

**SUSTAINABILITY OF CONSTITUENCY PROJECTS:
AN ASSESSMENT OF AMAC/BWARI FEDERAL CONSTITUENCY (2011 – 2021)**

By

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation work is my original work and that it is part of the fulfillment of requirement for the award of Masters in Legislative Studies (MLS) and have not been submitted to any other institute or university.

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CERTIFICATION

This dissertation “sustainability of constituency projects” an assessment of AMAC/Bwari federal constituency 2011-2021 by Ehigiator Igbino Isaac (PG/NILDS 1900037) has met the partial requirement for the award of the Degree of Masters in Legislature Studies (MLS) of the National Institute for Legislature and Democratic Studies/University of Benin, Edo State.

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

This study is dedicated to my parents, the **late MR. SMART AGBONZEE EHIGIATOR**
and late MRS. MARY OSARENKHOE EHIGIATOR.

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ABSTRACT

Constituency projects scheme is an integral part of democratic system existing both in advanced and emerging democracies. It is the view of many scholars that legislative operations should include constituency project identification. Federating states like the United States of America, India, Pakistan, Kenya and Nigeria have all adopted different nomenclatures for constituency projects. Studies has focused on merits, demerits, legality, constitutionality or otherwise of constituency projects. This study therefore focused on specific objectives such as: exploring whether constituency projects executed in AMAC/Bwari Fed. Constituency has sufficiently met developmental needs of the people, examine current state of commissioned projects, and find out if there exist recognizable synergy between constituents and elected representatives within the period 2011 – 2021.

Descriptive research method was employed in this research relying on both secondary and primary data sources gathered through literature review, administered questionnaire and oral interviews. A sample size of 384 respondents was chosen using the k and M table of sample size determination eleven respondents per constituency project site visited, 35 project sites were selected by census method for this study. The research methodology study birthed answers to specific research questions set out around each specific objective in other to confirm the existence of gaps in the constituency projects scheme and how these gaps affected sustainability.

Findings such as near absence of constituency consultation for the purpose of projects conceptualization, negative ownership structure in the operationazation of completed projects are evident. Also discovered are non-functionality of constituency offices, lack of basic training for constituents to be able to handle minor repairs, high incidences of projects that have

stopped functioning, many projects operating at suboptimal level, while some others are in perfect state of operation.

Actionable recommendations from this research includes; that the entire constituency project system in the House of Representative (HoR) be revisited with a view at redesigning the entire package in other to capture constituents' interest as critical stake holders in constituency projects conceptualization, design and implementation. This research further recommends that such role for constituents be made legally binding using necessary statutory instruments governing the annual budgeting and approval processes in Nigeria House of Representatives.

Keywords: Constituents, Sustainability, House of Representatives, Constituency projects, Legislative responsiveness, Zonal Intervention projects, Liberal democracy, Representative democracy, Presidentialism.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

It is believed among political scientists and scholars in many developed and developing nations of the world that **Democracy**, particularly '**Liberal democracy**' is a beautiful system of government that should be encouraged and adopted by countries across the globe.

John D. Humber and Bigham G. Powel (2011) in conceptualizing benefit inherent in **Liberal democracy** had emphasized the existence of congruence between citizen preference and public policy. These authors went further to posit the citizens as median voters while the legislature (composed mainly of elected representatives) serve as public policy makers that bargain on behalf of the citizens they represent, i.e. the constituents.

Furthermore, democracy becomes more attractive and appealing because of inherent opportunities and avenue it provides the government and the governed, to regularly interface or engage by way of periodic town hall meetings for the purpose of facilitating government optimization. That is to say, how dividends of democracy could best be delivered to greater number of the society.

Through such regular interaction and engagements, the governed are able to make bare, their feelings, expectations, interests and in some cases concerns about, policies, programs as well as physical projects before government officials. Secondly, members of the constituency uses such medium to articulate needs, preferences and make inputs by way of suggestions on how best government activities intended for developmental purposes could be implemented so as to satisfy the yearning of the electorate. Again, such engagements are utilized by the electorate to rate the legislative performance of elected representatives at the floor of the assembly.

