Director of Administration of Ibadan Metropolitan Local Government, Ibadan 06/06/2015

²¹⁵ MLG1-1 Focus Group with Community Development Section of Ibadan Metropolitan Local Government, Ibadan, 25/05/2015

²¹⁶ MLG1-1

²¹⁷ MLG1-1

improved through bypassing formal government systems, especially local government. This enhanced effectiveness came at the cost of reduced avenues for accountability.

3. Popular Conceptions of Transparency and Accountability

Whilst the first half of this chapter considers the tensions between accountability and effectiveness in the Lagos Model, both in theory and in practice, this section explores an entirely different way of understanding accountability and transparency. The central case study for the following section is an interview with a Adediran, popular local politician in Ibadan. I met him through Baba Bashiru, a key informant, whose family I met and socialised with. Baba Bashiru had run a major community group for years, highly regarded by other local NGOs, and had worked closely to get the local government to provide boreholes, sanitation and roads for the community. Baba was keen that I should meet Adediran; he had been in a senior elected position in the local government and had done a lot for the community association. Adediran and Baba were close. Therefore, my connection to Adediran came with Baba's blessing, meaning I had a degree of credibility and trust. His office was cold from the air conditioner and the furniture looked new. The fridge, the TV and even the gold disc at the centre of the standing fan still bore the protective plastic wrapping they were shipped in. There was an ante room, where a secretary sat at a desk to one side, and the door leading to Adediran's office was also wrapped in cellophane. Even though I was a clear outsider, when we met in his official office I was at least distantly related to his social world through Baba and this led our discussion to be more informal and relaxed than some of my other interviews with politicians.

Adediran was in his fifties and looked youthful and square jawed, with flecks of grey in his beard. He was a successful politician, both in terms of working his way up party and governmental hierarchies, and maintaining a strong popular support base. Lying on his desk were a newly released model of Samsung smart phone and an iPad. The iPad background was a photo of him standing together with two men in army uniform, laughing. When we met, he had been in office in a new elected state-level role for two months. He had served as an appointed Chairman of the Local Government Caretaker Committee under two Governors, as well as being elected to the office when elections were later re-started. The people he worked with, both above and below, rated him highly: the local CDC chairman recommended him as "someone who did very well for us"²¹⁸ and he had won a trophy from the national legislature for his achievements²¹⁹. As such he serves as an example of a

²¹⁸ DLG-CDC 'Baba Bashiru' Chairman of Community Development Council, Ibadan Downtown Local Government, Ibadan 15/07/2015.

²¹⁹ I-36 Senior Elected State Level Office Holder, Ibadan 21/07/2015.

politician who has legitimacy among his constituents, and understands and to some extent has demonstrated his ability to meet their demands for good governance. Through our conversation, key values emerged as defining legitimate leadership for Adediran. These values shared similarities with the values promoted in the international good governance agenda, and reflected the same core concepts, but through different conceptions.

Transparency in People

The concept of transparency is a key part of the good governance agenda (World Bank 1992; 1997). In the dominant conception of transparency, as operationalised in the donor community and public administration, this means transparency of information as data. Data is transparent when it accurately represents an external reality (Hetherington 2011). Yet, in conversation with Adediran, and interviews with other informants in Ibadan, the idea of transparency was normally applied to the politicians themselves. Politicians should not hide: they should be visible. Rather than transparency requiring that data or documents or accounts should be visible, this popular conception of transparency was focussed on the social information concerning leaders and their qualities. Social connections in which a politician is embedded and their personal character should be visible. Transparency of people requires that citizens know the personal character of leaders and their social and political connections and loyalties. The key questions in this kind of transparency are: where are they from? Who are they connected with? Within this conception, formal bureaucracies are untransparent when they have meetings which are not disclosed, loyalties that are uncertain and relationships which are secret.

Transparency in people represents an adaptation to a context where government data is inaccessible to many and often unreliable. There is extreme linguistic diversity, with many Nigerians speaking both majority languages like Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba, as well as one or more minority languages. English was promoted as the single official national language by the colonial and post-colonial state as a route to national linguistic homogenisation (Maddieson and Hinnebusch 1998, 286; Arasanyin 2008). English is the language of instruction and examination at all levels of the education system, as well as the language of government (Simpson and Oyetade 2008). However, many Nigerians do not speak English with proficiency, and the language serves as a barrier to education and participation in government rather than as medium of access (Fakeye and Ogunsiji 2016). Therefore, as discussed in chapter two (Gupta 2012), it is not feasible to achieve transparency through written documents.

In Oyo State, literacy rates in one of the three Nigerian languages are around 72% for women and 82% for men (DHS 2013, 34–35) and the state scores above the national average

for the percentage of the adult population who can read a simple letter, at 58% (NBS 2010). But the percentage of the population that have completed secondary school, indicating they have the approximately the level of English required to read and scrutinise official documents, is only 27% and 37% for women and men respectively (DHS 2013, 37–38). This suggests published government data is only readable to around one in three people in Oyo State and in itself cannot make government transparent to the majority. Moreover, idioms such as 'talking grammar', meaning pompous but nonsensical talk²²⁰, attest to the slipperiness of official language, and the ease with which sophists can use words to occlude and confuse rather than illuminate meaning. The unreliability of representations push people to look to other, less manipulable forms of information. Transparency in people provides information that is relevant to ordinary citizens. Should they need to approach someone in government for assistance or to petition them with a request, transparency of people helps them work out who can be relied upon and what their motivations might be.

The idea that “cabals”, small groups of unknown and unknowable individuals, are controlling Nigerian politics from ‘behind the scenes’, is common. Albert names cabals as one of three elite groupings, among mafias and godfathers, where informal networks control formal political processes. Whereas godfathers are generally publicly known individuals who promote and control protégées through manipulation of a mass followership, mafias and cabals describe horizontal groups of powerful elites (Albert 2012).

Mafias are groups of individuals who together form a core of influence within political institutions, often united by a shared sectional interest, either religious or ethnic. Hoffman describes them as a “pressure group” (Hoffman 2011, 285). The ‘Kaduna Mafia’ for example were the core group of northern military and political elites who controlled the central government between the 1960s and 1980s (Takaya and Tyoden 1987). Others decry what they see as the continued influence of a cabal of northern ‘aristocrats’ or military elites under democratisation (Uweru 2010, 169; Igbokwe-Ibeto, Ewuim, and Agbodike 2015). Within the Action Group, Awolowo’s original progressive Yoruba party, the Ijebu-Igbo Mafia referred to members from the same home-town who met regularly at one of the key member’s house in Ijebu-Igbo²²¹.

Both mafias and cabals “operate in the dark and hardly make any statements that could betray their identity” (Albert 2012, 2). This lack of visibility makes them pernicious as they are “more difficult to manage than godfathers” (Albert 2012, 2). Whilst Albert distinguishes

²²⁰ For an example of usage see (Alagoa 1979, 1) and (*Tribune* 2016).

²²¹ F-1 Junior Academic at the University of Kebbi and Political Activist, Ibadan 01/05/2015

cabals and mafias according to the types of interest that brought them together, political and economic versus sectional, a difference that emerges from his analysis is that mafias are identifiable, whereas cabals are unnameable. Cabals, Albert argues, “consist of a shadowy group of people bound together by some sinister political interests”, those who work with them are “unable to say who they are” (Albert 2012, 2) and those who expose their workings are still “careful enough not to name them” (Albert 2012, 2, 4). The accusation of the existence of a cabal represents both the idea that there are unknown people behind the scenes, and that known individuals, office holders, have connections to these unknown people which are being obscured. Albert quotes the Vice National Chairman of the Arewa Consultative Forum, a group of northern Governors, alleging in 2012 that “the leadership [of the nation] knows them and shields them from being prosecuted.”

Discourses of transparency in people replicate the visual metaphors typically associated with transparency – visibility, exposure to light and illumination - through ideas of superficial appearances obscuring that which is underneath or behind the scenes. Akanle et al. (2014, 26) link the subversive power of cabals in the oil industry to their ability to travel and conduct business through parallel channels, for instance through the use of private jetties to deliver oil rather than official ports²²². Albert posits a distinction between benevolent and malevolent cabals but explains how their hidden nature makes it difficult to tell one from the other. For instance, “on the surface people consider them to be benevolent cabals but behind the scenes they are malevolent cabals” (Albert 2012, 4).

One example of a demand for transparency in people was the allegation by Aisha Buhari, President Buhari’s wife, that her husband was underhand in his handling of official appointments (*BBC News* 2016). Her critique exemplifies how government can be seen as failing to meet the standards of transparency of people. She explained that, “[t]he president does not know 45 out of 50 of the people he appointed and I don't know them either, despite being his wife of 27 years.” In the context of complaints about nepotism, where appointments based on personal relationships are seen as a source of corruption, the accusation that the President and his wife do not know the successful candidates would seem misplaced. However, where transparency is understood as making known a candidate’s social affiliations, personal connections and political loyalties, then the appointment of candidates who by their anonymity are ‘unknowable’ in this way, is in itself untransparent.

Furthermore, if the president himself does not know those in his government, then by implication other as yet hidden forces are responsible for their appointment. This means that

²²² See also (Onyekwere 2009) and (Ovaga 2012).

those in office are imbricated in networks which are not transparent to voters. Aisha Buhari made this point when she claimed that those in top posts were there due to the influence of "few people", which echo's Albert's account of shady 'cabals' dominating politics from behind the scenes.

A further example indicates the way that visibility of social connections helps to make leadership transparent at the level of market associations. Lady Ayesha²²³, was a female leader in a variety of informal associations and at her mosque. She defined transparency as "when you are doing something, you have to make it expose" and said it was equivalent to honesty. She explained the sort of case where transparency was necessary to prevent against secret dealings:

"For example now, see that Mama [pointing to a woman opposite] ... you know me and you are close friends. If this Mama give me N1,000 [and] now if I see you, [then] I have to tell you that "I went to Grandma yesterday. She give me N1,000. This is the money" {gestures to her hand}. But for some people they [would] say that "Grandma no even give me anything, oo."²²⁴

Transparency means that were Mama to give Lady Ayesha a gift, the Lady Ayesha should tell me when she next saw me. Through telling me the gift would go from being hidden (in silence) to being in the open, or "expose[d]". Lady Ayesha was on the executive of a market association, and explained how they ensured transparency in a similar way, by promptly making social connections publicly visible. For example, "anytime anybody comes and gives us something", i.e. when a patron or local politicians comes to the association to give them a gift, "you announce in the meeting that this person come o and give us N2,000. Immediately they [the secretary] will write it down inside the minutes."²²⁵

It's hard to tease apart what exactly it is that should be visible when a government is transparent. How is it different if information is transparent or if a politician's statements regarding information are true? The rest of the conversation with Lady Ayesha helps unpick some of these linkages. We discussed whether the current government was transparent and she laughed, invoking a paradigmatic example of un-transparent government: "No ... no ...

²²³ NM4-2 Babywares Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan, 2/07/2015

²²⁴ NM4-2

²²⁵ NM4-2

no. This political people that will use N10m to do something and tell us they use N20m”²²⁶
i.e. inflating the cost of a project and siphoning the excess.

Her example is the epitome of untransparent behaviour as traditionally understood in the lens of transparency as data. Yet, when I asked her to elaborate she did so by focusing not on the transparency of the information itself, but the accessibility of the politicians who made the false statement. She explained how political people were not honest and acted in their own self-interest. Her example of this was their inaccessibility once in power:

“[A]nytime you go there [to their office] for help they will not listen to you...they [their aides] may not allow them to see you. If you are a close friend, immediately the get there like this they will change their phone number or anytime you call them... [they say] 'Hello...hello...ha! We are in the meeting' and when you still call back tomorrow, 'Hello...we are in the meeting.' Is it every day they are in a meeting?”²²⁷

This idea of leaders remaining visible as they move from normal social life into government emphasises that it is not just one’s connections whilst in office that matter, but full transparency and credibility require a deeper understanding of the person’s character and social connections across their whole life course. The following discussion of Adediran’s social connections to his constituents shows the importance of ongoing connections. Talking to Adediran, it became clear that the idea of transparency wasn’t anchored in the relationship that the politician has with his voters when he is in office but in the politician’s ongoing relationships with his local community. For instance, he occupied the post of Caretaker Chairman both through appointment and election. According to models of accountability that are entirely based on electoral relationships this should have fundamentally changed his accountability relationship with his constituency. However, he characterised his career progression as one of continuity and ongoing relationships. In the following quote Adediran talks about how he is tied to his constituency through a hypothetical scenario where he is held to account. He warns of the risks of being an absent politician, highlighting the importance of being visible and present:

“By the time you run back to them, in the past 3 years we voted for you, did you make yourself accessible to us? *Did we see you? We couldn’t see you.* You were

²²⁶ NM4-2

²²⁷ NM4-2

staying in Abuja all the way through, *we did not see you, you did not come*. If you now come and ask for their vote, they will not give you their vote. And they will collect your money! [Adediran and my research assistant laugh]. A good politician will not do that”²²⁸ (italics my own).

Accountability as Accessibility

Whilst transparency in people required that politicians make themselves and their connections and character visible, grassroots conceptions of accountability required that politicians made themselves accessible. This helps explain why transparency in people is important, because once politicians are visible then their constituents and clients can engage them in forms of communication that contain the possibility of holding them to account. The themes of visibility, accessibility and communication are therefore closely intertwined, and generate an overall principle that good leaders are those who are personally close and knowable.

The following quote shows the ways that ideas of transparency were connected to the possibility of communication. One academic lamented how politicians had become unaccountable and undemocratic by hiding themselves away in Abuja during their terms. He told me about a radio phone in show he had been listening to, that he saw as perfectly encapsulating the problem:

“They asked them: do you have any access to your government? They say no they’re never here, and when they are there in their big house with guards all over and dogs. We can’t visit him, we never hear from him again.”²²⁹

The theme of leaders who are physically inaccessible also came up in a conversation with a long-time NGO activist, who worked in the same communities as Adediran. He identified physical distance, say between rich and poor areas, and barriers, like compound walls, as creating a “communication gap”. He continued:

“That’s the problem in this country, the communication gap is always there between the leaders and the people. When they want your vote they come down to you, but as

²²⁸ I-36

²²⁹ F-3 Academic and Progressive Activist, University of Ibadan, Ibadan 07/05/2015

soon as they get to the office, they imprison themselves. Ordinary people don't have access to them any longer"²³⁰.

He later linked accessibility explicitly to the ability of local people to ask questions of their government. He listed the various services that the government did not provide – water and electricity - and how at the offices of the NGO where he worked he had to provide these services privately. And yet, he mused, he paid tax:

“We are not benefiting and yet they collect tax, what do you do with my money? [pause] And I want to ask you question and you are not accessible, what sort of society is that? What kind of democracy?”²³¹

Once the state is transparent and can be seen, the ordinary citizen can insert themselves into that space and has the chance to create a moment of communication.

In my conversation with Adediran, he himself volunteered the term ‘good governance’ to describe his rule. I asked him to tell me about the components of good governance. His answer focussed on the strategies for making himself accessible. All involved physical presence in social spaces, either at the level of city-wide civil society, or in his constituency. He had recently joined the committee for organising the Ibadan Day festival, with the Central Council of Ibadan Indigenes, an influential Ibadan Indigenes association. By being at the meetings where the issues that affected the city were discussed, he made sure he was “not far to the community”²³². Mostly though, he achieved accessibility by being present and visible in his constituency: attending religious occasions, receiving visitors, maintaining a constituency office and generally delivering “human service”²³³. He summarised: “I make sure that I see my people often and often, so that they will have access to me.”²³⁴

A failure to be accessible was linked to arrogance, and seen as an expression of contempt for one's supporters. Explaining why a Commissioner was sacked by the Governor in 2013, a reporter for ThisDay newspaper couched his unpopularity in the language of accessibility, and a disconnection from his supporters. In an article he explained that:

²³⁰ I-25

²³¹ I-25

²³² I-36 Senior Elected State Level Office Holder, Ibadan 21/07/2015.

²³³ I-36

²³⁴ I-36

“[His] ‘sins’ ... are many even to those outside the government. He was reported to have allowed the office to get into his head as he ignored the calls of even his friends and made himself inaccessible.”(T. Sanni 2013)

This quote highlights how accessibility concerns having the right sort of social connections between those in power and their clients and supporters, or more broadly the correct state-society relations. The reporter says that the office ‘got into his head’, suggesting that joining the government changed his thinking somehow.

The sorts of knowledge that are invoked in communication between politicians and their constituents can be decisive to whether the connection succeeds or fails. If the politician relies on forms of knowledge which are obscure and too specialised for the constituent to understand, or alternatively if the politician is not conversant in the sorts of knowledge that inform the client's experience of life and thus what they want from government, then the communication will not work..

In standard conceptions of transparency, information is that which represents a separate reality (Hetherington 2011). However, when two people are having a direct conversation then the information they communicate between them may take a number of forms, not just as a debate over whose representation of an external reality is the most accurate. Some information is embodied, rather than representational. Someone's hunger or tiredness is in itself a form of embodied information, and communication opens the possibility that this information may become animated and have effects in the world. If you are insensitive to such information, if you can't understand or hear it, if you have no empathy, then you are not really communicating. Face to face access is so vital because it allows embodied experience to become a form of information, whereas communication through letters or texts rules out the interpretation of such experiences as relevant information. I use two examples from Adediran to elaborate what demonstrations of ‘human face’ involves.

Once accessibility is achieved and people from the community have managed to find themselves face-to-face with their local politician, there are values that influence how good politicians should interact with their constituents in this private setting. I asked Adediran what would he do if someone came to his door right now, asking for N5,000 to pay their wife's hospital fees? His initial response was that this was “common, so common in politics” and for him “it's happening every day”.²³⁵ He believed it was because of poverty. “But not

²³⁵

everything is money,” he said, “Attend to such a person in a *polite* manner.”²³⁶ He explained how he would deal with requests that were too onerous. Rather than giving the N5,000 he would gently lower the man’s expectations: “‘Ah, sorry, I do not have that kind of money. I have two naira, let’s share it. Have this.’ Then that will not be the end. I will then try to assist.”²³⁷

He might ‘assist’ by following up with the case and helping the man move his wife to a government hospital where the fees were lower. This didn’t involve Adediran giving the man his own resources but enabled him to facilitate a solution to the constituent’s problem. He concluded that this approach normally worked quite well: “The man, they will appreciate.”²³⁸

Another story reinforced the point that treating people well could make up for lack of funds. He told me about someone who had come to visit him that morning. A man had visited his constituency office asking for several thousand naira to pay his daughter’s termly school fees so she could go back to school:

“I made him happy. To make him happy is not to give him money! But I made him happy, with what he heard from my mouth. Yes! Encouragement!...

I told him 'my brother, this [economic strife] is general [affecting many people]. With all this economic things ... it is general.' By the time I told him what has happened to some other people, he was saying 'Thank god!' That’s just it.

When he was going I said 'what I have for transport.' [gestures offering something in his hand] I give him hope. I try raise their hope, don’t darken their hope, so that they will soon know that oh, they will be encouraged.”²³⁹

The ‘transport’ money would be a few small notes, perhaps N100, much less than the requested amount. He predicted that now, should someone ask his visitor for his opinion on Adediran, they would say 'Ah he is a nice person.' In contrast, had he responded by rejecting the request out of hand or explaining that he simply didn’t have the money: “It’s not the

²³⁶ I-36

²³⁷ I-36

²³⁸ I-36

²³⁹ I-36

best.”²⁴⁰ Therefore, interpersonal interactions between patrons and clients matter, even when the material outcome of the interaction is the same, and the constituent goes home with far less money than he requested.

