

**ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
CONSTITUENCY PROJECTS IN UKWA EAST – UKWA WEST FEDERAL
CONSTITUENCY, ABIA STATE FROM 2011 – 2019**

BY

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MAY, 2022

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my research efforts, undertaken under the supervision of Dr. John Olarenwaju. It is an original work and no part of it has ever been presented for the award of any degree anywhere. All sources of information users have been duly acknowledged through the references.

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CERTIFICATION

The dissertation titled “Assessment of the Effects of the National Assembly Constituency Projects in Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency, Abia State from 2011 – 2019” by Onyeabor Chigbu (PG/NLS/1900034) has met the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Legislative Studies (MLS) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin, Edo State.

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APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that this dissertation has been read and approved as having met the partial requirement for the award of the degree of Masters in Legislative Studies of the University of Benin/National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies is approved for contribution to knowledge.

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DEDICATION

I wholeheartedly dedicate this research work to the ALMIGHTY GOD, my personal LORD and SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST.

Also to every member of my family: beloved – wife –Chigemezu and the entire household of Chigbu Akanu.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BC	-	Before the birth of Christ
BCDA	-	Boundary Communities Development Agency
EHRECON	-	Environmental Health Registration Council of Nigeria
CDF	-	Constituency Development Fund
CFRN	-	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
FCT	-	Federal Capital Territory
ICR	-	Institute for Conflict Resolution
ITF	-	Industrial Training Fund
LGA	-	Local Government Area
MDAs	-	Ministries, Departments, and Agencies of Government
NAPTIP	-	National Agency for Prohibition of trafficking in Person
NCAC	-	National Centre for Arts and Culture
NCWD	-	National Centre for Women Development
NPHCDA	-	National Primary Health Care Development Agency
NHRC	-	National Human Rights Commission
NLTF	-	National Lottery Trust Fund
PHCN	-	Power Holding Company of Nigeria
PLAC	-	Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre
SMEDAN	-	Small and Medium Enterprise Development Agency of Nigeria
U S	-	United States of America
ZIP	-	Zonal Intervention Project

ABSTRACT

Given the controversies that had trailed the issue of constituency project in terms of its constitutionality, legality, and mechanism for delivering democratic dividends to the people, this research seeks to assess the effects of National Assembly Constituency Projects in Ukwu East/Ukwu West Federal Constituency, Abia State from 2011 – 2019. The main objective was to determine the status of the constituency projects in the constituency in terms of functionality. Other objectives were: to examine the effect of the constituency projects on the constituents; to ascertain the role of the people in the selection, implementation, and management of the projects, and determine the factors that influenced the siting of the projects and whether the projects were evenly distributed. The study reviewed the literature on the role of the legislature in promoting good governance and highlighted the concept of constituency projects, the emergence of constituency projects in Nigeria's democracy, and other climes. The theoretical framework employed by the researcher to interpret the result of the study was the Principal-Agent Theory.

The research method employed was descriptive design, which utilised a purposive sampling technique with the application of the krejcie & Morgan table for determining sample size for research activities. Respondents were selected from the constituents of the political wards of the LGAs that constitute the constituency. Quantitative data were collected using interviews and questionnaires administered to respondents. The study employed secondary data from Appropriation Acts and documents from the National Assembly committee on ZIP. The data collated were cleaned, categorised, analysed, and discussed.

The findings of the study were: that the constituency projects were sited in the constituency during the period under review which aided development, provided jobs, and improved the wellbeing of the people; that most of the projects were completed and functional; and that the projects sited in the constituency were the preferred projects of the constituents; and observed that the constituency projects were not fairly allocated across the LGAs that consist the constituency.

The study recommended that for the legislators to play their representative function effectively, especially in the delivery of democratic dividends to the people, there is a need for them to ensure that constituents' priority projects are recommended. Thus, constituents should be carried along in the selection, implementation, and management of the projects to ensure

the effectiveness of the policy; the executive should promptly release ZIP allocation funds to ensure completion and functionality of the projects to curb abandonment and waste of public resources; the National Assembly should enact legal framework to prescribe the implementation and management of the ZIP, and intensify its oversight function to safeguard transparency and accountability to improve the impact of the policy on the welfare of the people. Finally, constituency projects should be evenly located between the LGAs that constitute the constituency to ensure equality and balanced development. The Constituency Project Policy was a commendable one, it is hoped that this policy should be sustained to provide democratic dividends to the citizens and continue improvement of the socio-economic lives of the people.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The parliament or legislature is a prominent institution in a democratic government and is composed of elected representatives of the populace. Thus, it occupies a special position in contemporary democracy. The ancient Roman Republic which existed between 509 BC - 27 BC is recognized by scholars as the first government in the western world to have a representative government (PLAC 2016). Hence, “modern-day legislatures were inspired by the Roman model government in which citizens elected representatives to rule on their behalf” (PLAC 2016). Furthermore, the English Parliament which traced its origin to Anglo Saxon England political institution (“Witenagemot: meaning meeting of the wise men”) which operated between the 7th – 11th centuries is attributed as the mother of the modern legislature (PLAC 2016).

Sequel to the creation of Nigeria, through British colonization as well as the country’s independence in 1960, our country adopted the British parliamentary system and later the Presidential system in 1979. Because of Nigeria’s colonial background, the National Assembly still maintains some British parliamentary practices and procedures (PLAC 2016).

The core functions of the parliament include making laws about issues affecting public interest; representing the opinions and interest of citizens and the nation as a whole; and oversight of the Executive which involve the review, evaluation, assessment, and supervision of the other arms of government and their agencies, programs, activities and policies implementations(PLAC 2016).

Legislative constituency projects refer to projects that are initiated, designed, or implemented within a legislative constituency with the input and collaboration of the legislator(s) representing that particular constituency. The projects are however funded from the national or state budgets. It is one of the measures put in place by the government to facilitate development is the constituency fund (Awofeso & Irabor 2020). The constituency project is not peculiar to Nigeria alone. This is a growing phenomenon in democratic nations and exists in one form or another in over 20 countries of the world such as Kenya, the USA, Britain, Germany, India, Philippines, Uganda Tanzania, etc., where such projects are usually referred to as the “Constituency Development Funds” (CDFs), Pork Barrel, etc. (Orimogunje, 2015).

The dawn of the Fourth Republic of Nigeria’s democratic experience in 1999 after a long period of military dictatorship, presented a prospect for the enthronement of good governance and rule of law in Nigeria. Thus, this period has witnessed diverse measures being taken by politicians at all levels of government to provide “dividends of democracy” to the people. However, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) 1999 (As altered) clearly outlined the framework for rule of law, separation of power, and checks and balances among the three arms of government. One of the areas of disagreement experienced in the operation of the Constitution, therefore, is the constituency projects (Orimogunje, 2015).

Constituency projects issue came into the public domain in Nigeria during President Olusegun Obasanjo’s administration from 1999 – 2007, being that most Nigerians do not understand the actual functions of the National Assembly Members (Bashiru, 2016), as a result, the Fourth National Assembly sought and got approval from the Executive branch for the disbursement of N5 million and N3 million per Senator and House of Representatives Members, respectively for constituency projects (Udefuna, Jumare & Adebayo, 2013). It was envisaged that

constituency projects would ensure that all over-lapping Federal constituencies in Nigeria are provided with infrastructures such as roads, drainage system, environmental sanitation wares, rural electrification, electricity transformers, streets light, Primary Health Centres, and also educational and leadership development programs among others (BudgIT, 2016; De, 2008; KIM, 2006). Expectedly, the good infrastructure helps to raise productivity and lower costs, as poor infrastructure hinders economic growth in any economy (KIM, 2006). However, constituency projects are the development initiative aimed at improving the lives of people of different constituencies periodically (Ezeobi, 2021).

Legislative constituency projects represent an obvious departure from the traditional constitutional role of the legislature under the doctrine of separation of powers, and usurpation of the role of the executive by the legislature. However, a constituency project may arguably be credited with some merits or benefits. In Nigeria, the phenomenon of constituency projects took root at the dawn of the Fourth Republic, with the quest by Nigerian legislators for more equitable distribution of resources to their constituencies as “dividends of democracy”.

This study will therefore assess the effect of the 7th and 8th National Assembly constituency projects in Ukwu East – Ukwu West Federal Constituency of Abia State.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The basic purpose of representative democracy and government, according to Dogara (2016) is the election of individuals to represent their interests as well as express their views. While, law-making and oversight functions had been generally accepted. Representation is yet to be clearly understood by our citizens (NILS, 2016). While Garba (2016) asserted that the performance of a legislator is not on the capacity to influence national issues but by its relevance

to the local concerns, constituency projects, etc. That these projects are designed to support grassroots development as well as achieve equitable distribution of resources across the nation thereby combating poverty (NILS, 2016).

Udoma (2016) observed that in some cases, the constituents were not earlier consulted, and hence, not actively involved in the maintenance of the projects resulting in abandonment. He, therefore, stressed the need for coordination of constituency projects with State and local Governments to avert the waste of funds and resources (NILS, 2016).

Similarly, Kalu & Chikwe (2017) posits that to a large extent many constituency projects in Nigeria have ended up as stalled projects in various categories such as uncompleted, nonfunctional, and untenable projects. More so, some of the contracts were overpriced or inflated, there are unspecified project locations including supply of equipment to uncompleted structures or even nonexistent structures as well as non-implementation of projects, poor oversight, monitoring, and evaluation of the execution process and standards. General observation of the relationship between representatives and constituents notes that the representatives seem to be the ones nominating the projects rather than the constituents. As a result, the constituents were not aware of such projects and their budgetary provision hence, the constituency projects are shrouded in secrecy.

Furthermore, the constituents were not consulted on the project they prefer and the projects were not fairly spread in the constituency which is in breach of Section 14 (2 a-c) CFRN 1999, (as altered) “sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this constitution derives all its powers and authority; the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government, and the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this constitution’”. This further indicates that there is

a lack of transparency that is contrived to keep citizens in the dark as to what their representatives do on their behalf.

It is in view of these controversies that have trailed the issue of constituency projects in terms of selection, management, and ownership that this research set out to assess the effects of constituency projects on constituency development using Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions are as follows:

- i. What is the effect of the Constituents projects on the people of Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State?
- ii. What is the present state of the constituency projects?
- iii. In what ways did the constituents contribute to the selection, implementation, management, and utilization of the constituency projects?
- iv. How evenly distributed are the constituency projects among the various component local government areas within the constituency

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are as follows:

- i. To determine the present status of constituency projects in Ukwa East - Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State in terms of functionality.
- ii. To examine the effects of the constituency projects on the people of Ukwa East-

Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State.

- iii. To ascertain the role of the constituents in the selection, implementation, and management of the constituency projects.
- iv. To determine factors that influence the siting of the projects and whether the projects are evenly distributed.

15 Scope and Limitation of the Study:

This study focuses on the constituency projects as the instrument of grassroots development for the improved well-being of the people of Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State.

It concentrates on Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIP) and other projects attracted to the constituency by the legislator(s) through the legislative committee that is indicated in the Federal Government Appropriation Acts covering the 7th and 8th National Assembly(2011- 2019) sited Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State.

1.6 Significance of the study

This study focused on the background of constituency projects (Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIP), their budgetary allocations, fairness in the distribution of the projects, and implementation of 2011– 2015 and 2015 – 2019. The research is limited to Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal projects, and their effects to enhance the development of the rural areas.

Since this study is focused on a policy issue that is already a subject of public discussion it will help to guide and strengthen the policy direction of the ZIP in the future

The research will also provide awareness about the people and how they perceive the legislative branch of government and show how legislators are connected with their constituents. More so, it also serves as the instrument for the support of representative democracy in Nigeria by scrutinizing the implementation of constituency projects as a factor that affects representation and making proposals that guide policy makers in the suitable act of representation which can be accomplished through the representative conduct of our legislator. It will enable an appraisal of the ZIP policy as it is executed in Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency in particular and Nigeria in general, with the aim of overhauling it, to make it more effective and efficient in meeting the anticipation of policy makers. Also, the importance of this is seen from its outcome on how the ZIP can be used as a genuine instrument to bring about development at the grassroots. This can be achieved by emphasizing accountability and the inclusion of the people in matters that have a direct and lasting effect on their welfare.

This study adds to the existing literature in this field and offers useful information to other researchers as well as to society at large.

1.7 Arrangement of the study

This research work is arranged in the following order:

The chapter one consists of the background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, scope and limitation of the study, the significance of the study, arrangement of the study, and definition of key terms.