Representative's contribution to law making processes, oversight of the executive branch of government and in particular delivering on the peoples' mandate by way of projects attracted to the constituency.

Representative democracy as practiced in many nations across the globe is designed to be participatory, members of a defined geo-political constituency, here referred to as **Constituents** (Rehfield, 2003) regularly meet through town hall meetings as well as other formal and informal engagements to place demands directly at the door step of elected representatives at the national assembly (House of Representative and the Senate) or at sub-national levels (House of Assembly and local government legislative council) for inclusion in annual budget of government.

At the core of representative democracy, elected representatives (**Legislative Assembly members**) while carrying out their legislative duties should take actions in accordance with requests expressed by members of their respective constituencies. That is to say, decisions are product of constituency consultation. This is necessary because its gender political confidence and patronage for a smooth democratic process.

Legislative Responsiveness, as explained by Obsber, (2008) remains a major component of representation as one of the three duties of a legislator in a representative democracy. Other duties assigned to the legislator in a representative democracy include Law Making and Legislative Oversight.

Of paramount importance to members of a given constituency (constituents) is how to ascertain what extent her elected representative has responded to its developmental needs by way of physical projects which serve as vehicle for improving standard of living within a given period. It becomes necessary that elected representative carry out legislative responsiveness periodically, in a manner to justify the people's mandate in the first place. With this, it is evident

that, there exists an unwritten social contract which must be executed (according to Thomas Hobbs, John Locke and Jean Jaques) with regards to democracy dividend attracted within a given term or tenure.

It therefore follows, that what defines pattern of political relationship between constituents and elected representative centers around democratic deliverables that the constituency enjoy while the elected representative's tenure subsists.

The Presidential system of government as practiced in Nigeria is patterned after the United State of America presidential system of government. It was introduced in Nigeria for the first time in 1979.

Presidentialism, as commonly referred to, was further adopted at the inception of the fourth republic via the 1999 constitution. Presidential system of government is characterized by division of government structure into three broad branches, namely **Executive, Judiciary** and **Legislature**. This division is directed at separation of powers; ensure checks and balances as well as to prevent tyranny in the conduct of government business.

While Executive and Judicial arms of government had their chances to grow and develop over the years in Nigeria, even during the period of military interregnum (1966 to 1979) and (1984 to 1999), same cannot be said of the legislature which serves as a direct representative of the people. This is so because at every event where military takeover government, the constitution is usually suspended and the parliament dissolved thereby stunting the development of this important arm of government.

Presently, Nigeria operates a bicameral Legislative Assembly at the national level, known as **National Assembly (NASS)** comprising **Senate** (109 members) and the **Federal House of**

Representatives (360 members). Each member of the Federal House of Representative is elected to represent a federal constituency.

This research study centers on one of such federal constituency (**AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency FCT**).

Since the advent of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999, the question on minds of development researchers and experts has been, how best to ensure even spread of infrastructure (physical projects) across all federal constituencies in Nigeria and the **Sustainability** of same.

Section 80, subsections 2,3,4 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria only empower the legislature (National assembly in this case) to appropriate funds while Executive arm of government is saddled with responsibility of implementing annual budget.

For the purpose of delivering dividend of democracy to their various constituencies, however, the legislature had introduced a new vocabulary into the political lexicon of Nigeria democratic experience. The term **Constituency projects**, patterned after the **Constituency Development Projects Fund (CDPF) of Kenya**, the **Pork Barrel system of the United States congress**, **Development Project Systems** as in **India** and **Pakistan**. The introduction of constituency projects by the National assembly of Nigeria in 2001 did not come without controversies. According to Tunji (2010), while the controversy about constituency projects rage, leadership of national assembly approached the executive arm of government for negotiation, dialogue which culminated in amicable political settlement. The outcome of those political settlements though lack constitutional backing, saw the inclusion of financial provision to fund constituency projects for the first time in Nigeria via 2001 approved budget estimates. These provisions further metamorphosed into what is now known as **Zonal Intervention Projects (ZIP)** funding.