Of course, the conclusions to be drawn from this discussion are limited by the fact that it is the recounting of an interaction, not a direct observation, so Adediran’s story may be embellished, edited or entirely false. Furthermore, it is only his perspective as a politician, not the constituent’s. Even if Adediran’s account is factually accurate in terms of the words spoken in the interaction, the client’s interpretation of the interaction may have been different; perhaps they were disappointed or dissatisfied. However, he had been successful over almost 15 years in politics and had won elections to a variety of posts. Significantly, the NGO who put us in touch had a very low opinion of many of the politicians in Ibadan, but regarded Adediran highly²⁴¹. For Adediran, the way he treated people when they ‘accessed’ him was important for maintaining his reputation and support base.

Carry the People Along

Further evidence of the importance of the themes of transparency in people, accessibility and empathy, is the ubiquity of an idiom that encapsulates all three elements: to carry people along.

Adediran gave an account of his own political career and why he thought he’d been successful. He explained how his initial appointment to the Caretaker Committee laid the groundwork for his subsequent election to the role:

“Within these 7 months you will have seen my ability to *carry people along*, you would have seen that charisma in me that I have people in mind, you will have seen that I have ability to run good governance.”²⁴² [italics my own]

In Nigerian newspapers and in general conversation, the phrase he “carried the people along” is used frequently. To carry someone along is a widespread and ubiquitous discourse that is used when evaluating how leaders or people with power have behaved, or when urging them to do something. The following examples show how it refers to some form of

²⁴⁰ I-36

²⁴¹ DLG-CDC 'Baba Bashiru' Chairman of Community Development Council, Downtown Local Government, Ibadan 15/07/2015

²⁴² I-36

relationship between rulers and the ruled, but includes a constellation of elements covering inclusion and consultation.

The first example comes from an article in Vanguard newspaper. Following the election many months before, a youth group responded to rumours that Buhari was going to announce a round of political appointments.

“The Youth wing of Ohanaeze Ndigbo has urged President Muhammadu Buhari to *carry every section of the country along* in making appointments to positions in his administration.”[italics my own] (Alaribe 2015)

Later in the article the journalist clarifies what prompted the Youth Wing to make the statement: the fear that the President was appointing people on a sectional basis, instead the leader of the Youth Wing implores him “that appointments should be spread among the six geo-political zones of the country.” This quote implicitly contrasts ‘carrying people along’ with leaving some people behind; everyone should be included in the benefits Buhari has to offer. In this sense it could be seen as a form of distributional equality or fairness: if I am moving upwards by getting more resources, then I should share my resources with others, so that they are moving too.

The next example foregrounds a more consultative meaning, where carrying people along is part of an obligation to communication. It occurred in conversation with one of the market leaders at the new Neighbourhood Market. One of the problems with Neighbourhood Market was that the layout of the access road made the market hard to see from the busy main road, leading to fewer customers than if it were visible. A provisions seller who was on the executive committee explained that this was a problem of poor planning; the architects didn’t think to draw on the traders’ experience. She lamented that the architects “didn’t carry the traders along.”²⁴³ In this usage, to carry along suggested something closer to ‘consult with’. The concept of carrying people along was anchored in communication. Later in the conversation there was further evidence that the phrase “to carry along” articulated the value this communicative connection. When I asked if the Governor carries people along, she replied “Yes so far. We tell him what we want and he listens. He’s an open minded person.” Her response highlighted the value of being able to speak to the governor and be heard.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ NM1-5 Provisions Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 13/05/2015

²⁴⁴ NM1-5

To carry people along means to keep you and them in the same communicative space. To carry people along is related to what scholars have termed answerability, the right of the people to ask questions and get a response, and the obligation of leaders to provide one (Peter Newell and Wheeler 2006, 2). To pose questions and receive answers you have to be in the same conversation as your interlocutor. Carrying along includes elements of speaking and listening: you may need to persuade people for them to understand your answers, but you also need to be able to listen. Rather than the movement implied in 'carry along' relating to people being moved, or propelled, by economic progress, it is a movement that maintains closeness or proximity. If you don't carry people along, then you risk ending up so far apart that you can no longer have a conversation. Overall, popular conceptions of good governance include elements of transparency and accountability but interpreted in ways that connect with ordinary peoples' experiences of politics and interactions with leaders in everyday situations. How did these values shape the popular reaction to the Lagos Model's logic of 'up and out'?

4. Tensions Between the Lagos Model and Popular Conceptions of Accountability

In discussions of transparency of data, factors like accuracy, availability and legibility of data influence the extent to which transparent information is actually meaningful to different audiences. These concerns are retained in the conception of transparency in people, where the social information must be accurate, available and legible, but these are defined by different standards. This section considers how certain aspects of the Lagos Model are in tensions with the transparency in people with regards to the relationships between Ajimobi and his political allies in the southwest.

The first example analyses perceptions of the relationship between Ajimobi, Tinubu and global networks. These relationships are seen to violate the value of transparency in people. Transparency practices that Ajimobi and Tinubu use to render themselves transparent to the international community, by meeting accounting and anti-corruption standards, are interpreted as just another form of opacity, used by the southwestern leaders to hide what they are really doing. The analysis draws on frequently propogated conspiracy theories to highlight some of the ways that Tinubu's engagement with international and business networks are interpreted as suspicious. This is not to say that conspiracy theories are reliable or factually correct, but they give us access to common anxieties which lack expression in more respectable forms.

The second example picks up on one specific aspect of these conspiracy theories: the claim that Ajimobi's policies of infrastructure development are driven by Tinubu's business interests. It presents my respondent's conspiratorial accounts of why certain firms benefit from infrastructure contracts in Oyo state and why some lose out. These conspiracies reflect a desire for transparency in people, which is not being met through current contracting practices, which instead favour government effectiveness and financial sustainability. Together, these examples reveal that elements of the Lagos Model which are seen by donors as furthering the aims of good governance, may in fact lessen Ajimobi's claim to transparency and accountability in the eyes of his constituents.

Tinubu

The importance of Tinubu to Ajimobi's rise to power is not disputed. Tinubu has been decisive in Ajimobi's political career: he was key to Ajimobi's campaign attempt in 2007, his return to the ACN in 2011 and his 2011 election bid. Adebaniyi's detailed insider's account of Yoruba elite politics in the 2000s attests to Tinubu's "pivotal role" in the election of all the

ACN leaders in the southwest between 2007 and 2011 (Adebanwi 2014, 223). Sources in Ajimobi's campaign headquarters described Tinubu as "very supportive"²⁴⁵ in Ajimobi's rise to power. Tinubu plays a godfather role to Ajimobi, which is not in itself seen as negative or un-transparent per se. Indeed, as discussed above, Albert identifies both benevolent and malevolent godfathers, and the relationship is often explicit and transparent. Due to the prevalence of godfatherism in Nigeria, many respondents naturally assumed that Tinubu's financial backing came with strings attached. As one journalist explained, "[h]e's not Santa Claus, he has to recoup his money"²⁴⁶. This isn't a controversial statement in Nigeria, where showing 'appreciation' to one's patrons is a well-policed social norm. For instance, much of the debate around the Ladoja impeachment in 2006 was about the sins of 'ingratitude' and how to negotiate political debts. Rather, it was what Tinubu represented to different political audiences that was seen as potentially untransparent, and where tensions can be observed between the Lagos Model and grassroots conceptions of good governance.

According to the Lagos Model, Ajimobi's cooperation with Tinubu was evidence of an enlightened orientation to development, where decisions were to be made at the regional level and connections to international resources, knowledge and people were to be maximised. Tinubu embodied a twenty-first century conception of *olaju* as engagement with modern private sector principles. In July 2013 Ajimobi and the ACN Governor of Osun state appointed Tinubu to the position of Chancellor at LAUTECH, a university jointly controlled by both states. Ajimobi noted that Tinubu had "an international network" that would help the school and he wanted LAUTECH to become a world-class institution (*The Nation* 2013).

Evaluated against grassroots conceptions of good governance, Tinubu's outward facing connections take on a very different meaning. Tinubu maintained a presence in Ajimobi's policies in various ways that raised suspicions about what the relationship between them was, and what obligations it placed Ajimobi under. Moreover, Tinubu himself represented connections to a wider world of remote 'international' connections that were unfathomable and beyond the horizons of Oyo State.

Knowledge of international professional norms and practices was seen as a source of untransparency because through international exposure Tinubu knew how to be corrupt whilst looking clean. People explained that what differentiated Tinubu from the likes of

²⁴⁵ I-28 Local Level APC Politician and Member of Ajimobi's Campaign Team, Ibadan, 26/05/2015

²⁴⁶ I-38 Political Journalist at a major national newspaper, Ibadan 25/07/2015

Adedibu is, as the journalist put it: “He’s not to walk into the treasury and cart away funds.” Tinubu’s perceived adeptness at utilising knowledge of international standards and systems - his success in cultivating the new international capitalist form of *olaju* – enabled him to engage in one sort of behaviour whilst projecting an illusion of another. As ubiquitous as the belief that Tinubu has merged state and personal interests, is the belief that no one would ever be able to prove it. One source pointed to a lapsed investigation into a tax-collection company in Lagos, “but there was no trail”²⁴⁷. A senior journalist, working in the southwest for a major national newspaper said that their investigations had shown that Tinubu had a hand in government contracts but “on paper you will not find any trace ... rather than employing impunities like the PDP would do, they must design a clever way of approaching some of these things.”²⁴⁸ According to this interpretation, a familiarity with international norms of good governance, indeed the knowledge of how to conform to international standards of transparency, enabled Tinubu and others pursuing the Lagos Model to engage in untransparent behaviour.

Commentators, political opponents and gossip websites promote conspiracy theories that link Tinubu’s political domination of the southwest to his business “empire” (Okpi 2014). SocietyNowNG.com (2011) claimed in 2011 that any Governor under his patronage must enter a “legal but intricate business arrangement with the party leader’s vehicle of commerce – directly or indirectly – to help recoup expended resources and make gains”. Another article posted on Pointblank News and widely reposted, specifically links those companies involved in Lagos public-private partnerships, such as Alpha Beta Consulting and Lekki Concession Company, to Tinubu’s status as “the emerging dictator And emperor of the south west” (Nkordeh 2012).²⁴⁹

As discussed above in relation to cabals, the concept of transparency in people is often expressed in idioms of a superficial surface impression obscuring a malevolent reality of unseen actors, connections and loyalties. This same metaphorical structure can be seen in conspiracy theories about Bola Tinubu. One article on Point Blank News contrasts “the rise of another seemingly righteous leader, General Buhari” – i.e. the benevolent surface image –

²⁴⁷ F-1

²⁴⁸ I-38

²⁴⁹ For similar claims on other websites see: <http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/exclusive/tinubus-massive-looting-of-lagos-uncovered/>; <http://thestreetjournal.org/2015/01/advertorial-pdp-fights-back-names-bola-tinubu-nigerias-most-corrupt-person/>; <http://247latestnewsupdate.com/2013/06/30/nigerian-corruption-a-higher-level-tinubus-massive-looting-of-lagos-uncovered/>

with what it claims is the hidden real reason for Buhari's rise, "criminal activity engaged in by one Mr. Bola Ahmed Tinubu" (Kayode 2015). Whilst his connections to international networks are celebrated by his allies (as in the LAUTECH example above), a common trope in conspiracy theories about him is that Tinubu's origins and identity are not transparent. Articles accuse him of using fake names (*News of the People* 2012). This both implies that he engages in fraudulent behaviour, but more importantly in the context of legitimate leadership in Yorubaland, places him outside of a traceable ancestral lineage. Similarly, the accusation that Tinubu oversees a conspiracy to use superficially legal companies to construct shady networks replicates this structure of misleading and untransparent.

Contractors

A second example of a tension between the Lagos Model and popular conceptions of good governance is how the selection of contractors for state government projects in Oyo contravened the value of transparency in people. Some feared that Ajimobi's economic policies were that major infrastructure projects were only being undertaken as a way of building up the APC's economic base, with only secondary consideration given to their actual benefits for development. A journalist articulated a sentiment that I had heard alluded to numerous times in my research: "He [Tinubu] makes some contractors front for him in state projects ... and that's why they [the APC governors] embarked on many of these projects."²⁵⁰ The suggestion was that governors in the southwest undertook big infrastructure projects because they created business opportunities for Tinubu's companies. A lawyer who worked with local business elites, complained that, "APC central working committee AWC is saying to all the southwestern governors, you need to have contracts and give them to us, or give these companies contracts, so they can build up some money."²⁵¹

The accusation that Ajimobi's government was hiring Lagos-based and foreign companies over Oyo-based ones was a hot political topic throughout the Governor's first term and into the election. In general conversation, people treated it as fact that the landscaping and beautification projects were given to Lagosian companies. There was a tension between the Lagos Model's principle of performance, and the principle of transparency in people and how the benefits of government should be distributed. The principle of performance involves government being accountable through the effective implementation of policies and delivery of public goods. To overcome the problems of uncompleted projects, Ajimobi gave contracts to firms that both had a good track record of performance elsewhere, and had substantial

²⁵⁰ I-38

²⁵¹ I-26 Director of Ibadan-based legal practice, Ibadan, 21/05/2015

financial resources of their own, so that they were not liable to delay the project should government funding be interrupted. Ajimobi was keen to publicise his success at initiating investment deals with foreign countries, such as the prospect of agriculture, trade and investment with South Africa (OSG Website 2015a).

However, these criteria of having a track record and independent financial resources de facto ruled out many local contracting firms which had less capital than competitors from Lagos or abroad, and had no claim to a world class track record. An example is the contracts given out for infrastructure and urban renewal. The state government strategically favoured companies with better access to finance, which in turn could have disadvantaged firms that did not have a national or regional reach. The case of Apete bridge is an example of how the instability of government income with falling oil prices favoured larger contractors with access to their own finance. In 2012 floods destroyed Apete bridge in Ibadan and the state government awarded the contract for the rebuilding to an 'indigenous company'. However, the original contractor lacked capacity for the complex engineering project, and the project was passed on to another contractor. In press reports, the Attorney General explained what happened next. When revenue fell suddenly in the second half of 2014 the government "told the contractor to seek fund for the project while we provide the collateral" (Atoyebi 2014) By January 2015, the choice to partner only with companies who could afford to be paid 30% upfront and the rest on completion had effectively become state policy. Ajimobi referred to it as "financial engineering" and notes the "the local contractors cannot finance road projects" (Oderemi and Alao 2015). This was confirmed through interviews. Local investors who pitched projects to the Governor were unable to fund the project themselves and faced interest rates of over 25% when they approached banks for funding²⁵². Erratic payments from government, or the project being discontinued by the next Governor, were therefore riskier for local companies as they faced not being able to repay debts in the event that the project lapsed.

However, in some instances Oyo elites were passed over, even when they had significant financing themselves, or were working with foreign partners. I spoke to two groups of Oyo elites who were resentful about what they perceived as being abandoned by Ajimobi. Both pitched various projects to Ajimobi in the run-up to the 2011, which they claim he assented to. Believing they would get the contract once they Ajimobi was office they campaigned for his victory, with one of the groups of investors contributing N10million to his campaign funds. They complained that after Ajimobi's first 100 days in office, they realised that the

²⁵² I-26

projects they had suggested had been followed up, but given to other companies²⁵³. There was a belief that local companies keep the money in local circulation, whereas foreign investors would take government money back home with them, something some respondents termed “capital flight”. This frustration was tempered by an acceptance that the benefits of a higher quality project could in theory outweigh the benefits of local contracting²⁵⁴. Nonetheless, local businesses felt that they were being locked out of government contracts, in favour of companies who were beyond the horizon of Oyo State transparency or accountability.

The case study of the Oyo state government’s decision to build a light rail line in Ibadan in 2015 reflects the hegemonic role of Chinese companies in infrastructure investment in Nigeria (*The Nation* 2015; Lawal 2015). Chinese companies, many linked to the Chinese state, have been driving infrastructure investment in Oyo, Lagos and the rest of Nigeria since at least the mid-2000s. The biggest single investor is the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC), which is the partner for Ibadan’s light rail system. Five years previously the same company had been announced as the main construction contractor for a similar light rail line in Lagos, the Blue Line NIR (BMI 2010; BMI 2015). By 2015, CCECC, or its parent company the Chinese Railway Construction Corporation (CRCC), had been awarded contracts for a further seven major railway lines across Nigeria, including the railway connecting Lagos and Ibadan²⁵⁵. Industry commentators note that there is a lack of capacity among Nigerian firms to take on such projects, not in terms of the actual construction and engineering but in terms of the legal expertise needed to navigate the complex legal structures associated with PPPs (IRJ 2005, 2006b, 2010, 2012, 2014; Dowden 2013).

Therefore, transport and infrastructure PPPs represent a major area of state government economic policy where forms of abstract knowledge serve as a barrier to both the participation of local firms in government contracts but also obscure the scrutiny of such, as they are beyond the comprehension of most local businesses. Someone who had worked with Arisekola’s household, including on business deals, explained his suspicion of Ajimobi’s motives for partnering with Chinese companies:

²⁵³ F-9 Ibadan-based graduate and businessman, Ibadan 22/05/2015 and I-31 Businessman and political operator, Ibadan 30/05/2015

²⁵⁴ I-26 Director of Ibadan-based legal practice, Ibadan, 21/05/2015

²⁵⁵ The Jebba-Minna line, Lagos-Kano line, Lagos-Jebba line, Abuja-Kaduna line, Lagos-Abeokuta line, the Coastal Lagos-Calabar line.

“If a local company is seen as corrupt, the EFCC might go after them. But, if Ajimobi has done a corrupt dealing with a Chinese company, what are the EFCC going to do? They’re not going to understand it; they’re not going to be able to go after them. It’s going to be difficult to discover what’s going on, not to mention then trying to prosecute it”.²⁵⁶

In this context of local companies who are unable to access contracts due to capacity and expertise, legislative moves at the state and national levels, such as Oyo State’s Public-Private Partnership Bill 2013 and the federal Nigerian Railways Authorities Bill 2014, represent the creation of economic networks which are neither transparent to local business interests nor accessible (IRJ 2006a; IRJ 2015).

Conclusion

Legitimate leadership involves tensions between the idea of government as a political entity which is tied to its constituents by norms of accountability and transparency, and the idea of government as an organisation mandated to deliver certain outputs effectively. In principle, Ajimobi argues that these two can be resolved through the idea of providing accountability through performance. In service of the idea of performance, the international conception of good governance is a resource to be called upon, because it legitimises certain forms of public organisation which permit the centralisation of power in the Governor and key technical agencies. In Oyo, this provided a practical and normative blueprint for the how key functions of government could be dealt with in such a way that bypassed the rest of the formal system of the civil service. Whereas the Nigerian state has been criticised in the past for permitting the subversion of formal mechanisms and their replacement with corrupt informal institutions, Ajimobi was able to use the framework of the international conception of good governance to reframe such activities as developmental and likely to increase effectiveness. In some cases, donor organisations were deeply involved in the creation of these ambiguous insulated agencies.

However, Ajimobi’s belief that the tension between effectiveness and accountability could be so easily resolved faced challenges in practice. There exist well established popular conceptions of good governance which define transparency and accountability in ways that emphasise the connection between government and society. Transparency in people demands that leaders are open about their character and social connections, lest unseen and unknowable ‘cabals’ be manipulating government behind the scenes. Accountability as

²⁵⁶ F-5 Former aide to Arisekola family, Ibadan 15/05/2015

accessibility emphasises the socially embedded nature of communication between government and society. Leaders should be accessible, and maintain ongoing spaces for direct communication with their constituents. The idea of ‘carrying the people along’ summarises both of these values, and emphasises that legitimate leaders remain close enough to their constituents to permit meaningful flows of information and communication.

This chapter has explained the ways in which the overall logic of Ajimobi’s agenda comes into conflict with popular conceptions of good governance. The Governor’s relationship with his godfather Bola Tinubu in Lagos is shown to arouse suspicions by virtue of its implication of unknowable global networks. Therefore, as the Governor orients himself towards meeting internationally defined standards and working with foreign partners on key economic projects, he is seen as less transparent. Furthermore, there is a sense that Ajimobi and Tinubu have access to unfamiliar international forms of knowledge. This leads to concerns that such knowledge can be used to obscure their social connections.