Chapter two focuses on the review of related literature which includes the origin of representative governance, the role of the legislature in promoting good governance, the concept of constituency project, the emergence of constituency project in Nigeria, constituency project in

other climes, as well as, the theoretical framework dwells on representative political theory, principal-agent theory, and application of theory to study.

Chapter three deals with research methodology which comprises the research design, population of the study, sampling technique, sources of data, sample size, the instrument for data collection, procedure for data collection as well as method of data analysis and discussion.

Chapter four centres on data presentation, analysis of data and discussion on the result of the study as well as implications of abandoned projects.

While chapter five consists of the summary, recommendation and conclusion.

1.8 Definition of key terms

National Assembly: Nigeria's apex legislative body, made up of the Senate and House of Representatives made up of 109 elected members in the Senate and 360 members in the House (PLAC 2016).

Constituency Project: Refers to a project that is initiated, designed and implemented with the input and collaboration of the legislator representing that particular constituency. The projects are however funded from the Federal or State government budget within a legislative constituency.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the appropriate literature for this study was reviewed and the past studies were linked to this research. Moreover, the research discussed the theoretical framework adopted in this study and how this framework was applied to the research. This review of literature includes the orderly identification and analysis of documents encompassing facts relating to the subject matter of this study which enabled the researcher to comprehend the content and scope of existing works in this field of study. Sequentially, the literature review was discussed before the theoretical framework.

2.1 Origin of representative system of governance

The parliament or legislature is the foremost institution in a democratic government and is composed of elected representatives of the populaces. Thus, it occupies a special position in contemporary democracy. The common interest, as well as collective relationships of man, have been voiced through deliberation, decision making, and implementation. Hence, the Greek City-States, of which Athens was the most exceptional were organized and legislated for by the Assembly or ‘‘Ecclesia’’. It consists of all the male citizens above the age of twenty and met forty times a year (Anyaeqbunam, 2021). The ancient Romans Republic which existed between 509 BC – and 27 BC is recognized by scholars as the first government in the western world to have a representative modern-day. Hence, ‘‘modern day legislatures were inspired by the Roman model government in which citizens elected representatives to rule on their behalf’’ (PLAC, 2016). Furthermore, the English Parliament which traced its origin to Anglo Saxon England political

institution (“Witenagemot: meaning meeting of the wise men”) which operated between the 7th – 11th centuries is attributed as the mother of the modern legislature (PLAC, 2016).

Sequel to the creation of Nigeria in 1914, British colonization as well as the country’s independence in 1960, our country adopted the British parliamentary system and later the Presidential system in 1979. Because of Nigeria’s colonial background, our National Assembly still maintains some British parliamentary procedures (PLAC, 2016).

The core functions of the parliament include making laws pertaining to issues affecting public interest; representing the opinions and interests of citizens and the nation as a whole; and oversight of the other arms of government which involve the review, evaluation, assessment and supervision of the other arms of government and their agencies, programs, activities and policies implementations(PLAC, 2016).

2.2 Role of the legislature in promoting good governance

The legislatures form an important branch of most government; in the separation of powers model, they are often differentiated from the executive and judicial branches of government. The legislature observes and directs government actions and usually has exclusive authority to amend the budget(s) involved in the process. Accordingly, Kalu & Chikwe (2017) stated that Okereke (1993) opined that the legislature is that organ of government whose responsibility it is to make laws. He detailed that the importance of the legislature can be fully appreciated if being reminded that no kind of government can rule properly unless there are defined rules or laws to which members of the society are subjected. Further, Anamgba (2007) stated that the legislature is an organ of government that makes laws and comprises the representatives of the people. In addition,

representatives is that group of people, that has the power to make and change existing laws and they are democratically elected (PLAC, 2016).

Montesquieu (1748:13) articulated and explained his Separation of Powers theory as: “If the legislative and executive powers are combined in the same organ, the liberty of the people gets jeopardized because it leads to the tyrannical exercise of power” (Ukachukwu, 2021).

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) 1999 (As Altered) Section 14 (2) (b) stresses that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. Thus, one of the basic functions of government is the provision of public services and the preservation of the lives and properties of the people. Among the branches of government, the legislature – is the pillar of representative democracy through which the will of the people can be brought to the fore and implemented (Brunner, 2013); Mattes & Mozaffar, 2011)(Awofeso & Irabor ,(2020). Arter, (2011); Rehfeld, (2006); Urbinati & Warren, (2008) stated that the legislature as the law-making branch of government also performs other core functions known as representation and oversight. As the representative of the people, the legislature is a forum for expressing the views and aspirations of the citizens in policy-making process (Awofeso & Irabor, (2020). More so, Awofeso & Irabor (2020) highlighted that Fagbadebo, (2019); Friedberg,(2011); Pelizzo & Stapenhurst, (2004) indicated that the oversight function of the legislature relates to the role of providing checks and balances on the performance of the executive branch and its agencies to ensure effective implementation of government policies and programmes for the good ordering of the people(Awofeso & Irabor,(2020).

The Fourth Republic in the Federal Republic of Nigeria refers to the democratic system of government that emerged with the effect of the CFRN 1999. The system of government is presidential, with the executive powers vested in the President at the Federal level and the

Governors in the component States. The legislative power is conferred on the National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) comprising 109 and 360 members, respectively. Thus, Section 4 of the Constitution vests the legislative power of the Federation in the legislature as follows: ‘The legislative powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be vested in a National Assembly for the Federation which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives; the National Assembly shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Federation or any part thereof with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List set out in Part 1 of the Second Schedule to this Constitution; the power of the National Assembly to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Federation with respect to any matter included in the Exclusive Legislative List shall, save as otherwise provided in this Constitution, be to the exclusion of the Houses of Assembly of States.’ (4), (5), Section 47, the National Assembly is divided into the Senate and the House of Representatives, Sections 48 and 49. (Orimogunje, 2015)

The National Assembly as the apex legislative institution in Nigeria with core function law making (Sections 4, 9, 58, 59, 80, 81, 83 CFRN 1999 As Altered) include enactment of new laws, repealing repeal of extant laws, annual Appropriation, Constitution amendment, etc. to direct, address the changing needs as well as for the advancement and wellbeing of the society. The foregoing role of the legislature is acknowledged in an assertion of Ben Nwabueze: “The crucial importance of legislation as an indispensable instrument of government is further underlined by the fact that almost all activity of government requires the authority of some enabling law, whether it is the provision of social welfare, economic and industrial development, social or moral reform, land tenure, maintenance of peace and order, the security, safety and integrity of the state, etc.”(Komolafe, 2020 & Anyaegbunam, 2021).

One of the principal functions of the National Assembly is oversight (Sections 88, 89, 85(5-7) CFRN 1999(as altered). It examines executive actions and private wrong deeds, places them in the central position of being guardians of democracy and defenders of people's rights. This is supported by the submission of H. Chuma-Okoro: "but it is indisputable that oversight function of the legislature is a cornerstone of and indeed sustains the legislative process. This is so because it ensures that laws passed by the legislature are applied accordingly and that the Executive does not act arbitrarily or ultra vires. This makes the legislative oversight an integral aspect of constitutional democracy" (Anyaegbunam, 2021). Thus, the legislature examines and evaluates policies, decisions, activities and programmes of government thereby making it accountable to the people. More so, oversight is geared towards ensuring compliance by other arms of government in the implementation of laws and disbursement of funds appropriated by the legislature. This is constitutionally provided, to expose corruption, inefficiency and waste in the management of government funds (Komolafe, 2020).

Similarly, another crucial function of the National Assembly is the representative role in serving as an inherent link between the people and their government. The legislature signifies the democratic essence and principle of the power of the people as proven by the representative institution as an elected parliament. This praiseworthy representative role of the lawmakers is echoed in John Stuart Mill's remark of 1862: "in a representative democracy, the legislature acts as the eyes, ears and voice of the people" (Anyaegbunam, 2021). Thus, the legislature offer the popular platform where the citizens' electoral mandate assume life. The parliament operates as the people speaking and representing themselves in legislative deliberations, committee sessions, public hearings and law-making (Anyaegbunam, 2021).

Legislature is the cornerstone of the presidential democracy particularly in developing nations with a long history of military rule such as Nigeria. The legislature in democratic governance is the institution that symbolises republicanism which is the core basis of democracy. That it is about the development of the generality of the populace in any democratic culture. However, several questions have been asked on the constitutional basis or the legal framework in Nigeria for constituency projects as well as whether the implementation of such projects will not be in conflict with the principles of accountability and transparency enshrined in the Constitution and some other statutes (Orimogunje, 2015)

But Edigin and Otoghile (2011) assert that democracy is about the people, their wishes and aspirations then the dividends of democracy are simply how democracy can bring about development in the society through good governance (Orimogunje, 2015).

2.3 Concept of constituency project

A legislative constituency project refers to any project that is conceived, designed and implemented within a legislative constituency with the collaboration, input or influence of the legislator(s) representing that particular constituency in the legislature. Such projects are however funded from the national or state budgets (Orimogunje, 2015). In other words, “Constituency Project/Development Funds” was defined as “funding arrangements that channel money from central government directly to electoral constituencies for local infrastructure projects.” (Orimogunje, 2015).

In Nigeria, Constituency Projects officially called Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIP) are public projects selected by Federal legislators to extend the dividends of democratic governance to their various constituencies to enhance development in the country side. Procedurally, the

projects are recommended to the Executive during the budgeting process for implementation. However, National Assembly has the constitutional oversight obligation on government projects as its checks and balances function to ensure transparency, accountability and good governance (Orimogunje, 2015).

Dogara (2016) referred to constituency projects in Nigeria as developmental projects sited in the constituencies of state and federal legislators by various MDAs of Government as appropriated in the budget of the Federation or State. That these projects came into existence owing to the demands of Nigerians for equitable distribution of infrastructural development projects (NILS, 2016).

While Tambawal (2016) posited that the Legislature views Constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects as a crucial strategic driver of socio-economic development and regeneration within our country. Thus, it is a development initiative concentrated in the constituencies by allocating resources to the local government areas to meet socio-economic objectives. That the main objectives of the programme are to fund projects with direct socio-economic impact with a view to improving lives, alleviating poverty and general development resolution. It supports rural development projects, especially those aimed at alleviating poverty and developing infrastructure at the grassroots (NILS, 2016).

Although Constituency projects though officially called Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIP) in Nigeria, other countries are referred to as “Constituency Development Funds” (“CDFs”), Pork barrel projects etc. It also includes projects which the legislator attracted to the constituency through his collaboration with legislative committees chairmen, Civil Society Organisations, and International Development agencies as well as the projects/ programmes executed with his personal resources.

Furthermore, Constituency projects are similar to the U.S. congressional allocations known as “pork barrels,” “earmarks” or “member items” in national and state-level policy making. The management of such projects has sometimes been controversial because they raise fundamental questions about the efficacy of government service delivery. It highlights the extent to which such service delivery can be made accountable, the role of legislators in choosing development priorities, and how public participation in policy-making can be made more significant (Udefuna, Jumare & Adebayo, 2013).

The 1999 Nigeria Constitution clearly stipulate the framework for rule of law, separation of powers, and checks and balances between the arms of government, an area of disagreement experienced in the operation of the Constitution is the constituency projects. Thus, questions have been asked on such constituency projects, such as: what is the constitutional source or the legal basis in Nigeria for such projects? Would the implementation of such projects not be conflicting to the principles of accountability and transparency enshrined in the Constitution and some other statutes? Would such projects be continued in view of the answers that might be derived from the questions posited above? (Orimogunje, 2015).

‘Dividends of democracy’ or “democratic dividends” is a popular term, widely used in Nigeria by some persons, including politicians, scholars, political commentators, etc. The common denominator of all the usages of the term is that it is about the development of the generality of the populace in any democratic culture’ (Edigin and Otoghile, 2011). Since the primary essence of democracy is to ensure the welfare of the people, their wishes and aspirations then the constituency projects are actually dividends of democracy that serve as a channel in which democracy can bring about development in the society through good governance (Udefuna, 2013).

On the whole, constituency projects, ‘involves direct interaction between representatives and constituents and the allocation of projects that are of benefit to the community lies at the heart of the initiative. It, therefore, lends itself to an evaluation of how local interests are taken into consideration in representative actions and the impact of such actions on constituents can be seen. The fact that it captures the substantive actions of the legislators in Nigeria suggests that it can tell us the extent to which they use this policy initiative to represent the needs of constituents (Benson, 2018).