Thus, while the legislature proposes projects to be implemented in their respective constituencies, the Executive arm of government carry out the responsibility of executing these projects so proposed.

In choosing the projects to be sited in each constituency therefore, there is need for inputs from the people the project is designed to serve, this is perceived to be the proper thing to do as the case in other climes.

This research is therefore designed to not only assess the viability and benefit of constituency projects but also evaluate the inputs of the constituents in the form of ownership in order to ensure sustainability of public infrastructures domicile in each locality across the country.

This cardinal objective prompted of this research work and it is particularly relevant to policy making strategy in the quest to finding enduring solutions to challenges posed by projects failure, loss of scarce resources and incidences of wastages inherent in annual national budget occasioned by repeated projects expenditure without correspondent impact on the overall infrastructure development in Federal constituencies.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The concept of Representation in a democratic arrangement, particularly a Presidential form of government, places the legislature at the core of participatory governance. According to Pitkins (2004),” representation requires an elected representative to act in the interest of the people he or she is elected to represent in a manner responsive to their needs”.

Whenever constituents display some form of unpleasant surprise instead of outright excitement at the citing of constituency project, the seeming abandonment of same shortly after completion

points to the existence of crisis in the whole process as currently practiced. This perceived crisis throw up some fundamental questions on why that is the case.

For instance, questions like: “Does a particular project answer to the immediate needs of the constituents at that particular time”? “Does an elected representative enjoy the confidence of his or her constituent to pick and choose project on behalf of the communities that constitute the constituency”? “Will such constituency project so selected by elected representative provide the needed development for the constituents upon completion”? “Is the elected representative’s response in choice of project in tandem with the overall constituents’ needs”?

What remain therefore is for this research work to determine if there exist links between elected representative responsiveness in the choice of constituency projects, role of the constituents and how it all affects the sustainability of such projects.

1.3 Research Questions

This research work seeks to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent has Elected Representatives of Bwari/AMAC Federal constituency at the National Assembly engaged with the constituents in the choice, preference and design of constituency projects?
2. How has constituents’ participation impacted on sustainability (ownership and operation) of constituency projects in Bwari/AMAC Federal constituency in the period 2011 – 2021?
3. What is the linkage between constituent Participation and Sustainability of constituency projects in Bwari / AMAC Federal constituency 2011 – 2021?

1.4 Objective of Research

At the end of this research work, the following objectives are set out to be achieved.

1. Explore how far constituency projects executed in Bwari/AMAC Federal Constituency 2011 to 2021 met the developmental needs of the people.
2. Examine the current state of existing constituency projects in Bwari/AMAC Federal Constituency and their current utility levels.
3. Find out ways to ensure the buy-ins of stakeholders in the various stages involved in conceptualization, design, execution and operation of constituency projects in order to drive sustainability of projects in Bwari/AMAC Federal constituency.

1.5 Significance of Research

This research is set out to bridge gaps, if any, between constituents of Bwari/AMAC Federal constituency and their elected representatives at the House of Representatives in the choice preferences and designs of constituency projects as well as establish a correlation between projects sustainability and constituents' role through operationalization and protection of infrastructures. This is believed to form an integral part of project ownership.

It is also expected that the outcome from this research will establish the need for relevant agencies of government to henceforth factor-in roles for constituents in constituency project schemes, through direct involvement of constituents at every stage of project implementation.

1.6 Assumptions of Research

Numerous physical projects has been facilitated by successive representatives (House of Representative) in Bwari/AMAC federal constituency; it is therefore the assumption of this research work that members of the community where these projects are cited shall be willing to give out relevant information through administered questionnaire and oral interviews in order to be able to conduct this research work without hesitation.

Also, it is assumed that elected representatives (former or currently) serving in the House of Representatives would readily make available vital statistical data to aid in this research work. Finally, it is suspected that there exists knowledge gaps in legislative responsiveness in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency or that the principal/ agent relationship as pointers to projects sustainability is nonexistent.