The government’s pursuit of legitimate leadership as conceived by the Lagos model resulted in a logic of ‘up and out’. The idea of accountability as performance led to a process of dis-embedding the state from political structures that could either sully them with patronage-based demands, or derail their fiscal rectitude with expensive social policies. The next chapter of this thesis reflects on the limits of the state’s ability to dis-embed from society in the face of electoral pressure.

Chapter 8 - Popular Demands for Economic Benefits:

Empowerment within the Lagos Model

Introduction

“This government is so insensitive, lacks human face and basically they are clueless. [Ajimobi] his supporters say ‘If you go to the poultry you won’t believe how clean it is’ and we ask ‘what is the magic?’ and we check, the poultry is clean but the chicken are not there!... He forgets all the time that being in government is about serving the people.”

Teslim Folarin PDP Candidate for Governor 2015

(Vanguard News 2015)

From the independence era onwards, Oyo State politics has witnessed a dialectic between progressive politicians in the mould of Obafemi Awolowo offering long-term visions of progress and their populist rivals. The populists have capitalised on grievances with elite-driven long-term development policies that ignore popular demands for more immediate distribution of economic benefits in the face of widespread poverty (Williams 1974; Layonu 2003; Nolte 2009; Hoffman and Nolte 2013; Animasawun 2013; Adebaniwi 2014).

Ajimobi continued in Awolowo’s progressive, modernist path. He saw it as his duty to provide a break with the past and enact transformation to modernise Oyo State (OSG Website 2013a; Ajimobi 2015). Drawing on his travels abroad and career spent working in a multinational oil company, Ajimobi’s policies sought to bring Oyo State into the global community of modern nations. Members of the ruling elite took pride in the fact that Ajimobi’s core support was among the young professional elites²⁵⁷. His team recognised that few ordinary people in the state had the same exposure to foreign influences, but argued that they could still get on the “Ajumose thought train”²⁵⁸ through what he called “mind shift” (Arulogun 2015). If voters changed their understanding, they could come to see the pains of Ajimobi’s policies as sacrifices that would be redeemed through enjoyment of the state’s

²⁵⁷ I-33 Senior staff member of DAWN Commission 1, Ibadan 05/06/2015; I-47 Senior Staff member of DAWN Commission 2, Ibadan, 26/06/2015 and I-46 Senior Member of Ajimobi’s Cabinet, Ibadan, 24th July 2015.

²⁵⁸ Ajumose is a political slogan used by Ajimobi. See Ch.5 Section 3.

future development (Oladele 2013). These people formed the ‘enlightened public’: the imagined political community who bought into the vision of the Lagos Model.

The reality of how people on the ground reacted to Ajimobi’s policies did not fulfil the aspirations of the Lagos Model to create an enlightened public. Rather than convert people to seeing the sacrifices of development as in their own long-term interests, some key elements of Ajimobi’s adherence to the Lagos Model remained unpopular (Atoyebi 2014). Many of his modernising policies – increasing taxes on shop signs, clearing roadside traders, and fining people for environmental offences - imposed short term costs on the electorate (NAN 2013; *Osun Defender* 2012; Ajayi 2014). Bearing in mind the three key reference points of Yoruba politics set out at the beginning of this thesis, the construction of an enlightened public emphasised progress but neglected, even delegitimised, demands for more immediate economic benefits.

Ajimobi and his party, the All Progressives Congress (APC), was vulnerable to popular mobilisation against it at the polls because they pursued the Lagos Model, which left popular needs unmet. A major opposition figure remarked six months before the election that the APC would lose in 2015 because “people will not vote for roads but what directly affects their lives”, where roads symbolised Ajimobi’s emphasis on modern infrastructure (*The Punch* 2014). Empowerment schemes, where the small-scale gifts of food, money or income generating equipment are distributed directly to constituents, emerged as a way for the APC to respond to popular demands for economic benefits. Empowerment schemes provided a quick and convenient party-building mechanism, to ensure electoral success. However, they had to be carefully managed to conform at least superficially to the constraints of the Lagos Model and to find ways of undertaking empowerment without threatening the state government’s growing reputation with investors and donors as a fiscally responsible government (Oxford Business Group 2013b; 2013a; *The Guardian Nigeria* 2015).

Three case studies highlight the diverse strategies used. The first is a programme of interest free loans to traders’ associations in exchange for political support, which was a high profile well publicised event at the state level. Next is the case study of a local government for which I use the pseudonym 'Ibadan Central Local Government'. Here the local government Chairman undertook smaller empowerment events drawing on embedded local knowledge of the community to build up support for the Governor. The final case study looks at how the Governor’s wife, Florence Ajimobi, organised various schemes with radically different logics: a health programme called ABC Clinics and two an empowerment programmes for women.

The Lagos Model helped Ajimobi and his allies to ‘speak the same language’ as donors, with its promotion of ideas like financial inclusion, community-driven development and public-private partnerships. It provided a blueprint for how the Governor could reconfigure the boundary between public and private interests, such that government activities could be presented as conforming to international conceptions of good governance whilst also serving political goals. However, for those empowerment activities that were impossible to square with the rationale of market-led growth, private spaces and an intentional lack of transparency were useful tools for the government to make sure certain schemes were only transparent to the right audience.

1. Challenge: How to Respond to Popular Demands for Economic Benefits

Unmet Popular Demands and Opposition to the Lagos Model

Populist politicians whose support is based on appeals to closeness to the ‘common man’ have what could be called a natural affinity for short term benefits. Their instinct to assert a direct and emotive relationship with the masses, which is unmediated by the clutter of institutions and formality, chimes with the principle of accessibility. Their advocacy of common sense and rejection of expert knowledge, positions them to then affirm the knowledge that comes from everyday lived experience, and is responded to in the idea of ‘human face’. This section shows this affinity through the examples of Adelabu and Adedibu, as well as more recent political opponents to Ajimobi.

Adelabu and Adedibu are described as “people-based” leaders who “operated an open door policy” (Adeyemo 2008). Adedibu, for instance, was celebrated because he was accessible not only to high society elites but the masses:

“Adedibu mingled with the high and the lowly in the society as could be seen in the fact that he never relocated from his grassroots constituency of Molete even when he had money in abundance to live a life of opulence in choice areas of Ibadan” (Timothy 2008).

The populist narrative conveys a conception of a good leader as one who should know about the human experiences of his followers and respond appropriately. On this interpretation, empathy is the primary route to knowing ones constituents, and their human experiences, rather than scientific knowledge through abstract data or information. One of the recurring motifs of accessibility in these historical accounts is of the leader eating with his lowly followers. Adelabu “stooped to take meals and drinks communally with his admirers in side-sheds and market stalls” (Layonu 2003, 107).

Famously, Adedibu’s ‘open-door policy’ was an open-door both for communication and petitions, but also for daily bowls of *amala* and *gbegiri*, a staple dish. Godfathers like Adedibu “gain their political relevance first and foremost through the goods they grant to clients clustered around rural and urban Ibadan” (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 460). This emphasis on good leaders sharing food characterises knowledge of the people as an openness to flows of human empathy and shared experience. Accordingly, an appropriate response to such knowledge is constructed as a response at the level of human emotion and care. Leaders should feel what their followers feel; if they are hungry, they should feel their

hunger. In many cases the ‘caring’ empathetic response will be to give food or money to alleviate the immediate experience of poverty.

When Ajimobi was in power, the memory of earlier populist leaders was very much alive in Ibadan, and Adedibu’s influence could still be felt. Writing in 2010, Omobowale and Olutayo report that Adelabu was still remembered fondly on the streets of Ibadan as a “political patron who ministered to the needs of the downtrodden” (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 453). The three key opponents to Ajimobi in 2015 had close ties with Adedibu, but varied in terms of how legitimate they were perceived to be. Adedibu’s first protégé was Rashidi Ladoja, an Ibadan indigene who was Governor for the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) between 2003-2006. Ladoja sought to cut himself free of the obligations to Adedibu and differentiate his style of governance from the extreme looting and patronage that Adedibu encouraged. He recognised that Adedibu’s system of patronage entirely failed to meet popular expectations of progress, whilst remaining sensitive to the need to distribute more immediate benefits (Hoffman and Nolte 2013; Omobowale and Olutayo 2007; Animasawun 2013; Albin-Lackey 2012). Ladoja continued to have a large following after leaving office, and continued to have links with both the PDP and ACN / APC until eventually contesting the 2015 election at the helm of his own party, Accord (O. Ajayi 2012). The two other major populist rivals to Ajimobi were also former protégés of Adedibu: Teslim Folarin, the PDP candidate, and former Governor Christopher Akala, of the Labour Party. Folarin was known as one of “Adedibu’s boys” (Timothy 2008), and Akala had been famously profligate and venal in office (*Osun Defender* 2011).

The following examples explore how key elements of the Lagos Model clashed with popular conceptions of good governance and how opposition politicians – Ladoja, Folarin and Akala – instrumentalized this sense of grievance to garner political support through the accusation that Ajimobi had no ‘human face’.

Urban renewal in particular drew much popular criticism. Ladoja framed the demolitions and landscaping where there had been traders as “neglecting the masses in favour of plants and flowers.” (Adekanmbi 2013a) Ladoja urged voters to back his Accord party “for deliverance from an insensitive government” (Adekanmbi 2013a). In the quote at the beginning of this chapter, Folarin likens urban renewal to someone cleaning a chicken house by removing all the chickens. The metaphor vividly captures the sense that in seeking a cleaner environment Ajimobi had lost sight of the point of a clean environment, which is for people to inhabit it. Both Ladoja and Folarin use the term ‘insensitive’ to describe Ajimobi. It is only through an understanding of the ideological underpinnings of conservative

populism in Ibadan, as described above, that one can understand what exactly Ajimobi should be sensitive to: the everyday human experience of the masses (*Vanguard News* 2015).

The state attorney general, one of Ajimobi's appointees, responded bluntly when questioned by *The Punch* newspaper about the criticisms of Urban Renewal. He dismissed the criticisms as the "frivolous" complaints of "erring traders" who failed to understand the health risks posed by trading on the roadside (Atoyebi 2014). By calling the traders "frivolous" and "erring" the Ajimobi government rejected the lived experience of the traders as a form of knowledge. This opened space for opposition politicians to criticise him drawing on familiar tropes from the Adelabu and Adedibu populist legacy. The themes of human empathy and care are visible in the criticisms of Ajimobi as having no 'human face', and not being 'people oriented' (Amusat 2015). When Ajimobi presented his budget in 2012, the Minority Leader in the Oyo State House of Assembly encouraged Ajimobi to ensure that the 2013 Budget had "a human face through eradication of poverty in the state" (Esan 2012). A senior member of the PDP in Oyo State claimed that the APC had forgotten that leaders must have "empathy" and "strive to alleviate the sufferings of the people by providing palliatives", citing the role of alms-giving in Islam and Christianity (Taiwo 2014).

It is important to note that appealing to the demand for economic benefits is not the same as actually delivering them in practice. Adelabu, Adedibu and Akala were adept at signalling their adherence to popular conceptions of good governance, and leveraging the legitimacy they conferred whilst still perpetuating a political-economic system that did not provide for basic livelihoods of ordinary people. Furthermore, these values are not the sole preserve of populists, or in the case of Ajimobi's rule, the opposition parties (PDP, Labour Party and Accord). This popular conception of good governance is widely held in Yoruba society. They are a normative resource that leaders of all stripes can utilise and appeal to, in order to build their legitimacy. However, the dynamics of political realities on the ground made the tensions between the Lagos Model and alternative conceptions of good governance more acute.

Political Threat of the Election

As campaign season started in spring 2014, the government seriously feared losing the next election. One senior member of the APC went so far as to publicly acknowledge and reject speculation "that our party is not in contention at all", due to the strength of the opposition (Adekanmbi 2015). In addition to Ladoja, Folarin and Akala, there was a popular new

challenger, Seye Makinde.²⁵⁹ The ability of these disparate individuals to unseat Ajimobi would be determined by the PDP's success in uniting them around a consensus candidate, a challenge since Adedibu's death in 2009. Ultimately, the PDP failed to coordinate effectively and via the intervention of powerful party leaders in Abuja, Folarin was selected during a farcical primary in November 2014. Folarin was seen as unpopular and inaccessible to the grassroots (Oladele 2015a; Waheed 2015). Akala and Makinde felt they had been snubbed and sought out other party structures that they could use to contest the election rather than back Folarin (Oladele Ogunsola 2013; Ogunwale 2014; Babalola 2014).

Despite the desertion of key figures, the PDP had considerable resources due to their control of state power at the centre (Owen and Usman 2015). With Jonathan in the Presidency, it was anticipated that the PDP would devote significant funds to contesting the Oyo election. Even if Folarin did not have a natural supporter base, he would benefit from the patronage machine that could draw on central oil money for funds (Durotoye 2014; Akinloye 2015). Even when the threat of a joint PDP candidate had been eliminated, there was the risk of a coalition forming among the broader opposition²⁶⁰. Former Governor Rashidi Ladoja ran on the slate of his own party, Accord. He was a formidable opponent as his supporter base overlapped with Ajimobi's. His strongest support was in Ibadan and among civil servants, who made up a significant portion of the state's middle class voters. Ladoja secured 275,000 votes in 2011 without the backing of any major political party (Amusat 2015; Ogunyemi 2015).

The third factor that made Ajimobi vulnerable was the low revenue due to the crash in world oil prices from mid-2014, reducing his incumbency advantage and posing an obstacle to his ability to show himself to be accountable by delivering 'performance'. Incumbent Governors in Nigeria typically have a 15% advantage in elections due in part to their ability to draw on state resources, whether financial or the control of the state's security apparatus, to mobilise their supporters and discourage rivals (Owen and Usman 2015, 9–12; Election Monitor 2015). However, the state resources available to Ajimobi fell substantially in the final months of 2014. In 2011, when Ajimobi first came to power, the monthly federal allocation

²⁵⁹ Makinde was an engineer businessman, who had been on the political scene since 2005, and had built up a grassroots following in Ibadan and Ibarapa whilst switching between ANPP, PDP and at times supporting Ladoja (Oladele 2015; Waheed 2015) and I-44 Personal Assistant to Seye Makinde, Ibadan, 04/08/2015.

²⁶⁰ Furthermore, a switch of loyalties was possible up until the day of the election. Days before the 2011 Presidential election Tinubu had agreed to back Jonathan, despite having fielded a candidate from his own party, Nuhu Ribadu. Ladoja instructed his supporters to vote for Ajimobi at the last minute in 2007. These examples suggest there was a possibility that some combination of the other four candidates would form a last minute alliance.

to Oyo State was approximately N4.2bn and the cost of wages and salaries was N2.9bn. However, by November 2014, the federal allocation had fallen by N1bn to approximately N3.2bn monthly whilst wages and salaries had grown to N5bn, leaving a monthly deficit of about N1.8bn (OSG Website 2014b). This was due to historically low global oil prices, which led to the oil price per barrel falling below even the federal government's very conservative minimum expectations (Stein 2016).

A final consideration in Oyo State was that Ajimobi's campaign promises in the 2007 and 2011 elections were very different to his offering in 2015, and there was a risk that people who had voted for him the first time would switch loyalties. Before the 2011 election Ajimobi ran on a platform of security and youth jobs, he said little about any plans to demolish roadside traders or plans to attract foreign investors (Oni 2007). He had succeeded on the first promise – Ibadan became less violent over the four years from 2011 – but his effort to provide jobs looked half-hearted. YES-O, his youth employment programme, had initially employed thousands, but run out of steam by 2013 and former recruits were complaining about unpaid wages.²⁶¹ His opponents could well argue that they would maintain the improvements in security, and roll back the demolitions, thus diminishing the political capital from Ajimobi's more popular achievements and promising to reverse his less popular policies. In summary, the circumstances of the 2015 election meant that the ability of voters to force the government to make concessions to the grassroots model of good governance was much stronger than it might have been if there was a less viable opposition.

Furthermore, there was a worrying precedent in a nearby state. In July 2014 Ajimobi's fellow APC Governor in Ekiti state was voted out of office in a shock defeat to Ayo Fayose, a former PDP Governor (Akinrefon 2014). The contest between Fayemi and Fayose was like the contest between Ajimobi and the PDP but on an exaggerated scale. Fayemi was the epitome of the Lagos Model's most internationally palatable elements, having emerged from the world of civil society to be a beacon of good governance. Fayose was a populist extraordinaire, described as "the apotheosis of Adedibu" (Ifowodo 2014). Nonetheless Fayose had succeeded in rising to power, and Fayemi was out of office. He devised the policy of "stomach infrastructure" where he gave out bags of rice and live chicken, to contrast with Fayemi's emphasis on infrastructure (Husaini 2015; Adekunle 2014; Josiah 2015). If Fayose could come back from the dark political past to undo the ACN's 'progress', then Akala or Ladoja could do it in Oyo.

²⁶¹ I-26 Director of Ibadan-based legal practice, Ibadan, 21/05/2015

In conversations with key players in the APC campaign about how they approached 2015, it was clear that they believed that Ajimobi had to make decisive moves to save the election²⁶². Ajimobi's spokesman explained how the perception of taxation being heavy, for example, was a threat to their re-election:

“we had to swim out of it by telling people that ‘look you cannot have development unless...’. But at the same time we are being very careful in terms of imposing taxation on the people.”²⁶³

A former high-ranking member of Ajimobi's cabinet described all these policies as “decisions that are not popular with people but are essential if you are going to transform the state into a modern state.”²⁶⁴ The agitations of the PDP loomed large for the government, as a threat to be mitigated or forestalled with pre-emptive concessions or risk losing some “support base”²⁶⁵. The government also temporarily relaxed policies associated with urban renewal: clamping illegally parked vehicles, punishing ‘environmental’ offences and, crucially, clearing traders from the roadside²⁶⁶.

The government had to re-evaluate who their constituency actually was. Whilst they had been serving an imagined middle class public of educated persons, with the 'correct orientation', pragmatic political considerations sent them in a different direction. “It's poor people who vote, the elites don't vote”, remarked a Nigerian academic who has published widely on Ibadan's history²⁶⁷.

²⁶² I-23 Former High Ranking Member of Ajimobi's Executive Council, Ibadan 06/05/2015 and I-17 Special Adviser to the Governor, Ibadan, 22/04/2015

²⁶³ I-17 Special Adviser to the Governor, Ibadan, 22/04/2015

²⁶⁴ I-23

²⁶⁵ I-23

²⁶⁶ F-2 Academic and Activist, University of Ibadan, Ibadan 14/05/2015; I-14 Leader of Oyo State Branch of a major national union, Ibadan 21/04/2015 and I-23

²⁶⁷ Prof Olutayo Adesina, Department of History, University of Ibadan, personal communication 10th August 2015 and I-38 Political Journalist at a major national newspaper, Ibadan 25/07/2015

2. Response: Empowerment

Empowerment is a paradigmatic expression of providing constituents with immediate economic benefits. In my interviews with roadside traders for example, when asked what they would do if they were in charge, all mentioned some form of empowerment²⁶⁸; whether for youths, widows, students, the elderly or the sick. In donors' discourse the term empowerment means to make someone more powerful, increasing their ability to speak out or make claims (Cornwall and Edwards 2010). However, in Nigerian politics, empowerment means giving money, training and equipment to individuals. An example in the media from 2015 shows how these terms are typically used. The Governor of Kano State trained 1,000 barbers in modern techniques "to financially empower the barbers". At their graduation ceremony the Governor announced that each would receive "N30,000 as empowerment package" (*Nigerian Tribune* 2015b). This retains some of the transformative power of the donor definition: empowerment money must be an amount that allows them to do something they wouldn't have been able to do otherwise. A representative quote comes from the apple seller at Neighbourhood Market. Asked if she has any suggestions for the government she replied:

"Bursary and allowances with a well-structured welfare package for the youth ... Government cannot do it all but ... Government should take care of its civil servant especially teachers. Youth empowerment and a more direct approach to implementation of packages."²⁶⁹

In deciding to deliver empowerment programmes Ajimobi had to go against his own stated principles on two fronts. Firstly, empowerment was equated with the patronage politics of figures like Adedibu and the PDP. At his inauguration in 2015 Ajimobi explicitly stated that he was moving the state away from *amala* politics (Ajimobi 2015b). As discussed in chapter five, Ajimobi, his technocratic advisers and core APC politicians rejected the distributive norms of the welfare state and instead emphasised personal responsibility. One respondent condemned direct transfers to the poor for moral reasons: receiving something for free makes people lazy and unproductive²⁷⁰. Another, a senior member of the DAWN Commission, explained the problem as he saw it: "Oyo, over the years they've been used to

²⁶⁸ JM2-1 Local Trader, Junction Market, Ibadan, 03/07/2015

²⁶⁹ NM5-1 Apples Seller and Oranges Seller, Neighbourhood Market, Ibadan 9/07/2015

²⁷⁰ I-28 Local Level APC Politician and Member of Ajimobi's Campaign Team, Ibadan, 26/05/2015

a 'something for nothing government' where they don't offer anything in return."²⁷¹ Ajimobi's Ajumose slogan summarised the belief that it was inappropriate for government to simply 'do things for' the people, rather state and society should do thing together, in partnership. The fact that empowerment is so at odds with Ajimobi's stated politics makes it a revealing case study to see how governments reconcile apparently incompatible activities with their overall agendas.