2.4 Emergence of constituency project in Nigeria

In Nigeria, the phenomenon of constituency projects took root at the dawn of the Fourth Republic, with the quest by Nigerian legislators for more equitable distribution of resources to their constituencies as “dividends of democracy. Thus, one of the measures put in place by the government to facilitate development at the grassroots is the constituency fund. Constituency funds evolved as a form of government funding appropriated by the legislature, directed to ensure equitable distribution of public goods across the country through constituency based projects (Kakungu, (2013); Ochieng & Tubey, (2013); Ojwang, 2014). Public goods of this ensure provision of boreholes and public health services and parking facilities, lighting of public spaces and roadways, among others (Awofeso & Irabor, 2020).

Constituency projects issue came into the public domain in Nigeria during Olusegun Obasanjo’s administration. The Fourth National Assembly sought and got approval from the Executive branch for the disbursement of N5 million and N3 million per Senator and House of Representatives Members, respectively for constituency projects (Udefuna, Jumare & Adebayo, 2013). It was envisaged that constituency projects should guarantee that all over-lapping Federal constituencies in Nigeria are provided with social amenities such as roads, primary healthcare

centres, rural electrification, electricity transformers, streets light, water boreholes, rural roads and drainage system, environmental sanitation wares, and also educational and leadership development programs among others (BudgIT, 2016; De, 2008; KIM, 2006). Expectedly, good infrastructure helps to raise productivity and lower costs, as poor infrastructure hinders economic growth in any economy (KIM, 2006). Also, constituency projects are the development initiatives geared toward improving the lives of people of different constituent units periodically (Ezeobi, 2021). The citizens were persuaded that such a scheme would directly impact the lives of the people, especially those at the grassroots as well as bring governance closer to them.

The main reason for instituting any government is to deliver public good to the majority of the populace through good governance. In the case of Nigeria, the people were hungry for democracy dividends and demanded the same from their elected representatives. Hence, the constituency project is a response to the yearnings of Nigerians for democracy and its dividends. As a result, Constituency projects were created to ensure at least the presence of government in each constituency by having some grass-roots projects sited in each, during the budgeting process. Legislators were only required to identify projects which they wished to be sited in their constituencies for inclusion in the budget, with a financial limit for the budgetary provisions for such projects in each constituency. The 1999 Constitution gave power to the National Assembly to appropriate funds for government spending as highlighted in section 80 (2, 3 and 4) (Udefuna, P. N., Jumare, F. & Adebayo, F. O., 2013).

Senator Femi Okuronmu posited that the rationale behind the introduction of the constituency project was: To guarantee a minimum presence of government in every district by having some grass-roots projects sited in each one, during the appropriation process. Legislators were only required to nominate projects which they wished to be sited in their electoral districts

for inclusion in the budget, with a financial ceiling for the budgetary provisions for such projects in each constituency. The award of contracts and the supervision and payments for such contracts were left totally in the hands of the appropriate executive agencies of government (Udefuna, Jumare, and Adebayo, 2013).

Similarly, Senator Ayogu Eze confirmed the above position, he argued, “Our role is simply to identify the projects for our constituency while the Executive arm of government will identify the contractor to implement the project” (cited in Tunji, 2010). The CFRN 1999 equips the National Assembly with the power to appropriate funds for government spending as indicated in section 80 (2, 3 and 4). The former Deputy Senate President, Ike Ekweremadu, asserted that the concept of the constituency project came up due to the need to ensure fair distribution of infrastructure and that every part of the country has a good representation, in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. ‘Ekweremadu argued that this is due to the fact that there will be lopsided development in the country if governors and senators are allowed to decide where projects should be cited. Therefore, all the representatives usually come up with what their constituents want’ (Anyanate, 2009) (Udefuna, Jumare, & Adebayo 2013)

It is deducible from the foregoing, that the idea of the constituency project emerged as a result of the need to guarantee fair and even distribution of infrastructural facilities. Safeguard adequate representation of every part of the country in the State House of Assembly, the House of Representatives and the Senate. However, legislators only recommend programmes and projects to be sited in their constituencies based on the needs and requests of their constituents. The award of contracts and the management and payments for such contracts are entirely in the hands of the executive agencies of government (Udefuna, Jumare, & Adebayo, 2013).

On the other hand, there was another school of thought that was against the foregoing arrangement that warrants members of the National Assembly to directly determine what projects to be sited in their constituency coupled with influencing the potential contractors, agreement was reached between the legislators and the Executive branch that paved the way for an annual practice whereby the Federal Government allocated funds for the implementation of the projects through the Office of Special Adviser to the President on Millennium Development Goals. Thus, these projects are recommended by lawmakers for implementation in their various constituencies in order to engender socio-economic development at the grassroots as well as among Nigerians in every State and Federal Capital Territory (FCT) (Budglt, 2018).

2.5 Constituency project in other climes

Constituency projects are not peculiar to Nigeria. In fact, they are now a growing phenomenon in democratic nations and exist in one form or another in over countries in the world. Constituency project in the USA is known as the Pork Barrel while in other countries “Constituency Development Funds” (“CDFs”) etc. It is found in other countries and likened to the “pork-barrel” or “earmarks” in the United States. The practise was first adopted in India but gained prominence when Kenya established a CDF in 2003. Due to its success in Kenya, the practice has spread to other African countries (Orimogunje, 2015).

Presently, about 23 other countries in Africa operate the CDF mostly by the same mechanism and name. However, the degree to which these funds are controlled by legislators and the extent to which local citizens participate in them vary from one country to the other (Benson, 2018).

This key role of the legislature in constituency development has gained credence across countries including United States of America, Ghana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Malaysia, Namibia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe etc. (Baskin, Haibo, Samrat & Ryan, 2010; Chibomba, 2013; International Budget Partnership, 2010). While the concept remains a relatively new field of research (International Budget Partnership, 2010; Kakungu, 2013). There is growing importance of constituency projects owing to governance challenges inhibiting the provision of the public project due to prolonged executive bureaucracies; participation of constituents in the choice of project to be provided; and power of the legislature to allocate funds for the development of their constituency (Chibomba, 2013; Hickey, 2010; Ojwang, 2014)(Orimogunje, 2015).

Although legislative constituency projects represent an obvious departure from the usual constitutional role of the legislature under the doctrine of separation of powers, and usurpation of the role of the executive by the legislature. There are different models of the CDFs, some common features identifiable with most constituency projects or CDFs are as follows:

- i. The constituency project sought to be carried out or implemented is usually identified by the legislator representing the host constituency, acting in the parliament, or in a CDF Committee of his constituency;
- ii. The project is designed, funded and executed, with some participation or collaboration of the legislator in the process;
- iii. The project is funded directly from the budget of the central or state government;
- iv. The project is usually nominated by the legislator as his/her constituency project.

However, CDFs may arguably be credited with some merits or benefits, such as:

- a. the provision of infrastructure, promptly, without prolonged bureaucratic red-tape formality;
- b. the active involvement of the constituents in the identification of developmental projects for implementation in their constituency;
- c. better articulation and the utmost satisfaction of the pressing needs of the constituency;
- d. the creation of opportunity for elected representatives to directly contribute to the alleviation of the problems faced by their constituents (Orimogunje, 2015).

2.6 Linking the past study to this research

The previous studies examined the concept of the Constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects on the point of view of origin, constitutionality, legality, practicability, and management as well as the need for citizens' information, understanding of government budget and its implementation, and the level of beneficiary's participation in the project selection process. More so, some of the studies observed that there is undue interference of the legislators in the execution of constituency projects which impedes their satisfactory implementation. While others advocated the outright proscription of constituency projects based not only on the constitutionality, legality, and violation of the principle of separation of powers but the fact that it is an avenue for the legislators' pecuniary gains.

On the other hand, others upheld the introduction of the Constituency and Zonal Intervention project owing to the underlying principle that the primary purpose of government is to ensure the security and welfare of the people and the attendant benefits of being an instrument for the delivery of "dividends of democracy" at the grassroots. This entails the provision of social amenities and poverty alleviation to improve the welfare of the people. Further, they advocated the establishment of an institutional framework and efficient mechanism for constituency projects

funding and funds utilization, as well as the need for active synergy of citizens, legislature and government agencies in project selection and funds appropriation, monitoring accountability and implementation.

However, this research while considering the factors that determine the selection, management, ownership and implementation of the constituency and Zonal Intervention projects, will assess the effects of the projects on the development of Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State from 2011 – 2019 (7th & 8th National Assembly).

2.7 Theoretical framework

“Theories act as a vehicle that drives the study. Theories are defined as a set of interrelated concepts which provides a systematic view of a phenomenon” (Light, 1999) in (Ukachukwu, 2021). In this study, this research will discuss the theories that are relevant to the study such as Representation Political Theory, Principal-Agent Theory is adopted because it adequately addresses the need of the study.

Representation political theory

Generally, representation political theory has been referred to in theoretical and symbolic terms as a state of affairs in which one individual or body could stand for another. In other words, an early sense of one person or body being able to speak for, denotes another body of people emerged not in the form of the represented authorizing the representative (Benson 2018).

In the study of Representative political theory, three models have been historically exceptional. The three models are trustee, delegate, and responsible. Considerations over representation have focused more on the trustee and delegate models as the foremost political representation styles. They place rival and contrary demands on the conduct of representatives.

The trustees carry out their representative function depending on their best decision while the delegates reflect the opinions of their electorates in the course of representation (Benson 2018).

Thus, Hobbes in his discussions of representation in his work “*Leviathan*”, where the idea is regarded as a social contract. He held that representation is the establishment of a commonwealth where people reach a contract to give power to a specific man or set of men. Therefore, all the decisions of that person or group are viewed as the action of the entire people. What confers the right of representation in line with this view is that one-off permission is given by the people to the representative to represent them. It implies that every action of the representative is previously authorized by the people even before such action has not been taken. The representative is the only one that can decide what constitutes the mutual interest of the society. More so, the citizens have no claim from their representative as they have surrendered their rights in advance to the representative. Consequently, the representative is not responsible to the people, they are only liable to their own moral sense. Hence, people cannot make any request to their representative or even demand for better representation (Benson 2018).

Hobbes’ concept of representation is unacceptable because representation cannot be decided by absolute consent to act and should not depend on the pleasure of those that represent. Besides, Pitkin condemned Hobbes’s idea of representation as too formal. She argued that parliament is not an assembly where the sovereign with absolute authority in perpetuity without an obligation to consult their constituents cannot be assumed as a representative government, and representation does not imply merely acting with authority from another without any parameters. (Benson 2018).

Burke’s view on political representation theory as representatives from diverse and hostile interests, which must be preserved, as a representative and opponent of the other agents and

advocates, respectively. He further argued that parliament is a deliberative congress of one country, with one interest of the whole and local biases ought not to come to play, but the only general good, resulting from the collective interest of the whole. Therefore, an elected member does not represent or serve as a member of the constituency, but he is a member of parliament. (Benson 2018).

One can assume from the foregoing that his theory of representation implies ‘unattached interest’. Thus, political representation is the indeed representation of interests which are objective and impersonal. He also posits that representatives should emerge from an elitist group that is aware of the best interest of the nation. He opined that inequalities are common in every society, hence, the masses of people are not capable of governing themselves. As a result, society should breed and train a special group of persons. (Benson 2018).

On the whole, the views of both Burke and Hobbes on representation strongly contradict any authoritative claim from the constituents. It impedes democratic responsiveness to the constituents and makes the representatives responsive to authorisations and merely interested in general public benefits and issues. The constituents are considered inferior to the representative who has the superior ability to consider and decide on their behalf. The relationship and the focus of the representative are to the nation entirely. The representative does not have a remarkable connection with the constituents who elected them. Elections are merely a mechanism by which the representatives that constitute the natural aristocracy of rulers will be found. Accordingly to their view, representatives are trustees taking care of the needs of the citizens as well as an act on their understanding of what is right and wrong (Benson 2018).

Further, considering the modern view of representation: Max Weber perceives representation as a state where the decisions of specific members of a group are attributed to the

entire group and mandatory on them. His explanation can be held as a social relationship as well as a state of affairs where each member's action is credited to all and can be termed as a solidarity precondition for proper representation, entails that particular members should be authorized to act for the assemblage and not the entire members as this position suggests (Benson 2018).

While Miller and Stokes stated that congruence is the manifestation of a representative relationship between the legislators and their constituents. They scrutinized the degree to which the representative's plenary attendance and performance match the view of their constituencies. They established that constituents have a degree of influence on their representatives, however, the legislators have a predisposition to be uncertain of the precise nature of constituents' options. This is attributable to constituents' lack of knowledge of the policy stance of their representatives. These scholars have been disparaged for taking this stance. Thus, Heinz argued that congruence should not be the obvious measure of representation. That for this to occur, citizens should be in charge and be allowed to elect their representatives. Therefore they elect representatives that have their mutual view and they ought to possess the authority to vote such representatives out of office once they fail to discharge their functions as anticipated (Benson, 2018). Achen also criticized the usage of relationship coefficients in the study of representation. He introduced an alternative model to assess the connection between the representatives and their constituents. He established that the losers are more representative than the winners and that both do not differ on issues (Benson, 2018).

Furthermore, Rousseau postulated an alternative view, he argued that representatives are delegates of their constituents and hence, under obligation to conduct themselves in line with the will or interest of those who bequeathed them the mandate. This belief is anchored on the idea of self-governance as a condition of liberty supported by Montesquieu. This underscores the opinion

that the legislative authority should be vested in the people. On the other hand, because of convenience, the people perform through their representatives what they cannot do by themselves (Benson, 2018).

Even though there has been a further divide among the scholars on the modern view of political representation theory, the proponents of this view have not been hushed. This model of representation theory is well-thought-out to be highly rooted in democratic values as representatives are expected to act on the demands of their constituents. However, two forms of this model have emerged with different points of view on how the representative ought to act. The first school of thought perceives the representative as simply errand individual for the constituents and under obligation to always perform their request without question. While the other view permits representatives to apply their own decision to a certain level. The latter could be a situation where the issue may be ambiguous or so weighty and intricate that constituents may not be able to offer appropriate instruction. This can be attributed to the fact that they may not have the relevant information. As a result, there is no doubt that the commonsensical position will be endorsed. Nevertheless, in this, representative view, the demands of the constituents appear to be a general concern (Benson, 2018).

The delegate view suggests that representation must strive for close correspondence between the views of an electoral district and the actions of the representative. More so, they argue that the purpose of representation ought to be for the interest of the specific constituency represented owing to the distinctive relationship to it which does not essentially impede the service to the nation. To them the parliament as an institution can be regarded as representing the entire nation, a member's responsibility should be to the constituency who bequeathed him the mandate. Thus, in representing the interests of the country, the legislator should not oppose the articulated

demands and interests of the constituents, particularly on issues that affect the constituent directly. Pitkin opined that the foregoing is acceptable for representation in the practical sense. She further argued that where the essence of the matters to be dealt with does not directly affect a particular group of people. Hence, the consultation of the constituents is not ideal, however, the final decision taken by the representative should be in their interest (Benson, 2018).

However, Verba and Nie approached political representation theory from the idea of responsiveness like the view held by Miller and Stokes and defined it as the degree of nationals' participation. They brought participation as a variable in the model of responsiveness. Thus, they regarded responsiveness to be the extent to the preferences of the people and that of the leaders converged and termed this "concurrence". This view was criticized on the ground that, the scrutiny is impartial in the direction and considered as being inherently ambiguous. While attempting to find the relationship between participation and concurrence, they failed to assert whether the people are responsive to the leaders or otherwise (Benson, 2018).

Principal – agent theory

The first scholars that proposed and began the creation of the theory of principal agency, were Stephen Ross and Barry Mitnick, individually and concurrently in 1972. While Ross is responsible for the origin of the economic theory of agency, and Mitnick for the institutional theory of agency, also the basic concepts of these approaches are related. Actually, the approaches are complementary in their uses of similar concepts under different assumptions. Ross initiated the study of agency in terms of problems of compensation contracting; the agency was seen, in principle, as an incentives problem. Mitnick introduced the common insight that establishments form around agency, and advance to deal with the agency, in reaction to the vital imperfection of agency relationships: Performance never ensues as it is desired by the principal because it does not

pay to make it impeccable. However, society establishes institutions that attend to these imperfections, managing them, adapting to them, or becoming regularly distorted by them. Therefore, to fully agency, we need to see the motivations as well as the institutional structures (Mitnick, 2006).

However, the principal-agency theory was not applied in political science in a major way until Moe's article in 1984; it did not enter sociology equally until Shapiro's article in 1987 and did not become prominent in management work until after Eisenhardt's article in 1989. In all cases, Mitnick's work was cited, but it took many years before these authors took their primary course from the theory of agency in economics. Even though the law of agency played a role in the naming of the theory of agency, it took many years before other scholars applied the law of agency to the social science theory of agency. Presently, there is a very large literature in law that makes use of the theory of agency as well as crucial concepts from it (Mitnick, 2006).

The foregoing theory has the limitations of game theory as a mechanism for clarifying behaviour. Principal-agent analysis is also not suitable for evaluating the accountability of certain actor to another, when the second is not aware of its dependence on the first and/or can do literally nothing to affect the behavior of the former. Lastly, its very flexibility is also a sort of limitation. Within its field of application, there does not appear to be any pattern of behaviour that the model cannot explain. While any particular model in this category may have empirical content, it is not clear what content the family as a whole has (Gailmardy, 2012).

Furthermore, principal-agent problem theory describes problems that occur when agents and principals have conflicting interests. Popularly elected governments though more peculiar to developed economies have become an emerging phenomenon among developing countries as well. These nations are often governed as direct democracies that operate by letting citizens elect

government officials. These officials are agents of the people that they represent. However, does the government truly represent the people (Investopedia, 2020)?

Thus, a principal-agent problem can occur in governance when officials have motivations to act in their pecuniary interests rather than as agents for the people, who are the principals. This view is reinforced by the fact that unelected bureaucrats are not accountable to the voters and likely to act in their own interests. According to economist Niskanen (1994), the goal of civil servants is to maximize their own budgets rather than general social welfare. If this view is correct, then unelected administrators have a conflict of interest with voters. Unelected officials, especially those who are difficult to fire, would seem to have chronic difficulty acting as agents for the people.

Similarly, elected officials and bureaucrats (unelected) among others face different pressures to act against the public interest. Occasionally, principal-agent problems occur owing to the fact that government officials lack the knowledge to act effectively as agents for the people (Investopedia, 2020). Principal-agent problems in government can be reduced by entrenching transparency and accountability in administration and thereby ensuring good governance.

2.8 Application of theory to the study

The above discussed theory is applicable to this study in varying degrees. The people (electorates) are the principal that elected legislators as their agents to represent them in the parliament, ensure the wellbeing of the people because they want public officials to make decisions in their best interests.

The foregoing is in line with the view of the Delegate Model of Popular Representation Theory, which posits that representation should press for close synergy between the views of an electoral constituency and the actions of the representative. This school of thought further argue

that the aim of representation must be for the good of the specific district represented because an exceptional relationship to a part does not necessarily impede the service to the whole. “To them, it is parliament as a whole that can speak of representing the whole nation, an individual member’s responsibility ought to be to the constituency who gave him or her mandate” (Benson, 2018).

More so, the Executive branch where public bureaucracies (MDAs) are domiciled is established to implement laws, policies and programmes of government as well as provide services to the populace. Accordingly, CFRN 1999 as Amended Section 14 (2) (a – b) stipulates that “sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through the constitution derived its powers and authority, and the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. Thus, while the people are the principal, both the legislature/legislators and the Executive (including its Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) under its supervision) are their agents.

However, effective agents with impeccable information would act to serve the people (their principal). The foregoing would be true even when the people's interest is in conflict with their own. “For instance, former U.S. President George Washington was one of largest producers of whiskey. But he suppressed the Whiskey Rebellion, which was directed against a tax on whiskey”. Whenever government officials act in their own private interests, they potentially introduce conflict into their relationship with the electorate. In theory, elections ultimately provide a check on elected officials who go against the public interest (Investopedia, 2020).

On the other hand, unelected civil servants can work toward the public interest more effectively because they do not have to worry about the next election. To safeguard the foregoing recruitment into the bureaucracy should be based on merit where the best and the brightest work for the common good. Also, the popular election of representatives may only partially address this

problem by leaving officials free to act in their own interests after the election (Investopedia, 2020).

Therefore the elected representative/legislature as the agent of the people (principal) needs to intensify their oversight function to check the excesses and malfeasance of the bureaucrats to ensure transparency, accountability and good governance.

The legislature as an agent of the people ought to consult the people in choosing their constituency projects before recommending such; carry out their oversight functions effectively to ensure that MDAs implement the projects according to the specifications and standards. Also, they are officially responsible to inform their constituents with updates on every project sited in their constituency. Since legislators occupy a better position to monitor and effectively ensure the execution of every project by engaging the agencies in charge. While financing and supervision of the implementation of constituency projects are under the purview of appropriate MDAs. Therefore, the people (being principal) and other stakeholders legitimately expect both the Legislature and Executive (as their agent) to promptly implement the constituency projects as democratic dividends to enhance their welfare.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter centred on a detailed explanation of the research methodology used in the study. The main aim of the research is to assess the effectiveness of the National Assembly Constituency Projects in Ukwu East/Ukwu West Federal Constituency of Abia State from 2011 – 2019 (7th & 8th National Assembly). Therefore, the discussion of the methodology includes the following: the research design, population of the study, sampling technique, sampling size, sources of data, instruments of data collection, as well as the method of data analysis and presentation.

3.1 Research design

The essence of this study required the adoption of descriptive design coupled with the application of quantitative research as most appropriate to the research objectives and questions. According to Naeem (2021), in the application of descriptive design, the researcher has no control over the variables and will only describe the state of the matters as they exist. Quantitative research focuses on the number of tangible responses and it is statistical in nature, dealing with computations of descriptions that are apparent.

Thus, primary and secondary data were evaluated and utilized in the conduct of this study. In collecting this research data, questionnaires and interviews were used for primary data while content analysis of Budgetary/Appropriation allocation and implementation documents were used for secondary data collection.

3.2 Population of the study

The Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency consist of the Ukwa East Local Government Area and Ukwa West Local Government Area of Abia State, South East Geo-Political Zone of Nigeria. Each of the two local government areas is made up of ten (10) political wards. The estimated population of Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency as at 2016 are as follows:

Table 3.1. 1

S/N	Name of LGA	Population
1	Ukwa East	76,200
2	Ukwa West	114,400
Total	2	190,600

Source: National Population Commission 2016 estimate.

Thus, in this research, the population of the study is 190,600 which is the estimated population of Ukwa East /Ukwa West Federal Constituency.

3.3 Sampling technique

The purposive sampling technique was deployed in selecting respondents due to the nature of the research. According to Ukachukwu (2021), Singh (2018, p. 2) stated that purposive sampling is “based on the intention or the purpose of the study. Only those elements are selected from the population which suits best for the purpose of our study”. Participants in this sample were selected randomly within the political wards of the federal constituency. The researcher applied the technique of purposive sampling known as the critical case sampling to get the stakeholders in the federal constituency. It implies that the researcher decided on what needs to be uncovered and

searches out those who can and are willing to deliver the needed information due to their knowledge. Consequently, purposive sampling was used in deciding the needed respondents.

3.4 Sources of data

This study utilized data from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were gathered through well-tailored and organized questionnaires and interviews, while the secondary data were sourced from parliamentary documents such as the constituency projects in the Appropriation Acts sited in the Federal constituency, reports of National Assembly Committees having oversight on Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIP) etc.

3.5 Sample size

In this study, the researcher applied Krejcie & Morgan (2006) table for determining sample size for research activities (see appendix “B”). Thus, the sample size was 384, and to achieve spread across the respondents, twenty (20) questionnaires and in some cases, nineteen (19) were distributed in each of the twenty (20) political wards of Ukwu East - Ukwu West Federal Constituency. Consequently, the total sample size of 384 participants was involved in the research.

3.6 Instrument for data collection

The mechanism used for data collection from the respondents are well-organized and designed questionnaires, in-depth interviews, Appropriation Acts, documents of National Assembly Committees having oversight on ZIP etc. Also, the questionnaire has five sections on the perception of the researcher and the case study nature of the research, both open-ended and close-ended questions were contained in the administered questionnaire.

3.7 Procedure for data collection

The use of both primary and secondary methods of data collection and the relevant information forms are important parts of this study. The researcher distributed and collected the questionnaire in person and also through reliable colleagues to selected respondents. Moreover, documentary evidence was used in collecting data from parliamentary documents such as the constituency projects in the Appropriation Acts sited in the Federal constituency, reports of National Assembly Committees having oversight on ZIP etc.