This section presents three case studies of how empowerment and immediate benefits were distributed to select political constituencies. The first example looks at the role of the Ajumose Coalition Movement in delivering empowerment to traders, the second considers empowerment at the local government level and the final one looks at the First Lady's involvement in empowerment schemes and other key social programmes.

Loans and Empowerment to Traders

Since the beginning of his political career Ajimobi has run empowerment projects of his own, out of a vocational training centre he had been running since the time when he entered the Senate in 2003.²⁷² The empowerment schemes conformed to the set pattern of twinning training with gifts and money. The centre offered young people low-cost skills training in mobile phone repairs, hairdressing, tailoring and the like. One instructor at the centre explained the rationale for empowerment as giving the students something so that "they can stand on their own."²⁷³ The recruits received training over a few weeks or a few months, and at a graduation ceremony the patron of the scheme would give each recruit some equipment and money to start their business. As Governor, Ajimobi needed to engage in empowerment on a much larger scale so that it could support not only an individual Senatorial campaign, but increase the party's presence across the state.

Ade, a senior member of the APC, who held a leading role in the 2015 Ajimobi re-election campaign, explained the party's strategy²⁷⁴. There were four groups who were key to the outcome of the election: civil servants, elite opinion-formers, religious groups and

²⁷¹ I-33

²⁷² AJ1-1 Senior Employee, Ajumose Vocational Training Centre and Ajimobi Campaign Headquarters, Ibadan 21/05/2015 and AJ1-2 Teacher, Ajumose Vocational Training Centre, Ibadan 21/05/2015

²⁷³ At the time of the author's fieldwork it appeared that Ajimobi had withdrawn resources from his initial personal empowerment programmes at the vocational centre. There had not been a round of empowerment for several years, beyond some ad hoc payments to a handful of students. Moreover, the training centre appeared to have been downsized, operating four different classes out of a single room at the Ajimobi Campaign Headquarters. Field-notes from visits on 21/05/2015 and 27/07/2015

²⁷⁴ I-49 'Ade' Senior Member of Ajimobi's Re-Election Campaign, Ibadan 06/08/2015

associations. Their plan was to focus on the groups whose votes they could win, and leave the one group they knew they couldn't: civil servants. Politically, civil servants represented the old inefficient public sector, with which the efficient, technocratic Lagos Model was to be a break. They were a source of both prohibitive social demands for wages and benefits (Manuaka 2015), and a source of resistance to reform and restructuring (Adekanmbi 2012; *Tribune* 2012). Moreover, many civil servants felt mistreated by Ajimobi for what they saw as a vindictive personnel audit and for his failure to pay salaries or pensions in full since oil-revenues fell in November 2014 (*Daily Trust* 2015).²⁷⁵ By contrast, Ladoja was seen as a strong ally of the civil servants and it was assumed that they would back him in the election (*Premium Times Nigeria* 2015b).

This left three groups to target: elite opinion-formers²⁷⁶, religious groups and associations. Ade's role was to mobilise the associations. This section explains how the associations were incorporated into party networks and then presents a case study of how the government enacted programmes that delivered immediate benefits to this key political constituency.

In 2013, Ade started building up a network of associations called the Ajumose Coalition Movement (ACM). The ACM was the main method of delivering empowerment events for traders as part of APC party building efforts. The ACM was made up of pre-existing social and informal economic organisations that agreed to ally with the APC, and campaign for them around the election in exchange for access to some benefits. The Movement was led by Ade. By late 2014 the movement had 168 member groups, including the Oyo branches of the National Carpenters Association, the Nigerian Barbers, the Butchers Association, and a hairdressers association. In addition to informal economic associations, groups of young men - who could plausibly have been described as 'thugs' but Ade called 'Area Boys'²⁷⁷ and whom the government only started 'recognising' at Ade's behest - were part of the ACM.

The formation of the network in itself improved the accessibility of the government, regardless of the instrumental benefits the members got from it. Ade approached the associations in person, to make the case for joining the movement. This was a form of access, and one that created spaces for negotiation, as the associations had something the

²⁷⁵ I-16 Retired Permanent Secretary to Oyo State Government, Ibadan 21/04/2015 and I-30 Retired State Civil Servant, Ibadan 10/05/2015

²⁷⁶ Elite opinion-formers were defined by Ade as "those who have control of their zone" and in the past included godfathers like Adedibu and Arisekola. As it stood, he explained that there were two elite opinion formers for the Government to focus on: Aminat Abiodun, the Iyalode (woman leader of market traders) of Ibadanland, and the Alaafin of Oyo, a major traditional ruler based in the state's second city, Oyo town.

²⁷⁷ I-49

APC wanted: a well structured group of members. This face-to-face contact continued over time. Ade went back to each group once a month to meet with the Chairmen and the Executive. Ade described these meetings as “interactive sessions” where information flowed both ways: he would “educate them about government policies” and they would tell him “what are those things that they want government to do for them.”²⁷⁸

The flow of information upwards was important during the key campaigning period before the election. The members could feed back to Ade about what the opposition were up to, so he could better counter it in press releases. To do this, Ade gave all the members his phone number and that of his secretary. This represented an opening, where information could flow, in contrast to the detachment, and barriers that people encountered when trying to access the state government generally. Furthermore, having the number of a senior politician is a resource in itself, it marks a possibility or potential option for ordinary people that they can draw on should they need to call on someone in government in an emergency.

Crucially, the ACM provided targeted access to Ajimobi himself, who otherwise was seen as a remote Governor. The following quote serves as an example of how accessibility provides space for interactions that are not simply exchanges of information in the sense of representations of reality. Instead they are sites where different sorts of experience can become relevant information. In this case, personality:

“And when it is time for Oga [the Governor] to address them, I brought him in to address them, to assure them that all what the Accord people are saying outside are different from his personality.”²⁷⁹

This opening of communication led the way for groups to make demands on government that were outside of Ajimobi’s espoused political agenda. In what turned out to be one of the most important events of the second half of Ajimobi’s first term, the major Market Trader’s Association in Ibadan made a series of requests to the government. Their executive asked for three things: vehicles, financial support and pilgrimage slots. All of these are short term, private or club goods that they would immediately benefit from. How did the government respond?

The programme of interest-free loans to traders became one of the government’s highest profile programmes in the second half of the administration. Ajimobi and his team often referred to the loans as evidence of his ability to deliver empowerment to the grassroots and

²⁷⁸ I-49

²⁷⁹ I-49

thus counteract claims that his government had only helped the elites. On a calendar promoting Ajimobi's 2nd term, 12 of his achievements are listed with accompanying photographs. The central photo is headed "Welfare and Empowerment", and the only other empowerment related photo is captioned "Interest Free Loans to Market Men and Women" and depicts Ajimobi holding cheques whilst shaking people's hands. A news editorial on 26th April 2015 lists reasons why Ajimobi won a second term, and "the Ajimobi government provided interest-free loans to traders" is the final one (Ogunyemi 2015). An APC chieftain²⁸⁰, cites this as a reason to re-elect Ajimobi in an interview with Tribune before the 2015 election. He says it was a loan to "recapitalise their business" (Adekanmbi 2015).

In December 2013, Ajimobi made promises to the traders, at what was described in the news as an 'interactive stakeholder meeting'. Six market associations were to get N50m each (Ogunyemi 2013; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2013k). Every stage of the process, from the initial pledge to the disbursement, was attended with extensive news coverage and publicity. The promised funds were delivered a year later, at a ceremony at Lekan Salami Stadium that was broadcast by *Channels Television*. 6,000 traders, from six major traders' associations in the State, attended.²⁸¹ The event featured singing, music, dancing and photo opportunities of the governor handing out giant cardboard cheques (*Channels TV* 2014).

The event is framed in a way that balances the idioms of popular conceptions of good governance, with statements tying the government to international agendas of private sector led development. The reporter's voice-over explains how this program fits in to larger processes of economic growth that very much fit within the Lagos Model: "These traders now have a stronger capital base and this is expected to transform their businesses". The Special Adviser to the Governor on Trade and Investment said the programme "will drive the state forward and bring inclusive and sustainable development" (*Channels TV* 2014).

The logic of group patronage – giving the loans in lump sums to six supportive organisations – was re-framed in official discourse as a developmental targeting of marginalised and vulnerable individuals with loans that had transformative economic potential. For example, a representative of the Central Bank of Nigeria linked the programme not just to growth but to financial inclusion; "it will make funds and finance available to the most vulnerable groups, including micro, small and medium sized enterprises" (Johnson 2014b). The loans were part

²⁸⁰ The phrase 'party chieftain' is commonly used to refer to people with formal or informal decision-making power within a political party.

²⁸¹ Ibadan Joint Traders' Association; State Market Men and Women Association; Nigeria Youth Traders Association; National Traders And Market Leaders Council; Oyo State Canteen Food Sellers And Artisan Association of Nigeria (Johnson 2014b).

of the CBN's N220bn Micro, Small and Medium Entrepreneur Development Fund (MSMEDF) scheme, for which Oyo signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the CBN in July 2014 and formed part of the CBN's National Financial Inclusion Strategy.

This allowed Ajimobi to enact political empowerment programmes to build his party support base, whilst simultaneously meeting the current donor priorities such as the World Bank's Universal Financial Access goal, for which Nigeria was a target country (World Bank 2015). Ajimobi announced that the state government had its own target of 80% financial inclusion by 2020 (Johnson 2014b; CBN 2012). The combination of these two discourses results in a peculiarly neoliberal conclusion. It asserts that the government should only assist those who are in the most extreme deprivation for reasons of charity rather than rights. Further, the costs of such assistance to the most deprived are outweighed by its beneficial contribution to economic growth. Therefore, government social spending is justified on the grounds that it is both pro-poor and economically rational.

The external financing of the loan programme also served a variety of purposes: maintaining the financial probity of the state government and opening up non-budgetary fiscal space for Ajimobi to respond to political demands that contradicted his stated principles. The loans were financed via the MSMEDF which was disbursed to micro-finance institutions before being lent out at a higher rate of interest to the traders themselves. This enabled the Ajimobi to extend N300m in patronage at no cost to himself or his cash-strapped government. It also allowed the government to shift the burden of the cost to the future and to the beneficiaries themselves who were required to repay the loans at between 9% and 15% (Idowu 2016). This scheme shows how the Governor found ways to deliver empowerment whilst fulfilling international conceptions of good governance.

This contrasts with how lower level government officials saw the empowerment programmes that they ran locally. In one local government, the Director of Education and Social Services, the officer with overall responsibility for the local government empowerment programmes run by the CDU, described the aims of their women's empowerment as follows:

“After the training the government will now empower them to buy the equipment for them so that when they get to their various homes and start doing something at least to make ends meet.”²⁸²

²⁸² DLG1-2 Director of Education and Social Services, Ibadan Downtown Local Government, Ibadan 13/07/2015

This alternative account of the economic rationale of empowerment programmes focuses on women's coping mechanisms to meet daily consumption demands. In contrast to Ajimobi and the CBN's expectations that the loans be transformative, the Director expressed more limited aspirations for empowerment programmes.

Within a framework of meaning that was dominated by the Lagos Model of good governance, there were still oblique references to ideas that resonate with the grassroots model. The traders are reported as coming from "across the 33 Local Government Areas of Oyo State" to benefit from the governor's "Economic Empowerment Programme." It is reported that Ajimobi referred to the loans as his "own stomach infrastructure" (*Channels TV* 2014). This represents an acknowledgement of the PDP criticisms of Ajimobi's lack of human face raised above.

However, to some extent the brute material facts of the programme overrode the uniform but superficial coding of the project as anything but patronage. The overall programme – its aesthetics and its distributive party political logic – fitted seamlessly into the existing ideas of what 'empowerment' looks like, established over years of political performance by parties of all stripes which ordinary Nigerians are familiar with both from lived experience and TV and newspaper reports. The loud-speakers, the dancing, the marquees, the photo opportunities were all familiar motifs of the generous governor sharing the dividends of democracy with the people.

In terms of the political values on display at the event in Lekan Salami Stadium, the whole set-up was so strongly couched in meanings drawn from the grassroots model of good governance, that the verbal public account of its meaning was unnecessary. This opened up the realm of verbal discourse to serve alternative ends and audiences. It gave space in Ajimobi's speech and the contributions of government and CBN officials to an alternative interpretation: an interpretation of the event based on the Lagos Model and international models of good governance. Put another way, through the enactment of clear and widely-understood forms of grassroots good governance, Ajimobi could do one thing and say another. This intentional ambivalence over the meaning of empowerment events served as a tool for resolving the tensions between the Lagos and grassroots model of good governance.

In responding to the traders' other two demands – pilgrimage slots and vehicles – Ajimobi stayed clear of state finances entirely. Explaining Ajimobi's response to the demand for buses, Ade seemed hesitant:

“Oga succeeded... [pauses] in giving out about 80 to 100 buses. To all these associations. So each association that has the resources, they will give them buses.”²⁸³

Giving out gifts of vehicles to potential political supporters presented an intense contradiction for politicians operating within the Lagos Model. As discussed in chapter four, Ajimobi’s predecessor had handed out similar gifts to high-profile elites, which were then spurned by the intended recipients on the grounds that the practice was corrupt. Ajimobi’s claim to good governance was based on his rejection of such *amala* politics. At this point in our interview Ade was faced with the tension between explicitly admitting that the Governor violated the Lagos Model’s stated principles, and taking credit for an achievement that was seen by key constituents as a demonstration of good governance. This helps explain Ade’s pause and reveals it as a moment of direct confrontation between competing conceptions of good governance.

The Babaloja, the male leader of a section of the market association that was negotiating with Ajimobi, judged Ajimobi’s response positively. He was impressed with the six 18-seater buses that the association received, describing it as “huge money.”²⁸⁴ Yet, the allocation of buses was not advertised in the same way as the loans. In fact, the only online sources of evidence for such gifts was on Florence Ajimobi’s Facebook page. Between March 16th and April 7th 2015, 16 groups, comprising market, religious and youth associations attended small private rallies with Florence Ajimobi. At least four of them are shown receiving 18-seater buses²⁸⁵ and others received APC-branded cloth, motorbikes and a transformer²⁸⁶.

These empowerment gifts provide another example of the Ajimobi administration responding to requests from the grassroots with different levels of transparency depending on how well the request fitted in with the public commitments of the Lagos model. The loan, which was presented as a transformative instrument for financial inclusion was advertised on TV and in newspapers, with Ajimobi and members of his cabinet giving public speeches.

²⁸³ CLG 4-1 Caretaker Chairman of Local Government, Ibadan Central Local Government, Ibadan 05/08/2015

²⁸⁴ CM2-2 Babaloja, Central Market Extension, Ibadan 07/07/2015

²⁸⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/769530949821383>;
<https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/767837776657367>;
<https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/767842286656916>;
<https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/pcb.773042772803534/773041569470321/?type=3&theater>; <https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/761610390613439>.

²⁸⁶ See Appendix 3.b for complete sources

The gifts of buses and pilgrimage slots that were more clearly tied to building up party support, by buying off a group at a time, were advertised minimally, on social media, rather than traditional media, and used Florence Ajimobi as their figurehead, rather than the Governor himself.

Ade confirmed that it was state government money that went towards financing these benefits and that they were directed towards those who had signed up to the APC supporting Ajumose Coalition Movement. I put it to Ade that this was a form of vote buying, which he denied;

“No, it’s not they are buying votes! Because we did it before the election [his voice grows] we are not buying vote! It is just like responsibility of government to the people. ... We don’t need to buy votes. It’s because they were convinced.”²⁸⁷

The network of party patronage depended on group affiliation, rather than individual membership. This follows long-established patterns of indigenous political organization in Ibadan, where clients are primarily organised on the basis of associations (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010). As Omobowale and Olutayo show in their study of political clientelism in rural Ibadan, there are a number of advantages for politicians in interacting with groups rather than individuals. From the point of view of patrons, associations offer economies of scale. Strong norms of group loyalty mean that members face high social costs, and a possible loss of the material benefits that come with membership, if they betray a collectively made decision to offer loyalty to a patron. This enables associations to make credible commitments which make them desirable to politicians in electoral calculations (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 458). This is supported by Ade’s statement that to join the ACM:

“First of all you need to be a member of an association. And you work within the scope of your association. You cannot come and say ‘I want to join!; NO! It is your association that can join. The body will join!’”²⁸⁸

Politicians use their client groups to conduct informal campaigning in advance of elections, drawing on personal networks and relationships to spread their message. Omobowale and Olutayo’s observation, that politicians are seen as less credible than ordinary campaigners, is born out in Ade’s comments.

²⁸⁷ I-49

²⁸⁸ I-49

“If I go to there and talk to them they will say, 'Sah, yes.' But down in their mind they will still say 'He's a politician.' But let one of them go there and address them, they will have confidence.”²⁸⁹

Informal campaigning at election time was a primary responsibility of members of the ACM.

“When it's time for real legwork, I now ask each association to give me five-five members from each local government. And when you now add five [each from] 168, you now have, you see. They do what we call one on one campaign, interpersonal!”

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Again this matches the wider pattern of associations campaigning for their patron, described by Omobowale and Olutayo. Group members “informally campaign and solicit the support of friends, family members and other close associates” often going “house-to-house” (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010, 461, 470). The Babaloja explained his own association's participation in the ACM in similar terms. The campaigning was organised via monthly meetings (either the last Tuesday or the last Thursday of the month) at chapter and zone level, through which they disseminate information. The market association was a pre-existing organisational structure which penetrated different localities around the state. Its members are active already for business purposes, making the association an effective basis for election campaigning, because it had instant reach and a ready-made audience.

The distribution of loans and buses to groups within the Ajumose Coalition Movement appeared to have the intended effect of increasing Ajimobi's political support. Many of the groups that had benefitted made public statements in favour of Ajimobi's second term and the large umbrella groups organised an appreciation rally in early 2015 to show their support for Ajimobi (Adeniyi 2014), including the Babaloja of Central Market Extension²⁹¹. The Spokesman for the Oyo Joint Traders Association announced at a rally on February 9th 2015 that the association was endorsing Ajimobi for a second term (*News Agency of Nigeria* 2015)²⁹².