3.8 Methods of data analysis

The data from the quantitative method was collated, analyzed and edited, so as to remove errors and ensure reliability. Responses to each question were classified, discussed, summarized and categorized. The quantitative data were presented in tables for ease of comprehension. Using the document analysis technique, the researcher analyzed and assessed the constituency projects' effectiveness.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presented, interpreted and discussed the results gathered from the documentary, questionnaires, literature review and interview responses in the course of this research. The researcher's presentation, analysis and discussion of data were guided by the objectives of the study as outlined in Chapter One. Accordingly, the data collected is presented, analyse and then the findings are discussed. The content analysis of documentary evidence and structured questionnaires (open and close ended) provided data for the objectives of the study. The purpose of this analysis is to empirically determine the rationality of issues raised in the preceding chapter, research objectives and questions stated in Chapter One. It should be noted that 384 questionnaires were distributed but 360 were returned, representing 93.75%.

4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

4.2.1 Bio data

Gender

The Table below shows the gender of the respondents of the questionnaire.

Table 4.1: Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	204	56.7%
Female	156	43.3%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

Table 4.1 shows that 204 (56.7%) males and 156 (43.3%) females responded to the questionnaires.

This shows the normal outcome of the male-dominated character of Nigerian society.

4.3 Research Objectives

4.3.1 Objective one: To determine the present status of constituency projects in the Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State in terms of functionality.

Table 4.2 Response to the present state of the Constituency Projects in the communities.

	Frequency	Percentage
Completed	191	53.1%
Ongoing	70	19.4%
Abandoned	99	27.5%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

Data from the above field survey (questionnaire) specifies that 191(53.1%) of the respondents stated that the constituency projects were “completed”, 70 (19.4%) indicated that the projects were “ongoing” while 99 (27.5%) asserted that the projects were abandoned. Given that 191(53.1%) of the respondents stated that the projects were “completed” implies that a substantial number of the constituency projects have been accomplished.

Table 4.3 Response to whether the Constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects sited in the communities were operational?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	236	65.6%
No	124	34.4%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

The data from the above field survey (questionnaire) indicates that 236(65.6%) of the respondents affirmed “yes” that the constituency projects were operational. While 124 (34.4%) stated “no” that the projects were not operational. Therefore, since 236(65.6%) respondents affirmed that the constituency projects were operational denotes that the projects were functioning.

Table 4.4 Response to whether there is a case of an abandoned project in the communities?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	152	42.2%
No	208	57.8
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

Data from the overhead field survey (questionnaire) shows that 152 (42.2%) of the respondents asserted “yes” that there were cases of abandoned projects. But 208 (57.8%) respondents stated that there was no case of abandoned projects. Thus, 208 (57.8%) responded that there were no cases of abandoned projects implies that there is an insignificant case of the abandoned project.

Table 4.5 Response to what is responsible for project being abandoned?

	Frequency	Percentage
Community hostility	64	17.8%
Lack of capacity of the contractor	90	25%
Funding issues	206	57.2%
Others	000	00
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022.

Data from the overhead field survey (questionnaire) specifies that 64(17.8%) of the respondents stated that “community hostility” is responsible for project abandonment, and 90 (25%) respondents opined that “lack of capacity of the contractor” led to the project being abandoned. While 206 (57.2%) respondents indicated that funding issues caused project abandonment.

However, interviews at project sites and the National Assembly committee on ZIP show that the concerned committee did not embark on any oversight visit of the constituency project sites.

Since 206 (57.8%) respondents attributed project abandonment to funding issues, it denotes that funding matters coupled with a lack of legislative oversight visit of the constituency project sites led to the project abandonment.

Examining the implications of tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 & 4.5 to determine the present status of constituency projects in the Ukwu East – Ukwu West Federal Constituency of Abia State in terms of functionality, respectively. The foregoing denoted that the constituency projects were mostly

completed as well as operational. However, a few instances of project abandonment were attributed to a lack of funding by the government coupled with poor oversight of the projects by the concerned National Assembly committee.

The completion of the project as well as its functionality highlights that the essence of the constituency projects has been accomplished which envisages the provision of social amenities and infrastructure at the grassroots. As a result, the project will impact the lives of the constituents positively and thereby enhance their welfare. In line with the foregoing, Udefuna(2013) posits that the primary essence of democracy is to ensure the welfare of the people, their wishes and aspiration, then constituency projects are actually dividends of democracy that serve as a channel in which democracy can bring about development in the society through good governance.

On the other hand, when projects are abandoned, it implies that the objective of initiating them cannot be realised, it results in inefficiency and a waste of public funds, and hence, the targeted audience (people) are worse off. Similarly, Komolafe, (2020) stressed that legislative oversight is geared toward ensuring compliance by other branches of government in the implementation of laws and disbursement of funds appropriated by the legislature. More so, Orimogunje (2015) emphasised that National Assembly has the constitutional oversight obligation on government projects as its checks and balances function to ensure transparency and accountability.

4.3.2 Objective two: To examine the effect of the constituency projects on the people of Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State.

Table 4.6 Response to whether there is any constituency project sited in their communities?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	268	74.4%
No	92	25.6%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

The data from the above field survey (questionnaire) indicates that 268 (74.4%) of respondents affirmed “yes” that there are constituency projects in their communities, while 92 (25.6%) insisted otherwise, that there is “no” such project in their communities. The 268 (74.4%) responses revealed the fact that constituency projects are located in the communities in the federal constituency.

Table 4.7 Responses to whether the constituency projects in the communities aided development in the LGAs?

	Frequency	Percentages
Highly useful	214	59.44%
Moderately useful	84	23.33%
Neutral	32	8.9%
Not Useful	30	8.33%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

The data from the above field survey (questionnaire) indicates that 214 (59.44%) of respondents admitted that the constituency projects are “highly useful”, and 84 (23.33%) stated that the projects are “moderately useful”. However, 32(8.9%) were “neutral” while 30 (8.33%) asserted that the projects were “not useful”. The fact that 214 (59.44%) of respondents asserted that the projects are highly useful coupled with 84 (23.33%) stated that the projects are “moderately useful” total of 298(82.8%) indicates the fact that constituency projects aided development in the LGAs of the Federal Constituency.

Table 4.8 Response to whether the constituency projects provided job opportunities in the communities?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	186	51.7%
No	174	48.3%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

The data from the overhead field survey (questionnaire) specifies that 186(51.7%) of the respondents affirmed” yes” that the constituency projects provided job opportunities in the communities while 174 (48.3%) stated that the projects did not provide job opportunities. However, field interview indicates that some of the empowerment projects provided self-employment to the beneficiaries while the project construction offered temporary employment to few a youths. Thus, the 186 (51.7%) respondents’ affirmation coupled with self-employment engendered by some of the empowerment projects denotes that job opportunities were enabled by the projects.

Deducing from the above tables 4.6, 4.7 & 4.8 in examining the effect of the constituency projects on the people of Ukwa East-Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia, there is a strong indication that constituency projects were sited in the constituency, the projects were useful to the people and thereby aided the development of the LGAs in the constituency as well as provided job opportunities. These implicitly enable the constituents to generate income to earn their livings and lead to the improvement of their socio-economic wellbeing.

The above confirms, Tambawal (2016) argument that the constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects are funded projects with direct socio-economic impact with a view to improving lives, alleviating poverty, and general development resolution. It supports rural development projects, especially those aimed at alleviating poverty and developing infrastructure at the grassroots (NILS, 2016). Accordingly, Ezeobi (2021) posited that constituency projects are development initiatives geared toward improving the lives of people of different constituent units. Thus, the citizens were persuaded that such a scheme would directly impact the lives of the people especially those at the grassroots as well as bring governance closer to the people.

4.3.3 Objective three: To ascertain the role of the constituents in the selection, implementation, and management of the constituency projects.

Table 4.9 Response to whether the Constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects sited in the communities are priority projects?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	199	55.3%
No	161	44.7%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

The data from the above field survey (questionnaire) specifies that 199 (55.3%) of the respondents stated “yes” that the constituency projects sited in communities were priority projects while 161 (44.7%) indicated “no” the projects were not their priority project.

Thus, the fact that 199 (55.3%) respondents affirmed that the constituency projects sited in their communities were priority projects confirms that the projects sited in the constituency are their preference.

Table 4.10 Response to if the project is a priority of the community, did you participate in the nomination of the project?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	214	59.4%
No	146	40.6%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

Data from the above field survey (questionnaire) shows that 214 (59.4%) of the respondents affirmed “yes” that the constituents participated in the nomination of the projects and 146 (40.6%) indicated “no” that the constituents did not participate in the nomination of the projects. Given that 214 (59.4%) respondents affirmed implies that the constituents participated in the nomination of the projects.

Table 4.11 Response to how was the project selected, through---?

	Frequency	Percentage
Demand for need assessment of the community by the Member	130	36.1 %
The community presented their request to the member	112	31.1%
Member nominated the project	118	32.8%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

The above data from the field survey (questionnaire) indicates that 130 (36.1%) of the respondents stated that the Member demanded the need assessment of the communities, and 112 (31.1%) respondents specified that the community presented their need assessment to the Member, but 118(32.8%) respondents asserted that the Member nominated the constituency projects. The fact that 130 (36.1%) respondents stated that the member requested for the need assessment of the communities couple with 112 (31.1%) respondents that indicated that communities presented their request to the Member, a total of 242(67.2%) is indicative that the constituents selected the constituency projects.

Considering the implication from tables 4.9, 4.10 & 4.11 to ascertain the role of the constituents in the selection, implementation, and management of the constituency projects. The above tables indicated that the constituency projects sited in the communities were the priority projects of the constituents; that the constituents participated in the nomination of the projects as well as in its selection. Besides, oral interviews show that the completed water projects were

handed over to the community concerned to manage while health centres were handed over to the Abia State Government to run.

In line with the foregoing, Orimogunje (2015) observed that some common features of constituency projects include the active participation of the constituents in the identification of developmental projects for implementation in their district; better articulation and the utmost satisfaction of the pressing needs of the constituency, the creation of opportunity for elected representatives to directly contribute to the alleviation of the problems faced by the constituents, etc. Also, Dogara (2016) asserted that constituency projects came into existence owing to the demands of Nigerians. Udoma (2016) stressed the need to earlier consult the constituents on constituency projects and in coordination with the State and Local Government Council to avert the waste of funds and resources.

4.3.4 Objective four: To determine factors that influenced the siting of the projects and whether the projects were evenly distributed.

Table 4.12 Response to whether the projects were evenly sited across the political wards of the Federal constituency

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	168	46.7%
No	192	53.3%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

The above data from the field survey (questionnaire) indicates that 168 (46.7%) of the respondents affirmed “yes” that the projects were evenly sited in the political wards in the Constituency while 192 (53.3%) asserted that the projects were not evenly sited across the political

wards in the Constituency. Deducing the fact that 192(53.3%) asserted that the projects were not equally located across the political wards of the federal constituency implies that actually, projects were not evenly sited across the wards.

Table 4.13 Response to whether the projects were evenly sited in the LGAs that make up the Federal Constituency?

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	108	30%
No	252	70%
Total	360	100%

Source: Field Survey March, 2022

The overhead data from the field survey (questionnaire) depicts that 108 (30%) of the respondents specified that the constituency projects were evenly located in two LGAs that make up the federal constituency while 252 (70%) of the respondents asserted that the projects were not evenly spread between the two LGAs. The that 252(70%) respondents asserted that the projects were not evenly sited between the LGAs that constitute the federal constituency indicates that really, the projects were not equally located between the two LGAs that make ups the constituency.

Examining the repercussion of the above tables 4.11 & 4.12 to determine factors that influenced the siting of the projects and whether the projects were evenly distributed, respectively. It is evident that the constituency projects were not evenly located in the political wards across the constituency. Similarly, the projects were not evenly sited between the two LGAs that make up the Federal constituency. The foregoing is reinforced by Table 4.15 (list of Zonal Intervention Projects) which indicated that the constituency projects were lopsidedly located.

Table 4.14 Location of Constituency Projects by LGA

S/N	Location	Number of Projects	Percentage
1	Ukwa East LGA	49	60%
2	Ukwa West LGA	33	40%
3	Total	82	100

Source: Table 4.15

The above table 4.14 indicates that 60% (49) of the constituency projects were sited in Ukwa East LGA while 40% (33) projects were sited in Ukwa West LGA. This scenario is contrary to one of the main objectives of initiating constituency projects to ensure equitable distribution of projects to guarantee even development in the rural areas as well as avoid lopsided development. This situation is repugnant to equity, fairness, and natural justice.