More generally, the programme had some success in influencing the perception of the Governor in terms of accessibility. The Babaloja was pleased with himself for connecting the people beneath him to the government, and securing tangible benefits. He explained, “they

²⁸⁹ I-49

²⁹⁰ I-49

²⁹¹ CM2-2

²⁹² <https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/743849645722847>

cannot access the government on their own except through us”.²⁹³ From interviews with other traders there was evidence that even just the news of the scheme had a positive effect on Ajimobi’s reputation. Some of my informants who weren’t included in the scheme had heard about it on the radio and suspected that the reason they hadn’t benefited was because their market leaders had deceived them. Therefore, the loan had knock on effects beyond the immediate group who received the funds. This opened the possibility in the minds of other traders that perhaps when Ajimobi got back into power he would undertake another round of loans and they would benefit²⁹⁴. The association leaders gave the impression that they approved of the Ajumose Coalition Movement process, and were comfortable with the quid pro quo involved. The Babaloja noted that they were successful in their demands because the government “needed our votes”.

Yet, there was a sense that perhaps the Governor hadn’t got entirely what he paid for. The Babaloja was disappointed in his traders for not voting for Ajimobi as strongly as he hoped: “people didn’t do well generally.”

“They [our members] are stupid...because the man tried for us and no past Governor has done so well like that. Anyway, they tried a little, only that they didn’t do up to what I expected despite we had series of meetings with traders.”

He seemed frustrated that the networks he mobilised had not been as susceptible to political influence as expected, thus undermining his ability to act as a negotiator with politicians on their behalf.

The connections this forged between the market associations and government are especially important given that for the first two years of the Ajimobi administration the government had been demolishing markets with no input from local leaders. The loan package showed that, in contrast to this hard-nosed image, Ajimobi was a man who could be negotiated with, and the Ajumose Coalition Movement had given them the channels to do so. It helped the government achieve accountability as accessibility, and the arrangement with the CBN meant that the loan package was a way of doing this that did not threaten the state’ fiscal record.

The N300million loan programme was empowerment on a stadium-filling scale. It aimed at building state-wide political support through co-optation of elite actors like the Iyaloja of Ibadanland who headed state-wide networks (OSG Website 2013b). The national publicity

²⁹³ CM2-2

²⁹⁴ CM2-1 Focus Group with Jewellery Sellers, Central Market Extension, Ibadan 07/07/2015

on *Channels TV* and coordination with national elite actors like the Central Bank of Nigeria extended the event's reach, whilst placing limits on how event was carried out. The next case study shows how quieter, small-scale empowerment programmes were used to build support at the local level. The state government drew on the social embeddedness of local government Chairmen and CDUs to "mobilise the grassroots"²⁹⁵ and extent the networks of government patronage to the ward level.

Local Government Empowerment

It is an oft-repeated cliché in discussion of politics in Nigeria that local government is the tier 'closest to the people'. In the 1999 constitution certain functions, like primary education and healthcare, were delegated to local governments with the justification that they would know best how to direct and target resources in their local communities. Furthermore, community groups have a formal role in local government through a nationwide structure of Community Development Associations (CDAs), which bring together owner-occupiers, tenants associations and community leaders. The CDAs are federated into Community Development Councils (CDCs) at the level of each LGA, which connect with government via CDUs²⁹⁶. The CDUs report to the Director of Education and Social Services, one of 12 directors in each local government, who then finally reports to the Chairman. As such, local government could be seen as well-placed to administer empowerment schemes.

This case study shows that, just like the loan programme, local government empowerment programmes navigated the tensions between the grassroots model of good governance and the Lagos model, to which Ajimobi was publicly committed. The programme showed voters that the government could respond to grassroots conceptions of good governance, but stayed within the policy red-lines dictated by the financial and ideological prerogatives of the Lagos Model. Finally, it also opened up opportunities that were not available to the Governor at the state level. For example, the local government was able to conduct cost-effective and carefully targeted empowerment programmes that both responded to the demands for grassroots good governance as well as delivering votes for the ruling party on a tight budget. Whilst this case study focuses just on one local government, which I refer to by the

²⁹⁵ CLG 4-1

²⁹⁶ There are also links between the CDCs and the State Community Development Unit which has field headquarters, with staff who regularly visit their local government counterparts and the Oyo State Community and Social Development Agency.

pseudonym 'Ibadan Central Local Government', other local governments undertake women's empowerment and skills training programmes as well²⁹⁷.

The Chief of Staff explained that the Local Government Chairman and himself has conducted empowerment in two stages. The first stage was in 2012 and consisted of giving out equipment such as sewing machines, pepper grinders and hairdryers, as well as small sums of money as 'take-off' grants to between 450-500 beneficiaries²⁹⁸. The grants were worth between N50,000 and N100,000, and were calculated so that everyone received roughly the same spread across the equipment and the grant. A brochure given out at a celebration of the Chairman's first year in office lists this programme under "Empowerment"²⁹⁹. The second phase of empowerment was a women's training scheme in 2013. 550 women underwent five months' training, in one of 15 disciplines. The training was overseen by the Chairman's wife, and run out of a local school hall to save money. At the end of the programme the women were 'empowered' with equipment and a N10,000 grant. The Chairman had been planning another round until oil prices crashed and local government revenue fell below the monthly salaries and wages budget. These empowerment programmes were important elements of the Chairman's effort to build support locally for Ajimobi. Empowerment was of course not the only element in the Chairman's agenda. It was the 'human development' component of a wider package of local government spending which also included money of local capital projects like boreholes, toilets and drains³⁰⁰.

The Chairman and his staff made it clear that the allocation of equipment was done in line with the bottom-up "felt needs"³⁰¹ of the beneficiaries, replicating the discourse of the Community-Driven Development paradigm (Immerwahr 2014). The Chief of Staff emphasised to me that unlike previous local government politicians who would give sewing machines to barbers and bags of flour to shoe-makers, which would then lie unused, this government had targeted their resources carefully, asking the people what they wanted and

²⁹⁷ The Local Government Council Chairman at Afijio said his council had run women's empowerment and children's welfare schemes and offered support for the disabled (*Heritage Echo News* 2014). The wife of the Council Chairman in Ibadan North said at one of the Ajumose events that her husband's administration also offered empowerment for women through training packages (*TopCelebritiesNg* 2014).

²⁹⁸ A brochure produced by the chairman states that 500 people benefited, whilst the Chief of Staff put the figure at 450. Interview with CLG 4-2 Chief of Staff to the Chairman, Central Local Government, Ibadan 05/08/2015

²⁹⁹ Local government Chairman's Brochure of Achievements 2012, obtained from Chairman's office, local government compound.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ CLG 4-1 and CLG 4-2

giving it to them. As an example he told me about one man who, to their surprise, had asked for a television to set up a football watching gallery. Driven by the principle that the community know best what they need for development, he obliged³⁰². This ensured that “whatever we do for them at the end of the day, it will really have an impact in their life.”³⁰³ There’s no evidence of whether this was in fact how benefits were distributed but it was obviously important that the local government be seen as operating in this way. The Chairman and the Chief of Staff were after all making a case to me for why they were a good government.

Compared with the carefully framed loans to traders’ event at the state level, there were elements of the local level empowerment programmes that more clearly deviated from the Lagos Model and reflected the practical realities of everyday politics in Ibadan Central Local Government. Recipients were not given grants equal to the expected costs of a business, but only 60-70% because, the Chief of Staff explained, “[t]hey too should be able to run around their families and get certain things to augment it.”³⁰⁴

The local governments were able to engage with society in ways that were politically sensitive and that the state government would not want to advertise to external audiences. Ajimobi’s predecessors, ex-Governor Akala and his infamous godfather Adedibu, were synonymous with thug-rule, and their rule was supported by mobilising thugs from the National Union of Road Transport Workers in street violence (Omobowale and Olutayo 2007; Hoffman and Nolte 2013). Ajimobi’s most popular achievement was breaking the link between government and thugs, and bringing security to the state (see Ch.4 and 5). However, this meant that it became politically difficult to associate with thugs, lest the Ajimobi government undermine their successful distancing from such groups and commitment to technocratic politics. Yet, it was politically useful at a local level to have groups of thugs or touts on-side. The Ibadan Central Local Government had extended its empowerment programme to cover monthly payments to groups of touts in the local area, also known as thugs or ‘hoodlums’, as had at least one other local government in 2014³⁰⁵. The Chief of Staff explained:

“we do meet with them periodically. To tell them, how they should operate, how they should conduct themselves, so that there won’t be any cause for the government

³⁰² CLG 4-1

³⁰³ CLG 4-2

³⁰⁴ CLG 4-2

³⁰⁵ Ibadan South East (Okwuofu 2014)

and them to have a face off [confrontation]. We give them certain things every month to maintain themselves, so that there won't... when there is any ... outbreak of crisis, when we call them they will have to check themselves.”

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the concept of accountability as accessibility refers to an ongoing communicative space where the governed and the government can meet. The example of ongoing communication and patronage to touts shows the benefits that this form of communication can offer local leaders. Regular meetings and small disbursements meant that the possibility of communication and negotiation remained open, should there be some unspecified future crisis.

The Chairman's implementation of the empowerment scheme appeared to have been influenced by international ideas of monitoring and evaluation. It was characterised by record-keeping and the generation of documents. I was provided with a print out of the LG's achievements: a multi-page list of small-scale infrastructure, arranged ward by ward, to which the Chief of Staff made some additions in biro, after chasing some details by phone, to ensure it was up to date. The paperwork surrounding the empowerment programmes was even more extensive. As the Chief of Staff talked us through the scheme, he poured slips of A5 paper, neatly inscribed with names and telephone numbers, out of plastic folders until they filled the table. One document stood out because it was A4 and partly typed rather than handwritten. The title read, all in capitals, "CASH", and names had been added in by hand below.

This fecundity of paper had at an earlier moment been collated into a single typed document. The collated document had since been lost, but as far as he understood, it had been sent to the state government as part of a request to all LG's for information on empowerment – that is, party-building-activities – which were to be 'computerised'. Modes of bureaucratisation that would typically be associated with civil servants in a government bureaucracy were employed by appointed officials in the executive in service of party goals. The bureaucratisation was to facilitate centralisation, rather than representing a push towards improved government operations at the local level. When the information was presented to the public it was paraphrased in more general terms:

- “(i) Distribution of cash and equipment to over 500 beneficiaries in the first phase of [Central] Empowerment Programme.
- (ii) Financial assistance to individuals, organizations etc as part of social responsibility function.”³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶

Local Government Chairman's Brochure of Achievements 2012.

As such, the bureaucratic tools associated with monitoring and evaluation of development schemes that I saw were directed upwards to assure the political godfather that patronage was delivered effectively. This shows the good governance technologies of power and practices can be reworked for a wide variety of ends. This links to James Ferguson's wider claims about neoliberalism. He writes that "specific institutional and intellectual mechanisms can be combined in a great variety of ways to accomplish quite different social and political end" (Ferguson 2015, 31).

The local government empowerment scheme was patronage on a budget. At every stage the Chairman found ways to reduce the costs and extend the reach of the programmes. Those initially empowered were incorporated into a network of contacts who could be called upon in the future to take on apprentices sent to them by the Chairman, allowing him to claim to have empowered a second round of recruits. The use of the school for the women's training event was explained in money-saving terms³⁰⁷.

Most strikingly, the Chairman and the Chief of Staff took out personal loans to help finance empowerment schemes and financial assistance. The Chief of Staff was confident he would recoup the initial costs through his political career in the long-run. This material investment was justified because it was spent on schemes that he was sure would be popular:

"It is the impression that people have about me that will determine what I become tomorrow. So even if it is uncomfortable for me I will still want to do certain things to please people. Because it is when they really understand the way you feel about their plight that they will have confidence in your leadership."³⁰⁸

Partly his confidence came from indications of loyalty and appreciation he had already seen. The Chief of Staff was emphatic about the political success of the empowerment rounds, saying that 70% of the recipients had 'been loyal': "That's why up until today we still have some people that have felt very loyal to the government and the party." In other words, the Chief of Staff was so sure empowerment schemes would make people think of him as a good politician, that he was betting his own finances on it.

The First Lady

This final case study looks at how the Governor and his wife, Florence Ajimobi, used the semi-official Office of the First Lady to meet political objectives and cultivate economic flows that contradicted the stated principles of financial probity and anti-corruption of the

³⁰⁷ CLG 4-2

³⁰⁸ CLG 4-2

Lagos Model. The wives of Governors, local government Chairmen and the President have long been famed for running “post-hoc, uncoordinated and cosmetic” ‘pet’ projects (Ihonvbere 1993, 146). Though the First Lady role is not constitutionally defined, the “First Lady Syndrome” has become a familiar feature of Nigerian public administration (Smith 2010). For instance President Jonathan’s wife had a major media profile, sometimes shaping the government’s response to key policy issues, such as the #BringBackOurGirls campaign (Ejiofor 2014). The role is not subject to financial oversight or democratic accountability, and pet projects have been criticised as wasteful and corrupt, such as the *Better Life for Rural Women* programme started by the wife of General Babangida and continued by Mrs Abacha (Smith 2010, 249).

Mrs Ajimobi is from a major Lebanese-Nigerian trading family and has a number of properties and business ventures of her own, including shops in two of Ibadan’s major new shopping malls (Ajayi 2011; *Paper Mache News* 2014; *Politicoscope* 2015). She runs a number of projects out of the Office of the First Lady which is situated in the State Secretariat complex (*Tribune* 2016; Adeyemi 2016). These include ICT, education and healthcare projects (*Nigerian Alert* 2014; *Politicoscope* 2015).

This section considers two of her projects and how they contributed to her husband’s re-election campaign. The projects represent opposing models of providing immediate benefits to constituents. The first is a free, open to all, health project which largely conforms with the Lagos Model’s publicly stated approach of ‘social infrastructure’. The second case study looks at two schemes which involve the distribution of small scale patronage to constituencies on at least a partly political basis. The way that these two diverging case studies are rendered transparent or otherwise to international audiences highlights the skilful way that the same project can be framed so as to conform to multiple competing conceptions of good governance.

ABC Clinics

The ABC Foundation, inaugurated in July 2013, is the First Lady’s biggest project. It has set up ABC clinics in 10 LGAs, each providing free healthcare to around 50 people a day³⁰⁹. Compared to government hospitals, the ABC clinics are well resourced with access to cloud

³⁰⁹ The clinics are made up of a three room portacabin, with one nurse, one computer operator and visiting doctors once a week. In addition to the clinics there is a central hub located off the ring road, with offices and a diagnostic centre.

storage, and online health resources. In ABC clinics, patients pay nothing, except small fees for diagnostic tests³¹⁰.

The provision of healthcare through private charitable channels was useful to the Governor in fulfilling international conceptions of good governance. The ABC clinics were presented by Ajimobi as a successful example of PPPs (Aboluwade 2013). Ajimobi said that such PPPs are especially useful in light of the “huge bills” of this “onerous task” of providing healthcare for the state’s 6million people (OSG Website 2013b). However, in the case of ABC clinics the ‘private’ that was being called to the aid of the ‘public’ was not at the level of economic structures and systems. For instance, private firms were not invited to bid for contracts to provide health care. Rather, it was the individual private resources of the wife of the Governor herself which were used. Whilst there was indeed collaboration between private and public actors, the division of public and private obscures the fact that the collaboration is within the same household. The public duties of the Governor were being met by the private resources of his wife. Official publicity describes ABC clinics as “primarily funded by Mrs Florence Ajimobi, wife of the Governor of Oyo State, Senator Abiola Ajimobi.”³¹¹

The claim that the ABC clinics were a partnership between the public sector public and private sector glosses what in reality was a more extractive relationship. The ABC Clinics were largely isolated from the rest of the state’s health systems. In fact, where there were interactions between the ABC clinics and the rest of the state healthcare system it involved public institutions contributing resources to the ABC clinics rather than the other way around. A source who had worked for Governor Ajimobi described the relationship between ABC and local governments as “collaborative” and he reported that the First Lady worked closely with the wives of the local government Chairmen³¹². Initially the staff were sourced from the state health service, via the Oyo State Hospital Management Board and Ministry of Health, though this had changed by 2015³¹³. A spokesman of one LG said that the First Lady

³¹⁰ I-24 Matron at a government health facility in Ibadan, formerly employed as a nurse at an ABC clinic, Ibadan, 11/05/2015

³¹¹ ABC Leaflet obtained from ABC Hub Head Office 12th May 2015: it is “primarily funded by Mrs Florence Ajimobi, wife of the Governor of Oyo State, Senator Abiola Ajimobi.”

³¹² I-28

³¹³ Author’s field notes of visit to ABC Hub, off Ring-Road, Ibadan 12/05/2015

paid for the drugs for the local centre, but the local government conducts “the general maintenance of the entire clinic” i.e. sweeping and cleaning.³¹⁴

Despite the emphasis in official publications that the ABC clinics were not government funded, they were frequently referred to as one of the major achievements of the Governor’s social infrastructure programme. The inauguration of the ABC Foundation was advertised in an official press release on the government website and statements made at the event implied that the ABC clinics were part of the Governor’s agenda:

“Governor Ajimobi described the project as another fulfilment of his administration’s promises to the people of the State to use the office bestowed on him through their votes to change lives and make meaningful impacts in the State” (OSG Website 2013b).

Moreover, the inauguration was a politicised event. One of the political godfathers of Oyo State, Arisekola, and other political elites such as the Iyalode (Head of Women) of Ibadanland, attended and used it as a platform to publicly endorse Ajimobi for a second term (OSG Website 2013b). As such, the ABC clinics blurred the lines between the private charitable activities of the First Lady, the political interests of the Governor’s re-election campaign, and finally government action in the public interest.

The ABC clinics provide an example of how public and private interests interacted in the delivery of public goods and services under Ajimobi’s push for PPPs. The intention to use private sector resources and capacity in situations where the public sector is constrained is common throughout justifications of PPPs. Whilst creating a private charitable organisation enhanced the provision of healthcare in the state, it created channels for patronage to be funnelled from private firms to further the Governor’s private interest in re-election in exchange for access to the Governor. One source, who works in a health related field and has worked with the Governor for over a decade, claimed to have observed representatives of various major companies visiting the First lady’s office to offer contributions. “When you are in government you have a lot of good will”, he said. “[Y]ou can use your position to say ‘If you want to make me happy, do this for me’. Many times people will even without her prompting, say ‘Madam, we want to do this.’”³¹⁵ Among the bearers of good-will he knew of, was a major multinational food and consumer goods company.

³¹⁴ MLG2-3 Information Officer for Ibadan Metropolitan Local Government, Ibadan 06/07/2015

³¹⁵ I-28

An example of how businesses interested in contracts with the Governor helped to fund the ABC clinics, and in turn promote the Governor's re-election bid, came in March 2013. Three Chinese companies donated to the ABC Foundation. The Camaco / YTO Group, represented by Mr Zhao gave tractors, the Geely Group represented by Mr Jeff Chu donated three cars, and the Shaolin Bus Group made a donation. This is reported on Mrs Ajimobi's own website. She is reported as thanking them for their support as the Foundation "depends solely on support from people and organisations as it is a non governmental organisation that has nothing to do with government." (*MrsFAjimobi.com* 2014a) She ends by encouraging them to tell fellow Chinese investor to come to Nigeria (*MrsFAjimobi.com* 2014a). These three companies were in Oyo State to finalise arrangements with the government for building vehicle factories in the state. The investment plans were a result of Ajimobi's visit to China some months before (*WhatsUpIbadan.com* 2015).

Despite the multiple political purposes served by the ABC clinics, Florence Ajimobi and her team were adept at managing the presentation of the project and making it transparent to different audiences. The ABC Foundation has a lively and appealing online presence: in addition to its own website, it has a Global Giving page where anyone around the world can donate (*GlobalGiving* 2016). The Foundation has the stamp of approval of Global Giving. The webpage lists Toyin Akinfenwa as the Project Leader. There is a profusion of information provided about the project, and yet within the photos and reports there are key silences. The First Lady is nowhere to be seen.

This stands in contrast to the marketing of the project within Ibadan. At the ABC Hub, I was given a leaflet about the Foundation by Toyin herself. The front cover depicted four nurses standing either side of a large logo of ABC painted on the wall, with the first line reading "Access to Basic Health Care", and the second line, in the same size font, but darker, reading "Mrs Florence Ajimobi". The back cover depicts her smiling in traditional *aso oke* cloth. Inside the first paragraph of text asks: What is ABC? The answer: "ABC represents the Access to Basic Medical Care, an initiative of Mrs Florence Ajimobi, wife of the Governor of Oyo State." Under the objectives of the Foundation, the first listed is to "assist the government in achieving its transformation agenda for the state". There is a sharp divide between the information directed towards international private donors on the Global Giving page, and the information directed towards constituents of the state.

In one of the photos in particular, there was a telling visual silence. This photo on the Global Giving page depicts an ID card with an image of the southwest clinic, which I visited and passed by several times in my fieldwork, as it was at the entrance to the local government compound. There was one thing missing in the photo that I noticed as I passed: a 12-foot

colour poster of Mrs Ajimobi's face, with the logo of Ibadan southwest local government at the top, and list of her "Other laudable programmes by her Excellency" at the bottom.

All this is to show that the Foundation is presented in different, and mutually exclusive ways for different audiences. For an audience of online potential donors, it is important that the Foundation have no political links. The presence of the First Lady is fastidiously edited out. And yet, for the Oyo State audience, what was a silence turns into the main event. The most important piece of information for local audiences is that this is a project by the Governor's wife, hence it is repeated throughout their local marketing. However, this blurring, or intentional obscuring of who runs the programme, is only one aspect of the grey areas that surround the funding and organisation of the project. From the information I gathered, it was not obvious that the Clinics were solely funded or run by the First Lady but had significant involvement of local governments and private companies looking to invest in Oyo State.

Ajumose Food Bank and Widows Initiative

Starting in October 2012, the Governor's wife organised monthly distribution of food and sometimes cash to women, under the banner of Ajumose Food Bank.³¹⁶ Two years later she commenced an almost identical scheme called Ajumose Widows' Support Initiative and Widows' Empowerment Programme, as well as a one-off Widow's Empowerment Programme in May 2013 (T. Johnson 2014a; *Sun News* 2014).³¹⁷ The stated aim of the Food Bank programme is to tour the state, visiting a different LGA each month to dispense food to widows or vulnerable market women. By April 2013 6,500 women had benefited, and there is online evidence of at least four rounds of the Food Bank before that date and five after, as well as a further five widows' events.³¹⁸ Reports suggest that the monthly events continued until at least December 2014 (Adekanmbi 2013b). The food bank may well have been the biggest of all Ajimobi's empowerment initiatives during his first term. The total number of beneficiaries up until 2015 is somewhere between 10,500 and 17,000. This far exceeds the 6,000 traders who benefited from the more widely publicised loans programme.

Officially, the participants were chosen either on first come first served basis (*MrsFAjimobi.com* 2014b) or by their local governments and community to fill quotas from

³¹⁶ Facebook page:
<https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/a.327320784042404.80603.311844532256696/327322980708851/?type=3&theater>

³¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/675601525880993> and
<https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/714437151997430>

³¹⁸ See Appendix 3.a for full list of sources

each ward in the LGA (*Heritage Echo News* 2014). However, as discussed in chapter five, many women were given slots as part of membership of Ajumose groups. The events were similar in their aesthetics to the loans to traders event in Lekan Salami Stadium, but the giant cheques were replaced with large plastic basins and bags of food, labelled “Ajumose Food Bank” or “Ajumose Widows Initiative”. Crowds of women, dressed up for the occasion, cheered as Florence Ajimobi handed them their gifts in turn. Photos of the events from Florence Ajimobi’s Facebook page and website occasionally depict women weeping and holding her clothes or kneeling in front of her to show appreciation. The language used to frame the events has none of the vocabulary of economic transformation seen in the previous two case studies, but focuses on the government’s care for women as they provide for their families from day to day. The foodstuffs are part of the Ajimobi administration’s programme of “welfare packages” to “ensure that they do not suffer hardship or go hungry”³¹⁹ because widows are ‘dear to the heart of the administration’ and “food is a basic necessity of life”³²⁰ (*MrsFAjimobi.Com* 2014b; *Sun News* 2014).

Ogunyankin (2014, 201–4), a scholar who has studied the Food Bank scheme, interprets the channelling of women’s empowerment through the Office of the First Lady as a trivialising the needs of women, and indicating that women are not important enough to deal with through formal structures. Whilst it is true that much of the justification for the focus on women reinforces patriarchal construction of gender roles – many of which Ogunyankin’s own informants contest – it is not accurate to say that in the Ajimobi administration it is the unimportant issues that get left to his wife. Indeed, her projects are important vehicles for integrating palliative social policies into a political agenda that officially states that there is no need for such measures. Ajimobi himself hardly features in the publicity for these events, only appearing in one of the photographs on his wife’s Facebook page. His absence allows for more leeway in terms of how the events are framed, whilst the close association with his wife leaves no doubt as to who the beneficiaries should vote for.

As with ABC clinics, the ownership and funding of the programme is unclear. It is “an initiative of her Excellency” in “fulfilment” of her husband’s promise to prioritise women’s welfare³²¹ or more generally “to fulfil the electioneering promises of Senator Abiola Ajimobi” (*MrsFAjimobi.Com* 2014b). At later events she said that the event was evidence of

³¹⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/314027472038402>

³²⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/335753933199089>

³²¹ <https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/314027472038402>

her husband's "human face"³²² and the programme was "being supported" by the Governor³²³. A news report from 2013 categorises it as "part of the poverty alleviation scheme of Senator Ajimobi's administration" (*MrsFAjimobi.Com* 2014b). This places it in a blurred space where the actions of an actor formally outside of government are positioned as part of the government's agenda.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered how the Lagos model responds to the final key theme in Yoruba politics: economic benefits. Compared to the demands for progress and legitimate leadership, the demand for immediate economic benefits posed difficulties for Governors who adopted the Lagos Model, because they relied on a consistent international representation of themselves as having enacted rupture with the previous mode of politics where voters were 'bought off' by profligate leaders with *amala*. Ajimobi faced a tension in the very idea of economic benefits. He had a strong normative commitment to being a transformative 'great leader' who would act on his people's needs rather than their wants, which was implicitly endorsed by donor's encouragement of insulating key agencies from political demands (Oladele 2014). And yet he was forced by electoral pressures to be accountable to demands that were based in the here and now of life for Oyo State's poor majority. Moreover, the precarious livelihoods of his constituents had been made even more precarious with the crash in oil revenues and associated collapse in government expenditure. This chapter has used empowerment schemes as a lens to reveal the tensions in Ajimobi's response to this demand, whilst conforming to the Lagos Model and remaining responsible according to international conceptions of good governance. It has demonstrated the political uses of an array of different transparency practices aimed at different audiences.

The Governor's party built up a patronage network of associations under the banner of the Ajumose Coalition Movement, which consisted of market associations, social groups and touts, among others. This network helped to build up support for Ajimobi and the party, but also opened up areas for the associations to make specific demands on government. The first case study explored how the Governor responded to demands for immediate benefits from a major market association. Whilst keeping his response to requests for buses and pilgrimage slots quiet, Ajimobi very publicly responded to their demand for financial assistance by offering interest free loans to their members. The loans had a large impact at a small

³²²

<https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/a.327320784042404.80603.311844532256696/327322980708851/?type=3&theater>

³²³ <https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/335753933199089>

immediate cost to the government, through collaboration with the Central Bank of Nigeria, and were framed as transformational investments in entrepreneurs, rather than soft loans to political supporters.

At the local government level, this chapter provided the example of the Ibadan Central Local Government and how the local government Chairman and his staff organised targeted empowerment schemes, that helped build up party support whilst on a budget. Finally, the Governor's wife used her position on the margins of government to engage in empowerment and social provision whilst creating non-governmental spaces for the Governor to pursue party-building and economic strategies that were incompatible with international conceptions of good governance. The ABC Foundation is at once an example of public-private partnership delivering high quality public services, a pet project in line with previous wives' projects, and a channel for foreign companies to make donations to the Governor's campaign. Via her Food Bank and Widows' Support Schemes, Florence Ajimobi distributed patronage to thousands of women, at least some of whom were selected on the basis of party membership.

These three diverse schemes are at once typical of Nigerian politics, as well as representing the Lagos Model's attempts to demonstrate to international actors they had enacted a rupture with what had gone before. Ajimobi demonstrated two strategies for managing transparency on empowerment events to different audiences. The first two case studies showed how party patronage was presented in ways that conformed to international development discourses, as well as responding to the financial and spending constraints of the Lagos Model. In the case of loans to traders, party patronage was presented as both financial inclusion for the vulnerable and transformative capital funding for economic growth.

The empowerment schemes of Ibadan Central Local Government utilised the processes and discourse of World Bank and DFID backed community driven development to extend the government's networks into local communities (World Bank 2006b). Both enabled APC leaders to consistently maintain a rejection of consumption-based *amala* politics, by emphasising that their payments were investments aimed at economic transformation, whether state or individual.

The cases of the Food Bank and Widows Initiative, and Ade's empowerment of traders' associations were managed through strategic silence. Both had core attributes that made them hard to re-present within the international conception of good governance. The Food Bank involved the most direct form of patronage, the distribution of food, which closely replicated the *amala* politics Ajimobi had publicly disavowed. Ajimobi made no attempt to present the distribution of food in a particular way for an external audience, instead he didn't

advertise it through official channels at all. There is no official mention of it in the archive of press releases on the Oyo State government website. Rather, the event was advertised on the First Lady's Facebook page³²⁴, her website and in two news articles that linked it exclusively to the First Lady. Similarly, Ade's empowerment events were reported only on the First Lady's Facebook page. Ade's empowerment events were so explicitly linked to the party – through the branded APC cloth that was given out³²⁵, for example – that they were best kept out of sight of external audiences.

The ABC clinics represent both strategies in the same project. Their presentation to multiple audiences involved careful performance of both transparency and silence. The GlobalGiving webpage involved detailed performances of transparency of certain aspects of the project, but meticulous silence about its political connections which conflict with the international conception of good governance as apolitical. For audiences within Oyo State, the political connections in fact constituted the Governor's claim to good governance, and were repeatedly rendered transparent and visible.

³²⁴ It is reasonable to assume that First Lady's Facebook account is indeed managed by her and her team. When a rival account, run by someone posing as the First Lady, was posted in 2015 the person who set it up was arrested (Ogbeche 2015). This suggests that the account referred to here must be genuine or else it would have been taken down. In fact, the case of the fraudulent account shows the corrupt alternative that the genuine empowerment schemes could be contrasted with. Whilst the allocation favours those who are part of APC networks, they do not have to pay 'deposits' to benefit, and they are not being swindled.

³²⁵ See Appendix 3.a for sources: TAMPAN

Chapter 9 - Conclusion: the Politics of Competing Conceptions of Good Governance

This thesis started by raising questions about two key arguments in mainstream donor and academic interpretations of contemporary Nigerian politics. The first is that there is only one conception of good governance that matters, which is the international conception of good governance as developed by the World Bank and subsequently adopted by the donor community *en masse*. This conception of good governance reflects universal norms and values, and can be contrasted with the opposing phenomena of corruption and neopatrimonialism (Dia 1993; Bratton and van de Walle 1994; Rotberg and West 2004; Kaufmann, Kraay, and Mastruzzi 2010; Rotberg 2014). Whilst this evolved over time, it maintained a core belief in private-sector led, technocratic governance which is expressed in a consistent development model made up of a package of policies and reforms: the good governance agenda (World Bank 1991, 1994, 1997; 2003a). The second key argument is that Nigeria, with decades of corruption and the erosion of formal institutions, is an example of the opposite of good governance (The Nation 2009; Cleen Foundation 2010; Amundsen 2010; World Bank 2010b; Akinwale and Aderinto 2012; Adebani and Obadare 2013; Campbell 2013). Within this mainstream view, a thesis on good governance in Nigeria should assist with the task already commenced by donors and reformers, of pulling Nigeria out of the dark and into the light. Seen within this narrative Oyo State is a positive example of a transformation from one side of the binary to the other (Ajayi 2011, 200; Ajayi 2014).

Instead, this thesis has shown that political transformations in the direction of the international conception of good governance are the result of complex political process. The enactment of policies from the donor good governance agenda serves a variety of unexpected interests, and is less successful in meeting popular demands than its claim to universality would suggest. There are multiple conceptions of good governance that shape Oyo State politics, and they can only be fully understood through a close analysis of how normative conceptions interact with political realities, interests and opportunities on the ground. In so doing we can trace the complexities of trying to enact rupture and replace one mode of politics with another.

This concluding chapter presents a thematic overview of the thesis and its main findings. It then sets out three core debates to which the findings of this thesis contribute: the debate about African agency in interactions with donors, the debate about the 'two publics' in Nigeria, and finally debates about the role of values and material benefits in politics.

1. Overview

Ajimobi, and other APC Governors in the southwest, adopted the Lagos Model for a variety of reasons. In part it was to signal their adherence to the good governance agenda and mark themselves out as a self-selecting good governance state. **Chapter five** showed this engagement with international actors allowed them to pursue policies that furthered their political and normative commitments. Politically it facilitated their autonomy from central government networks which marginalised southwestern opposition-held states, and connected them to international networks of prestige and resources. Normatively, it legitimised and, with external constraints, helped to justify domestic efforts to reconfigure what the normative relationship between the state and society should be. It imposed constraints on domestic policy which coincided with their pre-existing conceptions of good governance and political imperatives. However, the Lagos Model is distinct from the good governance agenda as it reflects the domestic political concerns of Yoruba elites, both in terms of political strategies which necessitate alternative policies and in terms of indigenous historical influences which shape the conception of good governance that it relies upon. The history of indigenous political competition requires all leaders to respond to popular demands on three key themes: progress, legitimate leadership and economic benefits.

The logic of the Lagos Model is to detach and dis-embed the state from society to make it more effective and accountable in the long-term. Progress is understood as transformation, which only the enlightened public can understand and consent to. Legitimate leadership is understood as a government which performs, and through the delivery of tangible, visible outputs, proves both its effectiveness and accountability. The provision of economic benefits posed a challenge for the Lagos Model as it was associated with the politics of the recent past, which was seen as corrupt and backward. Furthermore, the constraints of the international conception of good governance and the realities of very low revenues, meant that from late 2014 the state government in Oyo was unable to pay salaries, let alone expand the distribution of resources.

However, the Lagos Model was forced by resistance to its policies, political opposition and electoral pressures to respond to an alternative popular conception of good governance. The case of Ekiti, introduced in **chapter one**, highlights the risks of governments pursuing one conception of good governance and neglecting alternative values and demands. **Chapter four** laid out the long dialectic pattern of political competition in Yorubaland where the populist and progressive lines have been forced to innovate in response to the failures of their rivals.

Chapter six detailed the inherent tensions in the idea of progress. Progressive conceptions of development require a transformation or rupture with the existing system, where 'great leaders' act on the peoples' needs rather than giving in to their wants. This poses a problem for how transformative leaders should be accountable. The Governor tried to carve out a new enlightened public, which would consist of those citizens who understood the long-term vision of development as transformation. In the case study of Neighbourhood Market this tension plays out in practice. The discourse from government suggests that if only the traders could see their suffering in a long-term perspective, then they would recognise that it was a sacrifice for future gain. Some of the more affluent or better connected traders undertook strategies to adjust to the poor sales, because membership of the enlightened public positioned them as members of a valued political community.

In terms of legitimate leadership, the Lagos Model came up against demands for transparency in people and accountability as accessibility. The overall logic of this conception of legitimate leadership is one of connection between state and society. There should be close and free flows of information between rulers and the ruled, and that information must be legible and intelligible to an electorate where only one in three has the reading level in English to scrutinise official documents (DHS 2013, 34–38). **Chapter seven** presented contemporary examples of how politicians draw on these values to contest Ajimobi's Lagos Model in discussions on the lack of human face in urban renewal policies and the lack of transparency in his connections to regional and international networks.

Chapter five discussed how Lagos State under Tinubu and Fashola developed strategies for resolving the challenge of meeting demands for both short-term benefits and long-term progress, highlighted by the OPC crisis (set out in **chapter four**). Access to resources and long-term political control enabled Lagos State to deliver 'performance' rapidly enough that long-term policies like urban renewal and infrastructure investment, didn't feel like pain without gain. It considered the differences between Lagos and Oyo State that shaped Oyo's chances of repeating the electoral success of the Lagos Model, primarily in terms of access to internally generated resources. **Chapter eight** showed how Oyo State was confronted by competing conceptions of good governance whilst having to respond on a much smaller budget, and, after November 2014, in conditions of austerity.

Chapter seven showed one strategy for dealing with popular demands that conflicted with the Lagos Model: ignore them. Within government, Ajimobi devised institutional means of bypassing political representatives and social constituencies. Technical committees like OSSEMAT and the Bureau of Investment Promotion and Public-Private Partnership were created to take control of key economic strategies like attracting investors and writing the

budget. Key sections of the civil service were staffed by external consultants and donors like the World Bank took on a greater role in government. This allowed Ajimobi to insulate key decisions from intervention by more political appointees such as Commissioners.

Another strategy employed by Ajimobi was to respond to demands for short term benefits whilst using the technologies of the good governance agenda itself to minimise the costs of meeting those demands (**chapter eight**). The case study of local government Chairman Ade, showed how empowerment was conducted in ways that ensured it was effective, giving constituents what they actually wanted to increase the likelihood that empowerment would translate into votes. Procedures that originated as tools for service provision can be equally applied to effective patronage distribution. Moreover the First Lady played a key role both in projects that were seemingly paradigmatic of the international conception of good governance, such as the high-tech ‘PPP’ run ABC clinics, and the more crude examples of patronage in the Ajumose Food Bank and Widows Initiatives. She also had a lead role in the distribution of patronage to traders, organised by Ade.

Donor visions of good governance aspire to neatly cleave the technical task of managing development from the messy world of politics. However the findings of this thesis reinforce the argument that such a division is impossible (Leftwich 1994; Mkandawire 2010). In the case of Oyo State ideas of good governance form the basis of politics and cannot be not separated from it.

The case of loans to traders, via the Ajumose Coalition Movement, in **chapter eight**, reaffirms Ajimobi’s skill at doing two things at once. The empowerment event enabled him to participate in a major donor-backed programme, whilst mobilising Central Bank funds to incorporate 6,000 traders into his party networks. Party structures were key to the targeted and efficient distribution of patronage to build political support. **Chapter six** presented a case study on a smaller scale. Traders at Neighbourhood Market used well-established networks around different trades to make themselves visible members of the party networks the Ajumose Solidarity Forum and Ajumose Youth League. Whilst the actual benefits of membership were sporadic and meagre, the efficiency of patronage spending on empowerment was high as it created an expectation among members of future benefits.

2. Contributions to Debates in the Literature

Ownership and African Agency in Donor Politics

Chapter two set out debates in the politics of development literature about whether there is any possibility of African states possessing genuine agency in interactions with donors. Even where self-selecting good governance states like Oyo, voluntarily enter into partnerships with donors, it is argued that African elites are acting upon a false consciousness, resulting from power exercised through governmentality. Indeed, Ajimobi and his contemporaries were not immune from the power of international actors to shape and define legitimate and illegitimate state action (Death 2010). In line with Abrahamsen's analysis of the World Bank's use of selectivity in general, Ajimobi had proven himself as "committed, responsible and willing to govern themselves wisely" according to "liberal democratic norms" (Abrahamsen 2004, 1454, 1461). This to some extent confirms the arguments that African states who enter 'voluntary' partnerships with donors are still subject to power, but through more pernicious governmentality than explicit coercion.