Thus, Udefuna, Jumare & Adebayo, (2013) stated that the former Deputy Senate President, Ike Ekweremadu asserted that the concept of constituency projects came up due to the need to ensure fair distribution of infrastructure and that every part of the country has a representation in the House of Representatives and in Senate. Equally, Ekweremadu argued that this is due to the fact that there will be lopsided development in the country if its governors and senators are allowed to decide where projects should be sited. Therefore all the representatives usually come up with what their constituents want. Similarly, Garba (2016) emphasised that constituency projects are designed to support grassroots development as well as achieve equitable distribution of resources across the nation thereby combating poverty (NIL, 2016).

4.4. Discussion of the result of the study

On the whole, the implementation of the National Assembly Constituency Projects in Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State from 2011 – 2019 (7th & 8th

Assembly) recorded substantial success as shown in the outcome of the study. The constituency projects were sited in the federal constituency during the period under review which engendered development and provided employment opportunities as well as enhanced the wellbeing of the people. Most of the projects were completed and functional but the abandoned ones were attributed to inadequate funding and lack of legislative oversight. More so, the projects sited in the constituency were the preferred projects of the constituents and they played a major role in their selection. The above confirms Tambawal (2016) argument that constituency projects are funded projects with direct socio-economic impact with a view to improving lives, alleviating poverty, and general development resolution. It supports rural development projects, especially those aimed at alleviating poverty and developing infrastructure at the grassroots (NILS, 2016). Also, Owasanoye (2019) emphasised that “the concept and implementation of constituency projects is evidence of the government’s good intentions for grassroots people. The aim is to spread development to all the nooks and crannies of the country, through the intervention of the people’s representatives in the legislature, who should be in tune with their areas of need”. More so, the forgoing reinforces Benson (2018) postulation that the siting of constituency projects encompasses a direct interface between representatives and constituents as well as the allocation of projects that are of benefit to the constituency underscores the main purpose of the policy initiative. Thus, it offers an assessment of how the constituent’s interests are taken into consideration in representative actions and the impact of such actions on constituents can be appreciated. Accordingly, Benson (2018) stated that Rehfeld argued that representation is constantly in service to some purpose or role. Therefore, it is not just merely to stand for the constituency, it must perform a particular function, which is to act for people. Thus, legislators utilize constituency

projects among their other functions to provide development projects and services that would attend to the needs of their constituents.

In addition, projects such as Primary health centres were handed over to the State government to manage while water borehole projects were handed over to the communities to manage, thereby enabling the people to own the projects. This highlights the fact that there is a level of collaboration between the Federal and State Governments in the implementation of the constituency project policy. Accordingly, Udoma (2016) emphasized that there is a need for earlier consultation of the constituents and coordination with State and Local governments to avert the waste of funds and resources in the implementation of constituency projects (NILs, 2016). Thereby bringing development to the grassroots.

However, the constituency projects were not equitably allocated in both the political wards and LGAs that made up the federal constituency. The lopsided siting of projects in the Federal Constituency in favour of Ukwa East LGA will accelerate the development of the LGA, and tackling poverty, boosting the welfare and standard of living of the people. While the pace of development in Ukwa West LGA (the disfavoured) will be reduced and the well-being of the people will be stagnated. The unequal allocation of constituency projects among the LGAs that constitute the federal constituency is in conflict with one of the essential ingredients of the policy initiative of bringing about even development across the grassroots. Thus, Garba (2016) emphasised that constituency projects are designed to support grassroots development as well as achieve equitable distribution of resources across the nation thereby combating poverty (NIL, 2016).

Similarly, Udefuna, Jumare & Adebayo, (2013) stated that the former Deputy Senate President, Ike Ekweremadu asserted that the concept of constituency projects came up due to the

need to ensure fair distribution of infrastructure and that every part of the country has a representation in the House of Representatives and in Senate. Equally, Ekweremadu argued that due to the fact that there will be disproportionate development in the country if its governors and senators are allowed to decide where projects should be sited. Consequently, all the representatives usually come up with what their constituents want.

Furthermore, eleven projects as indicated in the list of Zonal Intervention Projects dealt with training/ sensitization and empowerment matters which may not benefit a substantial number of the constituents. This mechanism of implementation is prone to abuse and therefore devoid of transparency and accountability. Thus, Owasanoye, (2019) asserted that “empowerment and capacity building projects are very popular, but are highly prone to abuse and very difficult to track. We find that almost 50 percent of budgetary allocation to zonal intervention projects goes to these opaque activities. Empowerment items are sometimes stashed away by sponsors and not distributed till the next budget cycle while in some cases, the same items are re-budgeted and duplicated”.

Despite the fact that there was the lopsided allocation of the projects between the two LGAs that make up the federal constituency coupled with the projects concerning training and empowerment that may not benefit most of the constituents. It is evident from the result of the study as highlighted in this chapter that the implementation of National Assembly Constituency projects in Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State from 2011 – 2019 (7th & 8th Assembly) were substantially effective as it delivered democratic dividends to people of the constituency.

4.4.1 Implications of abandoned projects

List of some abandoned and uncompleted projects:

- a. Motorised Boreholes with Overhead Tank at Umuogazi-Ohuru Ukwu East LGA.
- b. Motorised Borehole with overhead Tank at Umuokoraja-Ohuru, Ukwu East LGA.
- c. Community-based Water Supply with Public Stand (Motorised) at Umuiku, Ozar Ukwu, Ukwu West LGA.
- d. Uncompleted Primary Health Centre at Umunteke, Ukwu West LGA.
- e. Uncompleted construction of Mini Sports Centre at Obehie, Ukwu West LGA.

(See attached pictures)

According to Ojo & Aroge (2016), abandonment of projects is the act of unintentional halting of the work progress, especially at the implementation stage such as failure to complete a project at the obligatory time. They further asserted that development projects are categorized as abandoned once the expected activities to be accomplished for the completion of the project are stopped owing to many challenges surrounding the development.

While this study ascribed the abandonment of constituency projects to insufficient funding as well as a lack of oversight by the relevant legislative committee that has jurisdiction over the Constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects. However, Ojo & Aroge (2016) emphasised that another factor that causes project abandonment is the usual corruption in the country which has negative effects on the growth and project development of any nation. Similarly, El-Rufai (2012) attributed the abandonment of projects to random procurement, substandard planning and incompetent project supervision and financial maladministration. He also, asserted that it takes an MDA at least five months to carry out procurement exercise, hence, little time is left for the contractor to execute the project and access the funds before the end of the financial year. That this

is a big issue since the MDAs are required by law to refund all unspent funds to the government treasury at the end of the year. More so, the prevalent absence of continuity in policies as occupiers of political offices change. Equally, Nsiah-Asamoah (2019) stated that Ewa (2005), underscored that many projects are initiated without a well-defined purpose, poor costing, no precise start and completion time, poor documentation of contract, lack of performance standards and appropriate developed monitoring and appraisal template by overseeing agencies, fluctuation in government programme and policies, lack of planning, project discrepancy, over-ambitious projects, political influence in instituting projects, funding constraints, failure for consecutive governments to issue the appropriate white papers on failed court cases.

Furthermore, El-Rufai (2012) argued that funding constraints alone should not be blamed for project failures because contracts ought not to be approved in the absence of sufficient funds. In fact, section 4 (2) (b) of the Public Procurement Act 2007, states clearly “that all procurement shall be based only on procurement plans supported by prior budgetary appropriations; and no procurement proceedings shall be formalized until the procuring entity has ensured that funds are available to meet the obligations and has obtained a “Certificate of ‘No Objection’ to Contract Award” from the Bureau of Public Procurement”. Thus, it implies that the law prescribes that no contract ought to be awarded if funds are not available for it from inception.

However, the effects of abandoned projects constitute disappointment to the populace and stakeholders, low living standards, wastage of resources, impedes employment opportunities, decrease in the tempo of construction activities, decrease in revenue accruing to government and difficulty in attracting foreign investment etc. Implicitly, the abandonment of the project has adverse social, economic, political, psychological, and environmental effects on the people and the country. Accordingly, Abdulkareem, Mahmud &, Abdulfattah (2021) stated that Adebisi, Ojo

and Alao (2018) argued that abandoned projects in Nigeria affect the immediate society, contribute to infrastructure deficiency and environmental pollution.

Social Implications

One of the major objectives for construction project implementation is to improve the welfare of the constituents (populaces). Therefore, the well-being of the people would be negatively impacted when projects are abandoned. Thus, basic social amenities necessities such as School buildings, Electricity, Primary Health Centres, Toilets, Water Borehole etc. would be deprived of the people. Besides, when children's right to education is denied due to education projects' abandonment, they have a tendency to teenage pregnancy as well as turn out to be "irresponsible fathers and mothers". Consequently, they become hopeless in life which negatively impacts their offspring. Also, it may lead to a lack of skilled manpower such as engineers to be trained in the locality. Hence, when investors realised that some of the local skills are absent, they are compelled to move to another place to recruit experts. Unemployment keeps increasing since people cannot fit into organizations (Damoah, 2018).

Equally, when government abandons healthcare projects in the community where there is no other healthcare facility. Maternal and infant mortality rates will increase since pregnant women and children die simply because there is no healthcare facility coupled with the avoidable death of other categories of individuals in the community. Thereby engendering an increase in the death rate. More so, project abandonment makes the life of the residents of the environment more difficult since they have to transport or even trek all the way to other areas or communities to access these amenities. Besides, some social vices which affect both the populace and government are attributable to when construction projects are abandoned, particularly buildings which may

lead to armed robbery kidnapping and theft. Gangs use abandoned buildings as a hide-out to carry out their nefarious activities such as theft, kidnapping and robbery activities (Damoah, 2018).

Economic implications

The economic effects of abandonment of government projects cannot be over emphasised. Accordingly, Nsiah-Asamoah (2019) stated that Osemena (1987) catalogued the effects of abandoned projects on the national economy are: “Waste and under-utilization of human resources; Reduction in employment; Increase in bankruptcy of firms, companies and incidence of bad debt; Effects on community and neighbourhood aesthetics; Impact on public health and safety; Promotion of illegal activities; Liability as a result of the uncompleted project; Problems arising from high accommodation rate and housing problems; Low foreign investments due to total loss of trust in the professional competence of local contractors and Declining property values”.

Nsiah-Asamoah (2019) asserted that abandonment of projects can result in unemployment, in view of the fact that the construction sector is one of the sectors with the highest work force. Hence, once a project is abandoned, joblessness becomes the consequence. In line with the foregoing, Alaezi, Rugu, Marut &

Igwe (2021) posited that when a “project is abandoned it has adverse effects on national development because it involves time and resources, aside of these factors it exposes people to unemployment, reduces government revenue and also the aesthetic characteristics of the environment which is anticipated on completion of the project”. The government suffers extra costs for construction project abandonment. This is because when projects are abandoned, contractors occasionally sue the government for reimbursement owing to their loss in investment in the projects. Thus, the government wastes funds on such projects since they have been

abandoned, particularly, if the project was abandoned as a result of a change in administration and re-awarding the contract for such project will entail an increase in the cost of construction (Damoah (2018). Furthermore, Section 37 (3&4) of the Public Procurement Act 2007 stipulates that: “All delayed payments shall attract interest at the rate specified in the contract document & all contracts shall include terms, specifying the interest for late payment of more than sixty days.” Contractors also lose money like the government through the abandonment of projects. In most cases, contractors utilise credit facilities from financial institutions for the execution of these projects. Therefore abandonment implies that they may not be able to service their credit owing to the fact that the government may not be keen to release the contract sums to them since the projects are not the priority of the government. Also, owing to the fear of not getting more project contract awards from the government, the contractors may not resort to legal suit which results in loss of capital. Further, project abandonment discourages investment, particularly if the construction is within the road and electric power sectors. The area of the foreign direct investment may be significantly affected. Investors will not be willing to build factories in areas where road and power supply projects non-accessible. Because in such areas, one cannot transport the raw materials and the products as well as access electric power supply (Damoah, 2018).