However, to credit the entire normative orientation of the Lagos Model to international sources obscures the fact that Yorubaland has a long history of its own conceptions of good governance as an elite knowledge driven exercise (**chapter four**) (Peel 1978; Adebani 2005). Beliefs that experts in government need to be insulated from political demands in order to give the people what they need rather than what they want, originate as much from inculcation into the political tradition of progressives in Yorubaland as they do from exposure to international conceptions of good governance. In fact, some principles that are implicit in the international conception of good governance but are impossible for donors like the World Bank and DFID to articulate explicitly, such as the need for coercive state action to modernise urban public space to attract investors, find a more confident expression and deeper political history in the Lagos Model. Whilst the governmentality approach sees African appropriations of good governance as mimetic, with a one-way transfer of normative content from international institutions to African elites, this thesis shows there to be more of a multi-directional and historically ongoing interaction. Oyo State shows that Nigerian elites both adopt international political ideas and mix them with their own.

The arguments that emphasise the underlying influence of international donors' ability to shape forms of legitimate state action are correct insofar as the Lagos Model is hugely influenced by international discourses of private-sector excellence and the importance of effectiveness. **Chapter five** showed that this goes as far as pro-Lagos Model politicians reinterpreting the ideas of past Yoruba leaders like Awolowo in new neoliberal terms.

However, there is evidence that Ajimobi made the international conception of good governance his own, through additional discursive and normative innovations such as an inversion of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (**chapter four**) and the construction of an enlightened public (**chapter six**).

Furthermore by focussing on specific actors within the ruling elite, rather than the state government as a unit, agency emerges in new ways. The First Lady was adept at engaging proactively with international donors and networks. Her projects show how governments can engage in activities that speak to contradictory conceptions of good governance, so long as their tension and contradictions are carefully managed. She employed a variety of transparency practices, such as making different elements of the same practice legible to different audiences. As Garsten and Jacobsen (2011, 379) argue, the "processes of making visible and legible certain kinds of information also involve complex negotiations regarding what shall be displayed and what shall remain hidden." The case studies in this thesis show that transparency is by no means a technocratic value, nor neutral in its implications, but a powerful political tool. Moreover, to use transparency in this way is a form of agency and shows that the practices and principles of the international conception of good governance can be a resource through which local elites assert their agency.

Just as Awolowo and his contemporaries faced the difficult task of reconciling the embrace of Western enlightenment whilst still experiencing racist discrimination justified by the same Euro-centric attitudes, Ajimobi and his colleagues faced contradictions in their pursuit of modernity. Members of Ajimobi's administration sought to position Oyo State in the context of a global evolutionary trajectory, with dysfunctional Africa behind them and pursue an assimilation into a vision of international capitalist modernity, "to attain the desired global status that she [Oyo State] deserves" (Ajimobi 2015a). The administration explicitly drew on Western theories that denigrate post-colonial societies and promote an understanding of modernity as a peculiarly Western achievement. His Special Adviser on Media argued that Ajimobi's victory vindicated Fukuyama's *The End of History* (1992) thesis, whereby Ajimobi had achieved "the final form of human government through the advent of Western liberal democracy" (Adedayo 2015).

Yet the contradictions of an African state devoting itself to an internationally defined ideal of modernity remain: the contradiction of accepting a belief in one's inherent inferiority alongside the promise of finding value through transformation into a way of being that *is* accorded value by external arbiters. In light of these wider historical ideas of African underdevelopment and modernity, Ajimobi's discourse of transformation takes on greater significance. The ACN/APC's task of transforming Oyo State is not simply a project of

rectifying 8 years of PDP misrule, but a decades-, if not centuries-old project of redeeming Nigeria of its essential historical backwardness, and bringing it into the community of modern nations. This attests to the enduring relevance of post-colonialism to typically technocratic debates about ownership.

Ekeh's Two Publics

One of the key contributions of this thesis is the exposition of alternative conceptions of transparency and accountability that influence how legitimate leadership is understood (**chapters four and eight**). These values show that there are pre-existing ideas of what transparency and accountability mean, of which the international conception of good governance takes no account. In popular notions of good governance, transparency is conceived of not primarily as pertaining to data but to people: leaders must make their character and social connections transparent. To whom do they have obligations and how can people know if they are trustworthy?

Accessibility shares similarities with some donor concepts, such as voice (Hirschman 2004). A DFID Report defines voice as “the expression of preferences, opinions and views” (Rocha Menoca and Sharma 2008, 5). Yet, the concept of voice is too one-sided to capture the communication involved in moments of accessibility, where people not only speak but are listened to. Responsiveness means that government responds in a timely and accurate way to the demands of citizens, and its outputs reflect what people on the ground ask of it (Goetz 2003, 6; SPARC-Nigeria.com 2015). But the principle of responsiveness goes beyond what people described when they talked about their leaders being accessible. They didn't talk about what government had done in response to their requests, they were describing the lesser achievement of having been able to put their request to government and be heard. In this sense, accessibility isn't an instrumental concept, where the value is located in the outcomes it brings about, but is more inherent. There is value simply in being in a certain sort of communicative space. The conception of accountability as accessibility emphasises that there should be a fluidity of communication between government and the people, with ongoing opportunities for people to access their leaders.

In the discussion of accountability as accessibility in **chapter seven**, my respondents referred to a variety of different forms of communication between government leaders and constituents. Many of the channels of access exist outside of the formalised procedures described in good governance prescription for public accountability. People complain of politicians not answering their calls, not being physically present in the community and locating their private residences in remote affluent areas. These are informal channels, in the sense that they are not codified in law. Moreover, the obligations of being accessible extend

beyond the time of the official work day and space of the government office. Within the neo-patrimonialism framework, calls for accessibility could therefore be interpreted as calls for the informalisation of politics, where formal procedures are replaced by informal patrimonial ones (Chabal and Daloz 1999; Erdmann and Engel 2007). But in fact they are calls to be heard and have their concerns taken on board. Accessibility reflects a subtler conception of the interrelationship between the formal and informal. These informal routes of accessibility are demanded in addition to, not instead of, improvements in the reliability, honesty and effectiveness of formal government.

These ideas contribute to debates about Peter Ekeh's idea of the two publics (Ekeh 1975) and its enduring significance. Ekeh's argument is that the state in Nigeria, which constitutes the civic public, has been so abusive and abused that how people act with relation to the state is totally disconnected from the values they use to moderate ethical behaviour in the primordial public realm. The findings of the **chapter seven** suggests there are clear popular demands for state office holders to engage with society in ways that abide with ethical norms. This builds on Omobowale and Olutayo's (Omobowale and Olutayo 2010) arguments that Ekeh's interpretation of society's attitude towards the state and the civic public is too negative. Demands for accessibility show that ordinary people do have normative expectations of how state officials should behave in their role as state officials, and they seek some sort of unification of the civic and primordial public.

Norms and obligations situated in the first instance in the primordial public – transparency of character and connections, accessibility and 'human face' – draw on embedded social and communal norms that are prior to the contingent formal relationship that an individual politician enters into with their constituents when they gain office for a term of a few years. The theme that emerges from the quotes is that ascendancy to formal office must not be allowed to sever or diminish the informal obligations of leadership. It is where leaders take formal office and withdraw from informal channels, i.e. stop taking calls, disappear from the community and move far away, that people complain about the replacement of accessible informal institutions with restrictive and opaque formal ones. These norms are reliable and intelligible for ordinary people, in a context like Oyo State where for a long time the state has been exclusively a source of violence and privation, under prolonged military rule and punishing economic reforms (Ihonvbere 1993; Agbaje and Guyer 2002; Adebani and Obadare 2010).

Out of all my respondents, Comrade Mohammed³²⁶ had the most visceral experience of the way that state violence had persisted into the democratic era. As the leader of a union he had directly experienced police brutality, and fought in court cases for his members who had lost their lives and liberty as a result of state violence. Yet through his years lobbying the state for better pay deals and concessions, he knew its potential to be a source of benefits and that law could prevail. His interview touched on the idea of transparency as making the state knowable. He explicitly situated his understanding of what people want from government in juxtaposition with the military rule that had come before. Writing in 1999 Bolanle Awe, renowned Nigerian historian and women's rights activist, noted the pervasive sense of disjuncture at the heart of Nigerian society. She wrote, "There is no convergence in thoughts, objectives and actions between the rulers and the ruled" (Awe 1999, 13) Comrade Mohammed said, "those who first came, they came immediately after the military era, and the euphoria then was 'this our government, this our government.'" He explained that in this context people were not interested in "prudence" or "the deliverables"³²⁷, which means the fiscal responsibility and high quality public goods that the international conception of good governance calls for. Instead, he explained, "they were more interested in having their men, their kiths and kin in government".³²⁸

On first sight this is a rehashing of the privatisation of the state argument, whereby a neopatrimonial state distributes resources and exercises authority along personal and patrimonial networks. Indeed, he thought that people were "interested in having a family member gain", which hampered government's ability to enact policy. However, material gain was only part of the reason: "So when they came, the first thing they had to do it was not tangible. It was intangible thing: repairing our psyche." The citizenry was "psychologically depressed" by the experience of "military terrorism".³²⁹ He explained what it meant to have a civilian government which included "their men, their kiths and kin":

"They brought in people into governance. At least, can you get into government without knowing at least one person, if you do not know anybody there. Somebody there will know somebody, who will know somebody there. That will be a relief that government cannot oppress me, I have somebody I can rush to!"³³⁰

³²⁶ I-14 Leader of Oyo State Branch of major national union, Ibadan 21/04/2015

³²⁷ I-14

³²⁸ I-14

³²⁹ I-14

³³⁰ I-14

This characterises democratisation as the slow process of rehabilitating the state in the popular imagination as something that was safe, intelligible and had a connection to them.

Of course, Comrade Mohammed's example from the early days of the Fourth Republic gives an extreme case study of connecting the state to society through personal relationships. The relationships he refers to are familial and direct, literally making the state knowable by putting people one knows into government employment. However, the examples used in **chapter eight**, a decade and a half later, operate at many more stages of remove. The examples of transparency in people and accountability as accessibility describe how those who occupy public office should be connected to society not by personal or familial links but through observing values that broadly cultivate the sorts of relationship and behaviour that show that state officials are embedded in their wider community. These are social understandings of transparency and accountability but not personal ones.

This brings us back to the meaning of public not as a sphere or realm of action but as a political community. Debates about corruption and governance in African societies have often located the source of corruption in the lack of a universally shared, national identity which could underlie the normative category of a 'public interest'. Instead, African politics has been analysed as consisting of multiple separate ethnic publics, which justifies the stealing of public funds and subverting of formal institutions for the sake of ethnic advancement. This view of African societies is reflected in the neopatrimonialism thesis. Van de Walle argues that African states are linked to society through 'primordial' identities such as ethnicity, family and clan and that private connections 'outweigh' public loyalties (Van de Walle 2003). In Nigeria this instrumentalization of the state for ethnic gain, or the promotion of individuals to office based on ethnic identity is known as 'tribalism' and its influence in politics is frequently decried by Nigerian commentators (Ekeh 1990; Achebe 2000).

However, the findings of this thesis contradict the claim that Nigerians want to connect with their state on an ethnic basis. The values of transparency in people, and accessibility, are ethnically neutral, and applied in ways that transcend ethnic or ascriptive identities. For one thing, the examples drew on normative claims articulated within the ethnically-neutral settings of a market association and a cosmopolitan secular NGO. Rather than ethnic identity, the key nodes of similarity and difference are geographical and knowledge based. Geographically, leaders became untransparent when they moved away, adopted exclusive wealthy lifestyles and erected barriers of distance and fences between themselves and their constituency. Signifiers of otherness are not identity-based in the sense of being a 'son of the soil' but constituted by links to unknowable distant worlds. Adediran's emphasis in **chapter**

seven on being ‘not far from the community’ and ‘being seen’³³¹ emphasises the importance of ties which are based on the possibilities and connections of sharing the same physical locale, not having the same ethnic identity. The way that different forms of knowledge could constitute political identity were salient for both populists and Ajimobi’s progressives. In suspicions of Ajimobi’s links to global networks, described in **chapter seven**, elite and international forms of knowledge represented obstacles to communication and transparency in people.

The findings on popular conceptions of good governance help to shed light on the APC’s infamous loss in Ekiti state in 2014. Previous research suggests that that Fayose’s appeal came down to him being perceived as accessible and authentic. Drawing on in-depth research with grassroots political mobilisers, Husaini (2015, 45) suggests that when grassroots political mobilisers commend the populist Fayose for being authentic, they are invoking a claim to trust based on familiarity. My findings flesh out what is meant by accessibility, including spatial and knowledge based markers of proximity. Fayose was seen as close enough physically and intellectually to engage with his constituents in a meaningful way, whereas Fayemi was not.

Furthermore, my development of the value of transparency in people helps provide a conceptual framework in which to situate Husaini’s respondents comments that Fayemi was “always going to Lagos” (2015, 45–46). This was a sign of a lack of transparency as it connected Fayemi to unknown regional and national networks. Broader political discourse suggests that the idea of Fayemi as having untransparent social connections was an ongoing concern; for instance the accusation that he secretly ran a university in Ghana where he was really from (*Premium Times Nigeria* 2014c). Fayemi’s technocratic government left certain popular conceptions of good governance unmet, and was unable to balance long-term progress with more short-term economic benefits, leaving the door open to populists like Fayose to capitalise on the popular sense of disconnection from government elites.

Therefore, the logic of the popular conception of good governance is one of closeness, embeddedness and visibility of leaders to those they represent. Linking the values discussed above to debates over Ekeh’s two publics deepens the analysis, showing how popular conceptions of good governance aspire to a connection between the primordial public and civic public.

³³¹ I-36 Senior Elected State Level Office Holder, Ibadan 21/07/2015.

Values in Political Competition

At the beginning of this thesis, Nigeria was painted as a land free of ideology. Commentators argue that politics was conducted on the basis of calculations of financial and violent capacity, rather than principles and values. Assessments of the Oyo 2015 election were no different. News articles in major Nigerian newspapers, analysing the political competition ahead of the Gubernatorial election were deeply practical in their assessment of the race. They barely mention policy or political orientation, focusing instead on geographic factors, elite coalitions, godfather squabbles, links to Abuja, ‘financial capacity’ and ‘political structure’ (Oladele 2015; Amusat 2015). The defections before the election and into Ajimobi’s first term can be seen as a case of individual politicians “seeking where their bread would be buttered” (Oladele 2015). Based on this evidence it appears that ideology either has no role in state-level politics, or if it is present it is outweighed by political expediency.

Within the mainstream view this would suggest that Ajimobi’s Lagos Model approach was principle-based politics being pulled in the direction of patronage and money politics: with upstanding leaders having to go against their principles and engage in patronage. However, my case studies suggest something different is going on. Whilst the ability to deliver targeted empowerment before the election was important, a finding that very much coincides with these analyses, it doesn’t explain why such care was taken to frame and manage the presentation of empowerment events, and why certain aspects were made visible whilst others were obscured. Indeed, the examples help to show how the division between practical politics and principle-based politics is a false one, because the same practices take on very different meanings in different conceptions of good governance.

The case studies presented in **chapter eight** demonstrate that political activities that are sometimes disregarded as straightforward patronage or moments of grubby and unremarkable politicking, are in fact sites of contestation and negotiation. With this in mind, Ogunyankin’s critique of Florence Ajimobi’s empowerment schemes can be seen in a new light. Ogunyankin muses that there is little long-term sustainable impact from schemes like the Food Bank. She writes, “[i]t’s not clear ... how a small bag of food is supposed to empower women”; a good point seeing as her informants define empowerment as some combination of skills training, equipment and money. Yet, the political intent that Ogunyankin identifies in such projects goes beyond than Florence Ajimobi simply trying to “curry favour for her husband” (Ogunyankin 2014, 202). All politics involves distribution of costs and benefits among different constituencies to secure political support. Ogunyankin is sensitive to the tensions in Ajimobi’s empowerment programmes, without picking up on the myriad popular needs that that tension is a result of.

Ajimobi's response highlights the necessity of being sensitive to plural conceptions of good governance. He engaged in targeted patronage, framed in such a way that it could be read differently by different audiences, in order to meet popular demands just enough to win the election. Rather than a tale of "corruption fights back" (Adebanwi and Obadare 2011), it demonstrates the partial ways in which popular conceptions of good governance can be reasserted against technocratic visions that people see as untransparent, inaccessible and distant. However, there is a big difference between populist and popular conceptions of good governance. Contrary to suggestions by Chabal and Daloz that neopatrimonialism "works" for Africans (Chabal and Daloz 1999), or that corruption reflects social norms in African societies (Martinussen 1998), popular acquiescence to the *amala* politics of Adedibu and his forebear Adelabu, and political descendant Akala, was not a result of a popular belief that this represented good governance. Rather, it reflected a grudging acceptance of a form of politics that offered some minimal concessions to material reality in which people live, where other leaders had failed to either respond to this need or were unable to skilfully mobilise sufficient political resistance. However, the widespread criticism of Akala's tenure in **chapter four** shows that popular demands for immediate economic benefits do not blind ordinary people to rampant corruption and waste, nor do they justify it.

The popular conception of good governance is leveraged by politicians of all stripes. Most prominently it is invoked by those associated with the populist line in Yoruba politics, as examples from post-independence history and contemporary debates show. Historically, politicians from both the populist and progressive lines have had to respond to demands for both short-term distribution of the economic benefits of government as well as more long-term progress. Where politicians in power from either side have failed to meet these key needs, new social constituencies have emerged creating new opportunities for opponents to develop new political offerings. This created an opportunity before the 2015 election for political opponents, who were less committed to the international good governance agenda, and linked themselves to populist leaders of the past, to step in and promise that if elected they would meet those unmet needs.

3. Future Research and Conclusions

After winning re-election in Ajimobi was sworn in for a second term on May 29th 2015. Further research could fruitfully explore which of the strategies for navigating competing conceptions of good governance have been adopted in the second term. One option is that the need to roll-back some policies and make concessions in advance of 2015 will act as a lesson, and lead to a greater focus on incorporating potential resistance into state patronage. With the freedom of another four years, another option is for Ajimobi to redouble his focus on performance and the attempt to re-orient popular demands in the direction of the enlightened public. As oil prices continue to remain historically low, and the government falls further into salary arrears, both strategies will be threatened by a lack of resources (Ojoye 2016b; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2016b; *Vanguard News* 2016).

The state's education policy since May 2015 points towards a strategy of continuing with the privatising thrust of the Lagos Model, whilst dealing with potential resistance by minimising the visibility of unpopular elements of his plans. Ajimobi's education policy in his first term focused on the building of a handful³³² of model secondary schools; which would showcase how an "acceptable global standard" could be met in Oyo State (Ajimobi 2015a; Jegede 2013c). In his 2015 inauguration speech to the State House of Assembly, he announced that his administration would be exploring the "public/private ownership and management of [government] schools." He hinted to legislators that there would be an introduction of user fees to encourage parents to take on "financial responsibilities hitherto totally shouldered by government." (Ajimobi 2015a)

By contrast, the inaugural speech he gave to the general public contained no mention of these potentially unpopular moves, just a broad reference to reducing reliance on the federal allocation through PPPs (Ajimobi 2015a; 2015b). A year later there was an outcry from students, teachers and advocacy groups when news broke that the government had advertised in a newspaper an invitation for expressions of interest in the "public/private partnership and ownership of schools" (*Premium Times Nigeria* 2016c see also: Akamo 2016; *Vanguard News* 2016; *The Nation* 2016b; Ojoye 2016a). Developments in other areas suggest that the state government is continuing with urban renewal projects, demolishing sections of Ogunpa and Dugbe markets in order to rebuild them via PPP (*Tribune* 2016). This suggests that Ajimobi's response to ongoing fiscal constraints is to go even further with

³³² In his inauguration speech 2015 Ajimobi said six are being delivered whereas in his 2014 budget speech three model secondary schools and four primary schools were promised for each geo-political zone.

the Lagos Model's tendency to invite the private sector to collaborate or even replace public provision of goods and services. How strong resistance will be, and how he deals with it closer to the 2019 election will determine whether he continues to be successful in navigating competing conceptions of good governance.

The Ajimobi administration represents a tentative and contested transition from form of politics to another. He was at once trying to transform Oyo politics in line with the Lagos Model, whilst competing directly with politicians who represented the model of *amala* politics he was trying to leave behind. In between the two, are popular conceptions of good governance where the desire for progress in the long-term is balanced with an expectation that legitimate leaders should provide economic benefits to a population facing a daily struggle for survival.

With the success of the APC in the March 2015 presidential elections (*BBC News* 2015), Bola Tinubu's role as National Leader of the APC means that his hitherto regional influence is expanded to the national level (Ezeamalu 2016; *Premium Times Nigeria* 2016d). Will the Lagos Model be replicated across the rest of Nigeria? The findings of this thesis pose questions for how the Lagos Model will be used to draw lines of continuity and rupture in the service of good governance at the national level. **Chapter five's** account of the ethnically specific conception of good governance and development shows that it draws on key legacies of a peculiarly Yoruba political traditions. This includes not only Awolowo's belief in Yoruba superiority through exposure, but older Yoruba ideas of *olaju* which, over time, have become associated with a specifically Christian understanding of progress. Whilst Tinubu was able to incorporate the disillusioned OPC, which drew on Muslim fears about being excluded from power, this trumping of religious difference through shared ethnicity will not work for the largely Muslim and Hausa North. Can the Lagos Model be again reinterpreted and reinvent itself as offering a universal vision of development? How will conceptions of good governance grounded in different regional political traditions be contested and intersect with the conception of good governance in the Lagos Model?

In summary, this thesis shows that the popular demands of Oyo State's poor majority, for progress, economic benefits and legitimate leadership, are not satisfactorily met by the Lagos Model. The overall logics of governance under the Lagos Model pull in the opposite direction to the logics of popular conceptions of good governance. Whereas popular conceptions emphasise closeness, embeddedness and visibility of leaders to followers, the Lagos Model relies on an orientation outwards, a desire for distant knowledge and a dis-embedding from institutions that represent popular demands for progress, economic benefits and legitimate leadership. Indeed, it is these elements which make many international

observers see the Lagos Model as a rupture with existing ways of doing politics in Nigeria, and thus 'good' governance.

This concluding chapter has highlighted three main contributions that the findings make to different literatures. The first conclusion is that there are forms of African agency being asserted through partnerships with international donors and the adoption of international norms by 'self-selecting' good governance states. The second is that popular conceptions of legitimate leadership express a desire for state officials to remain embedded in their constituencies, and not to allow state office to lead to a severing of ethical connections. The third conclusion is that values and material politics cannot be separated, and one valorised and the other rendered illegitimate. Indeed, any government promising good governance must make a genuine commitment to popular demands for progress, legitimate government and economic benefits.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Interview List

Appendix 1.a Interview List – Markets

Neighbourhood Market

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
NM1-1	Focus Group with Igbo Food Sellers	Mrs Thomas	Ibadan	13/05/2015
NM1-2	Herbal Medicines Seller	Niyii	Ibadan	13/05/2015
NM1-3	Focus group with Plastics Sellers		Ibadan	13/05/2015
NM1-4	Focus group with Beauticians		Ibadan	13/05/2015
NM1-5	Provisions Seller		Ibadan	13/05/2015
NM1-6	Provisions Sellers		Ibadan	13/05/2015
NM1-7	Assistant Manager of Neighbourhood Market	Prestige Associates	Ibadan	13/05/2015
NM2-1	Manager	Prestige Associates	Ibadan	20/05/2015
NM2-2	Focus Group with Garment Seller and others	Momo	Ibadan	20/05/2015
NM3-1	Ready-Made Seller	Mrs Adelola	Ibadan	30/06/2015
NM3-2	Soap Seller	Mrs Adekunle	Ibadan	30/06/2015
NM3-3	Director of Prestige Associates	Prestige Associates	Telephone Interview	30/06/2015
NM3-4	Focus group with Beauticians		Ibadan	30/06/2015
NM4-1	Focus group with Food Sellers		Ibadan	02/07/2015
NM4-2	Babywares Seller	Lady Ayeesha	Ibadan	02/07/2015
NM4-3	Babaloja (male leader)		Ibadan	02/07/2015
NM5-1	Apples Seller and Oranges Seller	Mrs Adegbite (Apples Seller)	Ibadan	09/07/2015
NM5-2	Provisions Seller		Ibadan	09/07/2015
NM5-3	Focus group with Food Sellers	Including: Ewedu	Ibadan	09/07/2015
NM6-1	Focus group with Two Beauticians	Nike and Bunmi	Ibadan	27/07/2015

Junction market

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
JM1-1	Cloth Seller		Ibadan	18/05/2015
JM1-2	Roadside Photo Printer		Ibadan	18/05/2015

JM1-3	Roadside Cloth Seller		Ibadan	18/05/2015
JM1-4	Ready-Made Seller		Ibadan	18/05/2015
JM1-5	Underwear Hawker		Ibadan	18/05/2015
JM1-6	Roadside Bag Seller		Ibadan	18/05/2015
JM1-7	Roadside Artisan		Ibadan	18/05/2015
JM2-1	Local Trader		Ibadan	03/07/2015
JM2-2	Roadside Electricals Seller		Ibadan	03/07/2015
JM2-3	Cooked Food Vendor		Ibadan	03/07/2015
JM2-3	Babalaja (male leader)		Ibadan	03/07/2015
JM2-4	Cooked Food Vendor 2		Ibadan	03/07/2015
JM2-6	Former Roadside Trader	Elisabeth	Ibadan	03/07/2015
JM2-7	Very Small Scale Roadside Trader		Ibadan	03/07/2015
JM2-1	Provisions Seller		Ibadan	03/07/2015
JM2-2	Local Trader		Ibadan	03/07/2015

Highway Market

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
HM1-1	Small Scale Roadside Trader			19/05/2015
HM1-2	Small Scale Roadside Trader			19/05/2015
HM1-3	Roadside Phone Seller			19/05/2015
HM1-4	Roadside Phone Seller			19/05/2015
HM1-5	Roadside Vegetable Seller			19/05/2015
HM1-6	Iyalaja and Babalaja (female and male leaders)			19/05/2015
HM2-1	Roadside Grain Seller			20/05/2015
HM2-2	Focus Group of Roadside Phone Sellers			20/05/2015
HM2-3	Iyalaja (female leader)			20/05/2015

Central Market and Central Market Extension

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
CM1-1	Cloth Seller, Central Market		Ibadan	28/05/2015
CM1-2	Cloth Seller, Central Market		Ibadan	28/05/2015
CM1-3	Cloth Seller, Central Market		Ibadan	28/05/2015
CM1-4	Babywares Seller, Central Market		Ibadan	28/05/2015
CM2-1	Focus Group with Jewellery Sellers, Central Market Extension		Ibadan	07/07/2015
CM2-2	Babalaja, Central Market		Ibadan	07/07/2015

	Extension			
CM2-3	Babaloja, Central Market		Ibadan	07/07/2015
CM3-1	Mamaloja, Central Market		Ibadan	08/07/2015

Appendix 1.b Interview List – Local and State Government Civil Servants

Ibadan Metropolitan Local Government

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
MLG1-1	Focus Group with Community Development Section		Ibadan	25/05/2015
MLG2-1	Focus Group with Head of Local Authority, Director of Finance and Director of Administration		Ibadan	06/07/2015
MLG2-2	Director of Education and Social Services		Ibadan	06/07/2015
MLG2-3	Information Officer		Ibadan	06/07/2015
MLG3-1	Community Development Council and Local Government Community Development Unit Focus Group		Ibadan	21/07/2015

Ibadan Downtown Local Government

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
DLG1-1	Senior Officer	Abubakar	Ibadan	13/07/2015
DLG1-2	Director of Education and Social Services		Ibadan	13/07/2015
DLG1-3	Medical Officer of Health		Ibadan	13/07/2015
DLG2-1	Deputy Director of Administration and General Services		Ibadan	15/07/2015
DLG-CDC	Chairman of Community Development Council	Baba Bashiru	Ibadan	15/07/2015
DLG3-1	Information Officer		Ibadan	18/07/2015
DLG4-1	Information Officer		Ibadan	30/07/2015

Ibadan Central Local Government

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
CLG2-1	Director of Finance		Ibadan	14/07/2015
CLG-CDC	Chairman of Community Development Council		Ibadan	16/07/2015

CLG3-1	Community Development Unity		Ibadan	20/07/2015
CLG4-1	Local Government Caretaker Chairman		Ibadan	05/08/2015
CLG4-2	Chief of Staff to Chairman		Ibadan	05/08/2015

State Government Civil Servants

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
ST-TR1	Senior Official, Ministry of Trade, Investment and Cooperatives		Ibadan	28/07/2015
ST-WA1	Director of Poverty Alleviation, Ministry of Women Affairs		Ibadan	28/07/2015
ST-WA2	Women Programmes Focus Group, Ministry of Womens Affairs		Ibadan	28/07/2015
ST-WA3	Community Development Unit Self-Help Officer		Ibadan	28/07/2015
ST-TR2	Senior Official 2, Ministry of Trade, Investments and Cooperatives		Ibadan	03/08/2015

Appendix 1.c Interview List – Elite Interviews

Elite Interviews

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
I-1	Non-Governmental Organisation Employee		Abuja	Jul-13
I-1	Ex-Patriate working on Donor Project with Federal Government		Abuja	Jul-13
I-3	Non-Governmental Organisation Employee		Lagos	Jul-13
I-4	Lawyer		Lagos	Jul-13
I-5	Former progressive member of the Federal House of Representatives for an Oyo State constituency		Ibadan	20/10/2013
I-6	State-level Bureaucrat		Ibadan	22/10/2013
I-7	State-level Bureaucrat		Ibadan	23/10/2013
I-8	State-level Bureaucrat		Ibadan	23/10/2013
I-9	Senior Member of Arisekola Household		Ibadan	28/10/2013
I-10	Senior Member of the Governor's Executive Council		Ibadan	30/10/2013
I-11	Non-Governmental Organisation Employee		Lagos	11/11/2013
I-12	Non-Governmental Organisation Employee		Lagos	11/11/2013
I-13	Junior Member of the Governor's Administration		Ibadan	02/12/2013
I-14	Leader of Oyo State Branch of a Major National Union		Ibadan	21/04/2015
I-15	Former Aide to Adedibu		Ibadan	22/04/2015
I-16	Retired Permanent Secretary to Oyo State Government		Ibadan	21/04/2015
I-17	Special Adviser to the Governor		Ibadan	22/04/2015
I-18	Former Commissioner in Oyo State Government under Akala		Ibadan	29/04/2015
I-19	Academic and Gubernatorial Aspirant		Ibadan	29/04/2015
I-20	Human Rights Organisation Employee		Ibadan	04/05/2015
I-21	Human Rights Organisation Employee		Ibadan	04/05/2015
I-22	Director of Human Rights Organisation		Ibadan	04/05/2015
I-23	Former High Ranking Member of Ajimobi's Executive Council		Ibadan	06/05/2015
I-24	Matron at a Government Health Facility in Ibadan, formerly employed as a nurse at an ABC Clinic		Ibadan	11/05/2015

I-25	Director of Active Ibadan-based NGO		Ibadan	15/05/2015
I-26	Director of Ibadan-based Legal Practice		Ibadan	21/05/2015
I-27	Development Activist and Consultant		Ibadan	25/05/2015
I-28	Local Level APC Politician and Member of Ajimobi's Campaign Team		Ibadan	26/05/2015
I-29	Former Progressive Member of the Federal House of Representatives for an Oyo State Constituency (follow up)		Ogbomosho	27/05/2015
I-30	Retired State Civil Servant		Ibadan	10/05/2015
I-31	Businessman and Political Operator		Ibadan	30/05/2015
I-32	Director of Ibadan-based Legal Practice (follow up)		Ibadan	30/05/2015
I-33	Senior Staff Member of DAWN Commission 1		Ibadan	05/06/2015
I-34	Business Journalist		Ibadan	08/06/2015
I-35	Director of Construction Company		Telephone Interview	29/06/2015
I-36	Senior Elected State Level Office Holder	Adediran	Ibadan	21/07/2015
I-37	Director of Active Ibadan-Based NGO (follow up)		Ibadan	23/07/2015
I-38	Political Journalist at a Major National Newspaper		Ibadan	25/07/2015
I-39	Local Government APC Chieftain		Ibadan	28/07/2015
I-40	Local Government APC Chieftain (follow up)		Ibadan	30/07/2015
I-41	Focus Group with Widows Association		Ibadan	31/07/2015
I-42	Director of Widows NGO		Ibadan	03/08/2015
I-43	Academic at the University of Ibadan		Ibadan	04/08/2015
I-44	Personal Assistant to Seye Makinde		Ibadan	04/08/2015
I-45	Senior Journalist at a Major National Newspaper		Ibadan	04/08/2015
I-46	Senior Member of Ajimobi's Cabinet		Ibadan	24/07/2015
I-47	Senior Staff Member of DAWN Commission 2		Ibadan	26/06/2015
I-48	Former Aide to Adedibu (follow up)		Ibadan	10/08/2015
I-49	Senior Member of Ajimobi's Re-Election Campaign	Ade	Ibadan	06/08/2015

Interviews from Field-notes

Code	Name	Pseudonym	Location	Date
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F1	Junior Academic at the University of Kebbi and Political Activist		Ibadan	01/05/2015
F2	Academic and Activist, University of Ibadan		Ibadan	14/05/2015
F3	Academic and Progressive Activist, University of Ibadan, Ibadan		Ibadan	07/05/2015
F4	Senior Employee, Ajumose Vocational Training Centre and Ajimobi Campaign Headquarters (follow up)		Ibadan	27/07/2015
F5	Former aide to Arisekola family		Ibadan	15/05/2015
F6	Former aide to Arisekola family		Ibadan	22/05/2015
F7	Former aide to Arisekola family		Ibadan	18/04/2015
F8	Former aide to Arisekola family		Ibadan	12/05/2015
F9	Graduate and Businessman from Ibadan		Ibadan	22/05/2015

Ajumose Vocational Training Centre and Ajimobi Campaign Headquarters

Code	Description	Pseudonym	Location	Date
AJ1-1	Senior Employee, Ajumose Vocational Training Centre and Ajimobi Campaign Headquarters		Ibadan	21/05/2015
AJ1-2	Teacher, Ajumose Vocational Training Centre		Ibadan	21/05/2015

Appendix 2 Top Three Ministry Department and Agency Expenditures on Consultancy Services in Oyo State Government

Bureau of Investment Promotion and Public-Private Partnership		
	<i>2014</i>	<i>2015</i>
Expenditure on Consultancy Services (naira)	100,000,000	250,000,000
Total Expenditure on Overheads (naira)	530,700,000	300,000,000
%	19	83
YES-O World Bank Assisted Programme State Operation Coordinating Unit		
	<i>2014</i>	<i>2015</i>
Expenditure on Consultancy Services (naira)	150,000,000	100,000,000
Total Expenditure on Overheads (naira)	350,432,000	300,000,000
%	43	33
Oyo State Ministry of Finance		
	<i>2014</i>	<i>2015</i>
Expenditure on Consultancy Services (naira)	1,220,000,000	2,776,450,000
Total Expenditure on Overheads (naira)	1,620,000,000	2,921,450,000
%	75	95

Source of data: OSG Website. 2015. "Summary of Overhead Costs by Ministry." Tables 112, 115 and 124. Oyo State Government. <http://www.oyostate.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/SUMMARY-OF-OVERHEAD-COST.pdf>.

Appendix 3

Appendix 3.a News Sources for Food Bank and Widow's Empowerment

Scheme	Date	Location	Sources
Widowhood Support Programme	24/12/2014		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/714437151997430
Widows Support Initiative	11/10/2014	Government House	<i>Sun News</i> . 2014. "New Dawn for Widows in Oyo," October 16. http://sunnewsonline.com/new/?p=86300 .
			thenationonline.net/new/ajimobis-wife-empowers-1000-widows/
			https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/675601525880993
Widows Support Initiative	04/10/2014		<i>Sun News</i> . 2014. "New Dawn for Widows in Oyo," October 16. http://sunnewsonline.com/new/?p=86300 .
			thenationonline.net/new/ajimobis-wife-empowers-1000-widows/
			https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/675601525880993
Food Bank	18/04/2014	Afijio	<i>(Heritage Echo News 2014)</i>
Food Bank	28/03/2014	Ibadan	("Unveiling of Soka Death Den, a Result of Answered Prayers -Mrs

		South West	Ajimobi – Florence Ajimobi” 2015)
Widowhood Support Programme	07/02/2014	Ibadan North East	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/542679142506566
			http://whatsupibadan.com/2014/02/11/well-eradicate-hunger-from-ibadan-north-east-lg-communities-mrs-ajimobi/
Ajumose Food Bank	31/01/2014	Ibadan North	Now defunct: http://www.mrsfajimobi.com/author/admin/ (accessed 3rd May 2015)
			https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/542679142506566
Ajumose Food Bank	28/06/2013	Ibadan South East	(Johnson 2013, 500)
			http://whatsupibadan.com/2013/06/29/florence-ajimobi-fetes-500-women-at-mapo-ibadan/
Food Bank	10/05/2013	Oluyole	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/a.327306867377129.80598.311844532256696/406903962750752/?type=1
			https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/406901589417656

			Originally in Tribune: http://www.oyostate.net/news/jubilati-on-as-500-women-benefit-from-ajimobi-food-bank-initiative-nigerian-tribune
Widows Empowerment Programme	01/05/2013		www.thenationonline.net/new/ajimobis-wife-empowers-1000-widows/
Food Bank	14/12/2012	Ibadan North East	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/335753933199089
Food Bank	22/11/2012	Ibadan South West	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/a.327320784042404.80603.311844532256696/327322980708851/?type=3&theater
Food Bank	14/11/2012	Ibadan South West	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/a.327320784042404.80603.311844532256696/327322980708851/?type=3&theater
Food Bank	17/10/2012	Government House	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/a.327320784042404.80603.311844532256696/327322980708851/?type=3&theater

Appendix 3.b Sources for Party-based Empowerment of Associations

Group	Date	Details	Link (all accessed 12/01/2016)
One Love Theatre Arts and Motion Pictures Producers Association TAMPAN	07/04/2015	Cloth	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/773048899469588
Association of Pepper Sellers in Oyo State	07/04/2015 28/03/2015	18-seater bus	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/pcb.773042772803534/773041569470321/?type=3&theater
Women Spiritual Leaders of the Celestial Church of Christ	07/04/2015 28/03/2015	18-seater bus	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/pcb.773042772803534/773041569470321/?type=3&theater (28th March) https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/767837776657367 (March 28 th) https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/767842286656916 (7th April)
Association of Diesel and Oil Marketers, Oyo State Chapter	31/03/2015	18-seater bus	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/769530949821383
Oyo State Fish Sellers Association, Babanla Zone	28/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/767837776657367

Ibadan South East Forum	28/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/767843603323451
Labaowo Market Men and Women	28/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/767843603323451
Representatives of Sule Kokoko in Olodo area	28/03/2015	Transformer previously given to the area	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/photos/a.327306867377129.80598.311844532256696/767835036657641/?type=3&theater
Islamic Materials Sellers	20/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/763580807083064
Yam Sellers	20/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/763580807083064
Herb Sellers	20/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/763580807083064
Pepper Sellers	20/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/763580807083064
Sack Sellers	20/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/763580807083064
National Association of Patent Medicine Sellers	20/03/2015		https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/763570213750790
Youth Groups in	20/03/2015	Motor-cycles	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAjimobi/posts/763570213750790

Oyo Town			mobi/posts/763496627091482
Association of Fowl Sellers, Molete Branch	16/03/2015	18- seater bus	https://www.facebook.com/FlorenceAji/mobi/posts/761610390613439