Accordingly, Damoah (2018) stated that Ahsan and Gunawan, 2010; Ngacho and Das, 2014; Yang, 2014) posited that construction project abandonment also implies that the country may lose foreign aid or grant. Developing nations like Nigeria greatly depend on foreign donors to finance their projects. Thus, project abandonment will likely prompt them to be unwilling to release more funds. International financial institutions, such as International Monetary Fund and World Bank might lose confidence in the nation and may not be willing to fund such projects. Consequently, abandonment of public projects implies that the economic well-being of the citizens

is affected and subsequently, the country's economic development is affected. Similarly, Abdulkareem, Mahmud &, Abdulfattah. (2021) indicated that Amade (2015) & Kazeem (2018) stressed that "the issue of abandoned projects was not given enough care for a long time in Nigeria which has resulted in a negative impact on business development as well as the national economy in general. "Thus, Nigeria is set to turn into the world's third biggest poverty nation by 2050 and is home to the highest numbers of children out of school".

Political implications

In Ghana, research has proved that "government construction projects are highly political and therefore, the political implication of abandonment is huge" (Damoah, 2018). Three major impacts identified are the following: loss of the election, negative image of government and stringent donor guidelines. The study discovered that project performance caused various Ghanaian administrations to lose general elections at the grassroots where most of the inhabitants are uninformed. Since they have little understanding of economic issues such as Gross Domestic Production (GDP), micro or macroeconomic, inflation economic indicators, in fiscal and monetary policies. Therefore, all that the people are concerned with is seeing projects in their communities. Similarly, Orimogunje (2015) asserted that "constituency projects advertise the legislator even during the election". Consequently, when government construction projects are abandoned, it implies that the government is not delivering dividends of democracy. The image of the political party in power is highly dented by project abandonment. This impedes the party's likelihood of winning the subsequent general elections. Thus, Damoah, (2018) asserted that "government construction project fails, 'it is not going to be palatable for the government" In fact the provision of infrastructure projects or social amenities, "are the main yardstick to measure government performance in the country by the ordinary man on the street". He further emphasized that the

“implication is that it is not only the incumbent party that construction projects abandonment affect but also the opposition parties – as their previous construction projects performance may be compared to that of the party in power”.

In addition, project abandonment prompts international donors and financial institutions such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to impose stringent protocols and procedures on the government. The foregoing action implicitly affects both the government and the general public. Some of these regulations may engender the rolling back of government subventions on vital social amenities and freezing of employment in the public sector (Damoah, (2018).

Psychological implications

Damoah, (2018) also, underscored that it was established that project abandonment has a huge psychological effect on the citizens of Ghana. The effects include the incarceration of contractors and emotional trauma to the people. The psychological effects appear direct and ancillary. The direct effect is that when people lose their job as well as businesses, it disturbs their psyche. Consequently, they may become despair in their lifetime. Also, when contractors fail to pay their credits, the creditors take legal action against them for their funds and in some situations, they are incarcerated. Likewise, Damoah (2018) indicated that Adams (2008) “found that Ghanaian contractor who defaults credit and/or goes bankrupt are imprisoned”. The casualty(s) and their family are defamed and stigmatised which makes them lose prestige in society. African kinship system applies where the family connection is the centre for veneration, acknowledgement, and distinctiveness.

In the long-term, abandonment of constituency projects coupled with other abandoned government construction projects would result in the stagnation of socio-economic and political stability development of the country entirely, and this has consequences on the economic development of the people, hence, their standard of living. Projects abandonment, like any other government project failure, engender economic adversity in citizens (Damoah, 2018). Since constituency projects are designed to provide goods and services to alleviate poverty and thereby improve the lives of the grassroots in the country. Hence, the repercussion is that project abandonment would impede their social well-being. Thus, constituency projects are supposed to improve the social welfare of the people, then, the foregoing huge negative impacts of project abandonment are exceptional elements that should be taken cognizance of, in constituency project management to safeguard the welfare of the people, hence, their abandonment would negatively affect on the constituents' socio-economic life.

The foregoing huge negative impacts of project abandonment are exceptional elements that should be taken cognizance of in constituency project management to safeguard the welfare of the constituents as well as the citizens at the grassroots. .

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

This chapter covered the summary, recommendations, and conclusion of the study. It will begin with the summary, then the recommendations, and finally the conclusion of the study. The recommendations are based on the findings of the study discussed in chapter four.

5.1 Summary of findings

The main findings of the study were: first, most of the projects were completed and functional but the abandoned ones were ascribed to lack of funding and absence of legislative oversight. Also, the abandonment of projects has an adverse social, economic, political, psychological, and environmental impact on the people and the country. Secondly, the constituency projects were sited in the federal constituency during the period under review which engendered development and provided job opportunities as well as improved the wellbeing of the people. Thirdly, the projects sited in the constituency were the priority projects of the constituents and they played a major role in the selection. In addition, projects such as Primary Health Centres were handed over to the State government to manage while water borehole projects were handed over to the communities to manage, thereby enabling the people to own the projects. Fourthly, the constituency projects were not evenly located in both the political wards and LGAs that make up the federal constituency. Thus, there was a lopsided siting of projects in the two LGAs that constitute the Federal Constituency in favour of Ukwa East LGA to the disfavour of Ukwa West LGA. Finally, notwithstanding the fact that there was a skewed allocation of projects between the two LGAs that make up the federal constituency coupled with the projects concerning training and empowerment that may not benefit most of the constituents, it is apparent from the result of the

study that the implementation of National Assembly Constituency projects in Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State from 2011 – 2019 (7th & 8th Assembly) were considerably effective as it delivered democratic dividends to the people of the constituency.

5.2 Recommendations

The constituency project publicly called Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIP) is based on public policy initiated by the federal legislators to extend the dividends of democratic governance to their various constituencies to enhance development at the grassroots. The legislators recommend the projects to the Executive during the budgeting process for implementation.

This study recommends that for the legislators to play their representative function effectively, especially in the delivery of this democratic dividend to the people, there is a need for parliamentarians to ensure that constituents' priority projects are recommended. Therefore, the constituents should be carried along in the selection, implementation, and management of the projects to ensure the effectiveness of the policy. Both the Legislature and the Executive arms of government should cooperate and coordinate in the implementation of this people-oriented policy. Furthermore, the Government should promptly release ZIP allocation funds and ensure the completion and functionality of the projects to curb abandonment and waste of public resources. In addition, the National Assembly should enact a legal framework to prescribe the implementation and management of the ZIP, and its committee(s) that has purview over ZIP should intensify its oversight function on the implementation of the projects to safeguard transparency and accountability in order to improve the impact of the policy on the welfare of the people. Finally, constituency projects should be evenly located between or among the LGAs that make up the federal constituency, and as much as practicable, constituency projects should be sited across the political wards of the constituency to ensure equality and balanced development.

5.3 Conclusion

There have been debates over the constitutionality of the constituency project policy. This controversy need not arise considering the fact that the primary purpose of government as stipulated in Nigeria's constitution is to ensure the security and welfare of the citizens. Constituency and Zonal Intervention Project was initiated by the National Assembly to bring social amenities to the grassroots and thereby intensify development as well as alleviate poverty in the rural areas and non-lopsided development. This policy has brought the government closer to the people and improved their welfare.

More so, the constituency project policy is not peculiar to our country alone. It has become a phenomenon found among advanced as well as emerging democracies. In other climes, it is called Constituency Development Fund, Pork Barrel, etc. And has recorded great achievements of socio-economic feats.

This Constituency and Zonal Intervention Project policy is a laudable one. It is hoped that this programme should be enhanced and sustained to continue delivering democratic dividends to the people and continue improvement of the socio-economic lives of the people and boost their welfare.

The implementation of the National Assembly constituency projects in Ukwu East – Ukwu West Federal Constituency of Abia from 2011 – 2019 (7th & 8th Assembly) have been effective as evident in the outcome of his study.

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(TABLE 4.15: LIST OF CONSTITUENCY & ZONAL INTERVENTION PROJECTS AND PROJECT PICTURE PLACED BETWEEN PAGE 60 & 61)

Table 4.15

List of Constituency & Zonal Intervention Projects sited in Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia state from 2011 – 2019 Appropriation Acts

S/N	Year	Project Title	Amount Allocation	MDAs
1	2011	Supply of six ambulances to six LGAs Abia South District, Ukwa West, Ukwa East, Ugwunagbo, Abia South, Abia North, Obingwa, Abia State	60,000,000	NPHCDA
2	2011	Supply of basic drugs to six LGAs Abia South District, Ukwa West, Ukwa East, Ugwunagbo, Abia South, Abia North, Obingwa, Abia State	18,000,000	NPHCDA
3	2011	2 NOS. motorized boreholes with overhead tanks at Umuogazi-Ohuru and Umuokoraja-Ohuru, Ukwa East LGA Abia State	20,000,000	Anambra-Imo River Basin Authority
4	2011	Ukwa Land Reclamation and Irrigation Project Ukwa East, Abia State	108,028,321	Anambra-Imo River Basin Authority
5	2011	Supply of 500KVA & 300KVA Transformers to the following Communities: Mgboko Umunkpi, Osaa Ukwu, Umuariama, Umuikima Owoahiafor, Umuoke Amator Obingwa, Ukaegbu Road, Umoba Road, Obohia Road, , Mgboko Okpolor, Abiaka, Abala Ahiaba Autonomous community, (Azumini, Ohanku, Akwete, Ikwuorie ward, Umuokoraja Community Obohia, Ukwa East LGA)	44,000,000	PHCN
6	2011	Construction of 1 NO. Block of Model 6 class Rooms with Staff Offices, Computer Room and Conveniences at Comprehensive Secondary School, Ohuru – Ukwa East LGA, Abia State	15,000,000	Federal Ministry of Education

7	2011	Supply of Laboratory Equipment to the following Schools: Ahiaba High School, Obingwa, Akirika Secondary School Ukwa East, Ndiakata Secondary School, Obingwa LGA @ 3m Each	12,000,000	Federal Ministry of Education
8	2012	Provision Of Drugs And Medical Care To Six Local Government At The Cost Of =N=8.66m Per Local Government Of Abia South Senatorial District, Obingwa, Aba North, Aba South, Ugwunagbo, Ukwa West, Ukwa East, Abia State (NPHCDA) - 52,000,000 :	52,000,000	NPHCDA
9	2013	Community Based Water Supply with Public stand (Motorized) at Umule Mkporobe, Ukwa East LGA	12,500,000	Anambra-Imo River Basin Authority
10	2013	Community Based Water Supply with Public stand (Motorized) at Akanu Ndoki, Ukwa East LGA	12,500,000	Anambra-Imo River Basin Authority
11	2013	Community Based Water Supply with Public Stand (Motorized) at Uzoaku-Ipu South, Ukwa West LGA	12,500,000	Anambra-Imo River Basin Authority
12	2013	Community Based Water Supply with Public Stand (Motorised) at Umuiku, Ozar Ukwu, Ukwa West LGA	12,500,000	Anambra-Imo River Basin Authority
13	2014	Strategic Empowerment Programme for Ukwa East LGA Abia State	50,000,000	SMEDAN
14	2014	Entrepreneurship for Ukwa East and Ukwa West LGA Abia State	50,000,000	SMEDAN
15	2014	Strategic Empowerment Programme for Ukwa West LGA, Abia State	50,000,000	SMEDAN
16	2014	Purchase of Tricycle for Youths in Ukwa East LGA and Ukwa West LGA, Abia State	60,000,000	BCDA
17	2014	Purchase of Motor Cycles for Youths in Ukwa East LGA and Ukwa West LGA, Abia State	30,000,000	BCDA
18	2015	Procurement and Supply of 5NOs of 500KVA 11 Transformers, 4 Drums of Wire	15,000,000	BCDA

		and Installation Accessories to Boundary Communities in Abia South Senatorial District		
19	2015	Vocational Training/ Empowerment Programme for Youths, Women and Artisans in Abia South Senatorial District	15,000,000	SMEDAN
20	2016	Vocational Training/ Empowerment Programme for Youths and Women Ukwa East/West LGA, Abia State	30,000,000	SMEDAN
21	2016	Purchase of Motorcycles for Youths Ukwa East/West LGA Abia State	20,000,000	SMEDAN
22	2016	Sensitization Programme for the Right of Women Ukwa South/ East Federal Constituency, Abia State	50,000,000	NHRC
23	2016	Children/Youth Education Rights (Training) Ukwa East Federal Constituency, Abia State	50,000,000	NHRC
24	2017	Entrepreneurship Project on Fish Farming for Women and Youth in Ukwa East, Abia State	50,000,000	NAPTIP
25	2017	Procurement of Sewing Machines, Grinding Machines, Hair Clippers, Hair Dryers for Youths Empowerment in Ukwa West Federal Constituency, Abia State	50,000,000	NAPTIP
26	2017	Strategic Empowerment Items in Ukwa West , Abia State	13,000,000	ITF
27	2017	Entrepreneurship Training for Youths in Abia South Senatorial District, Abia State	30,000,000	SMEDAN
28	2017	Solar Streets Lights for Umuwarie ,Obohia Autonomous Community,Ukwa East LGA,Abia State	15,000,000	Ministry of Power , Works and Housing
29	2017	Rural Electrification of Villages of Ukwa East LGA, Abia State	45,000,000	Ministry of Power , Works and Housing
30	2017	Revitalization of Primary Health Care Centre in Umuituru and Akwete Ukwa East / West LGAs	30,000,000	NPHCDA

31	2017	Skill Acquisition Programme in Ukwa East – Ukwa West Federal Constituency in Abia State	50,000,0000	NCWD
32	2017	Construction of Sports Centre in Ukwa East/ Ukwa West LGA in Abia South Senatorial District in Abia State	50,000,000	Ministry Sports
33	2017	Equipping of Umuma- Uzor Primary Health Centre , Ukwa West LGA, Abia State	12,000,000	NPHCDA
34	2018	Purchase of Suzik Mini Buses for Empowerment of Ukwa East/ Ukwa West Federal Constituency of Abia State	28,000,000	EHORECON
35	2018	Purchase of Motorcycle for Youth in Ukwa East/ Ukwa West LGA Federal Constituency of Abia State	35,000,000	EHORECON
36	2018	Supply and Installation of 500KVA Transformers in Communities in Abia South Senatorial District	60,000,000	Energy Commission
37	2018	Supply and Installation of Solar Lights in Abia South Senatorial District (Obingwa, Aba North, Aba South, Ugwunagbo, Ukwa East and Ukwa West LGAs)	100,000,000	National Centre for Hydro Power Research & Development
38	2018	Purchase of Siena Buses (2008 Model) for Empowerment of Ukwa East/Ukwa West LGA Federal Constituency of Abia State	25,000,0000	BCDA
39	2018	Purchase of Tricycle for Youths in Ukwa East/West LGA Federal Constituency of Abia State	30,000,000	BCDA
40	2018	Construction of Heath Centre at Ukwa East/West Federal Constituency, Abia State	30,000,000	NPHCDA
41	2018	Equipping/Furnishing of Omumar Uzor Primary Health Care Centre, Asa North, Ukwa West LGA, Abia State	20,000,000	NPHCDA
42	2018	Construction of Type 1 Primary	9,627,076	NPHCDA

		Health Centre at Umuokpara, Umunteke Asa, Ukwa West LGA, Abia State		
43	2018	3NO Motorised Boreholes with 4 Plastic Tanks at Ukwa East/West Federal Constituency	15,000,000	Ministry of Water Resources
44	2018	Construction of A block of 3 Classrooms at Akwete Secondary School, Ukwa East, Abia State	20,000,000	Federal Ministry of Education
45	2018	Electrification of Akirika Obu, Ukwa East LGA, Abia State	18,900,000	Ministry of Power, Works and Housing
46	2018	Solar Lights for Umuwarie ,Obohia Autonomous Community, Ukwa East LGA, Abia State	14, 529,969	Ministry of Power, Works and Housing
47	2018	Rural Electrification of Villages in Ukwa East, Abi State	14,521,969	Ministry of Power, Works and Housing
48	2018	Extension Light and 500KVA Transformer at Umuwarie, Obohia in Ukwa East, Abia South Senatorial District	29,043,939	Ministry of Power, Works and Housing
49	2018	Electrification Projects in Communities of Obingwa, Aba North, Aba South, Ugwunagbo, Ukwa West & Ukwa East(Ohuru, Akanu, Umugo, Omumar-Uzor,Ogbor) of Abia South Senatorial District	77,450,503	Ministry of Power, Works and Housing
50	2019	Sensitization on Traditional Peace Practices and Cultures for Promoting Harmonious Co-existence in Ukwa East Federal Constituency, Abia State	100,000,000	IPCOR
51	2019	Vocational/Training for Women and Youth in Abia South Senatorial District, Abia State	50,000,000	NCAC
52	2019	Construction of 2Nos. Deepwell	36,000,000	Federal

		Boreholes in Ozarta Village Ukwa West LGA & Ohambele Farm Settlement, Ukwa East LGA Ukwa East/West Federal Constituency		Ministry of Works & Housin
53	2019	Procurement and Distribution of Vocational Materials for Youths and Women of Abia South Senatorial District, Abia State	60,000,000	Energy Commission of Nigeria
54	2019	Supply of Medical Equipment/Drugs in Ukwa East/West LGAs, Abia State	30,000,000	NLTF
55	2019	Supply of Mini Buses and Motorcycles in Ukwa East/West LGAs of Abia State	33,000,000	NLTF
56	2019	Grant for Trained Women and Youth in Abia South Senatorial District, Abia State	20,000,000	SMEDAN

PICTURE A.



FUNCTIONING WATER BOREHOLE AT OHAMBELE, UKWA EAST LGA, ABIA STATE

PICTURE B.



**ABANDONED WATER BOREHOLE AT UMUIKU, UKWA WEST LGA,
ABIA STATE**

PICTURE C.



**UNCOMPLETED PRIMARY HEALTH CENTRE AT UMUNTEKE,
UKWA WEST LGA, ABIA STATE**

PICTURE D.



**RE-EQUIPED PRIMARY HEALTH CENTRE AT OMUMAR-UZO,
UKWA WEST LGA, ABIA STATE**

PICTURE E.



**ABANDONED WATER BOREHOLE PROJECTS AT OHURU, UKWA
EAST LGA, ABIA STATE**

PICTURE F.



UNCOMPLETED MINI SPORTS CENTRE, OBEHIE, UKWA WEST LGA, ABIA STATE

PICTURE G.



**FUNCTIONING WATER BOREHOLE AT OZARTA, UKWA WEST
LGA, ABIA STATE**

PICTURE H.



**FUNCTIONING SOLAR STREET LIGHT AT OGWE, UKWA WEST
LGA, ABIA STATE**

PICTURE I.



FUNCTIONING SOLAR STREET LIGHT AT OBOHIA, UKWA EAST LGA, ABIA STATE

APPENDIX “A”

**A QUESTIONNAIRE INTO A STUDY ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTS OF THE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCY PROJECTS IN UKWA EAST – UKWA
WEST FEDERAL CONSTITUENCY FROM 2011 – 2019**

I, Onyeabor Chigbu, an MLS student of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies(NILDS), an affiliate of the University of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria.

This study is a prerequisite for the completion of the above program and your participation is vital to its completion. You are hereby guaranteed that all the details provided would be treated strictest confidence.

Besides, this work is being effected purely as an academic exercise. Hence, you are charged to give further information (where applicable) that would make the accomplishment of this work successful and efficient.

Thanks for your cooperation.

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A: BIODATA

Please tick () in the space provided for each question.

1. Sex: Male () Female ()
2. Age: 18 – 25 () 26 – 40 () 41 – 60 () 61 and above ()
3. Level of Education: None () Primary () Secondary () Tertiary ()
4. Occupation: Community leader () Public/Civil Servant () Youth ()
Legislator/ Legislative Aide () NGO ()

SECTION B: What are the present state of the constituency project?

Please tick /fill in the appropriate response

5. What is (are) the status of the constituency and Zonal Intervention Project(s) in your community? Completed () Ongoing (). Abandoned ()
6. Are the constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects sited in your community operational?
Yes () No ()
7. If No, why is the project not functional even though it has been completed?

- i.) Technical / Maintenance issue () ii) Project not a priority ()
 - iii) No agency has taken charge of the project () iv) Others state -----
8. If the projects were completed and functional, what would you attribute the realization of the projects too? i) Community has taken charge of the project ()
- ii) Government agency has taken charge ()
 - iii) Member is running the project ()
9. Is there any case of an abandoned project in your community? Yes () No ()
- If yes, identify below -----
10. What do you think is responsible for the project being abandoned?
- i.) Community hostility ()
 - ii.) Lack of capacity of the contractor ()
 - iii.) Funding issues () iv) Others state-----
11. Has any National Assembly Committee visited the project's site on oversight function?
Yes () No ()
12. If yes, how many times? -----

SECTION C: What is the effect of the Constituency projects on the people of Ukwu East – Ukwu West Federal Constituency of Abia State?

13. What do you understand by constituency / Zonal Intervention Projects?
- i. Development project from the office of Members of National Assembly ().
 - ii. Development project executed by National Assembly ().
 - iii. Development project sited in the constituency of Honorable Members /Senators (of House of Representatives & Senate) of National Assembly by Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) as budgeted in the Federal Government appropriation ().
14. Is there any constituency project sited in your community? Yes () No ().
15. When was the project implemented -----.
16. What type of project was located in your community
Health () Physical project () others indicate -----
17. Who funded the constituency project(s) sited in your community?
- i. The National Assembly ().

- ii. The Member's personal resources ().
 - iii. The Executive arm of government from the public fund ().
18. What is the impact of the constituency/Zonal Intervention Project(s) on the living conditions of your community? Positive () Negative ().
19. Did the constituency project(s) in your community aid development of your LGA?
Highly useful () Moderately useful () Neutral () Not useful ()
20. Did the project(s) provide any job opportunities in the community? Yes () No ()

SECTION D: In what ways do the constituents contribute to the selection, implementation, management, and utilization of the constituency projects?

21. Is any of the constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects sited in your community a priority project? Yes () No ()
22. If the project is the priority of the community, did you participate in the nomination of the project? Yes () No ()
23. If yes, how was the project selected? Through -----
- i. Demand for the need assessment of the community by the member ().
 - ii. The community presented their request to the member. ()
 - iii. Member nominated the project. ()

SECTION E: How evenly distributed are the constituency projects among the various component local government areas within the constituency?

24. Were the projects evenly cited in the LGAs that make up the constituency?
Yes() No ()
25. Were the constituency and Zonal Intervention projects sited evenly across the political wards of the federal constituency? Yes () No ()
26. Are there political wards where the project was not sited? Yes () No ()
27. If Yes, how many wards do not have any project sited in her -----
28. Has there been any protest by any of the communities in your LGA for lack of location of government in their area(s)? Yes () No ()
29. If yes ----- (i) State the number of community(ies)-----
(ii) State the date or period of the protest -----

APPENDIX “B”

**KREJCIE & MORGAN TABLE FOR DETERMINATING
SAMPLE SIZE FOR RESEARCH ACTIVITIES**

Population Size	Confidence = 95%				Confidence = 99%			
	Margin of Error				Margin of Error			
	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%	5.0%	3.5%	2.5%	1.0%
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
20	19	20	20	20	19	20	20	20
30	28	29	29	30	29	29	30	30
50	44	47	48	50	47	48	49	50
75	63	69	72	74	67	71	73	75
100	80	89	94	99	87	93	96	99
150	108	126	137	148	122	135	142	149
200	132	160	177	196	154	174	186	198
250	152	190	215	244	182	211	229	246
300	169	217	251	291	207	246	270	295
400	196	265	318	384	250	309	348	391
500	217	306	377	475	285	365	421	485
600	234	340	432	565	315	416	490	579
700	248	370	481	653	341	462	554	672
800	260	396	526	739	363	503	615	763
1,000	278	440	606	906	399	575	727	943
1,200	291	474	674	1067	427	636	827	1119
1,500	306	515	759	1297	460	712	959	1376
2,000	322	563	869	1655	498	808	1141	1785
2,500	333	597	952	1984	524	879	1288	2173
3,500	346	641	1068	2565	558	977	1510	2890
5,000	357	678	1176	3288	586	1066	1734	3842
7,500	365	710	1275	4211	610	1147	1960	5165
10,000	370	727	1332	4899	622	1193	2098	6239
25,000	378	760	1448	6939	646	1285	2399	9972
50,000	381	772	1491	8056	655	1318	2520	12455
75,000	382	776	1506	8514	658	1330	2563	13583
100,000	383	778	1513	8762	659	1336	2585	14227
250,000	384	782	1527	9248	662	1347	2626	15555
500,000	384	783	1532	9423	663	1350	2640	16055
1,000,000	384	783	1534	9512	663	1352	2647	16317
2,500,000	384	784	1536	9567	663	1353	2651	16478
10,000,000	384	784	1536	9594	663	1354	2653	16560
100,000,000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16584
300,000,000	384	784	1537	9603	663	1354	2654	16586

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