1.7 Limitations of Research

Though AMAC/Bwari Federal Constituency is mainly semi urban and urban area, there exist some levels of illiteracy among the people particularly in Bwari area of the constituency. The administered questionnaire written in English language posed some challenges to respondents in the course of this research.

Similarly, high turnover of elected political representatives of Bwari/AMAC Federal constituency in the period covered by this research (2011 – 2021), was a significant challenge to this study.

1.8 Scope of Research

This research work is carried out as an assessment of Bwari/AMAC federal constituency only. It therefore follows that the outcome of this study cannot be used to generalize other Federal constituencies in Nigeria. This study mainly cover the period 2011 – 2021 only, development projects execution activities in the period preceding 2011 are not considered or included in this study.

1.9 Synopses of Chapters

This work is organized into five main chapters. Each chapter focuses on in-depth appraisal of the subject matter with sub-headings for the purpose of doing justice to sub-themes.

Chapter one covers background of study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of study, significance of research, research assumptions, limitations of study, scope of study and other preliminaries to this research work.

Chapter two contains literature review of existing secondary data on various aspects of the subject as well as other related areas, such as legislative responsiveness predicated on representation as core mandate of elected representatives, role of legislature in resource allocation and budget processes. This chapter dovetailed into concepts of constituent participation in development projects referencing other climes.

Chapter three explains the research methodology adopted for the work, with attention on population of the study cover, sampling and size of sample that correctly represent the population as well as other statistical tools adopted for the study.

Chapter four contains figures, tabular presentation of data and analysis of primary data collected using administered questionnaire. Information relevant to answering research question is aggregated and discussed in line with research objectives. It is then followed by interpretation of analyzed data as well as discussion of findings.

Chapter five contains inferences from research outcome, conclusion reached with actionable recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In an attempt to lay sound academic foundation for this research, a holistic review of relevant works on the subject under research was carried out. Particular emphasis focused on the following; Democracy, Representative Democracy, Representation, Legislature and Resource allocation, Role of executive and legislature in budget process, Constituents participation etcetera. Scholarly works stored in the NILDS library; many, online academic platforms, newspaper articles, academic research journals and other sources were consulted to broaden scope of knowledge and identify knowledge gaps.

2.0 Some Profound Definitions of Concept of Sustainability

In a bid to understand the meaning of sustainability of constituency project as a concept, it become imperative to first consider existing scholarly definitions of Concept Sustainability. Wenche A. (2016), defined sustainability to mean the relationship between humans and resources they use. The most prominent definition of sustainability is the one put forward by Voinov A. (2007), it states that “to be sustainable is to provide for food, fiber and other natural and social resources needed for the survival of a group and to provide in a manner that maintain the essential resources for the present and future generation”. The emphasis contained in both definitions above, carry the needs of the present and future beneficiaries of a given project of government. Again, WCED W. (1987) mirrored the definition of sustainable development as propounded by Brundland Commision thus; “sustainable development is one that means the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generation to their own needs”. In the definition, Brundland commission was more interested in development and its

sustainability to the intend, that present action of authorities does not affect the future generation negatively.

2.1 Concept of Place- based project development

This concept is evident in the research works of *Lee Pugalis et al* (2014) “Reappraising the World Bank response to rapid Urbanization; slums improvement in Nigeria “it is a relatively new approach to sustainability of project with particular focus on poverty alleviation and slums improvement in developing countries. The authors emphasized the need for a new approach to development in other to stem the tide of apparent incidences of resource wastage and suboptimal performance of donor funds targeting both urban and slum improvement. They emphasized by contending that participation is not only important to identify the most crucial needs and potentialities of slum dwellers and communities, it is a major requirement for ongoing maintenance and sustainability of both urban and slum change.

2.1 Representative Democracy in Brief and the Concept of Representation

According to *Nabia Urbinati*(2009), representative democracy conveys the complexity, richness and uniqueness of the political order of modern government. The implication of this assertion therefore is that democracy in itself is distinct from representative democracy which on its own is subset of democracy.

Democracy as originally defined by ancient Greek as a system that entails rules by aggregation of consent of a people. Also *Obsber*(2008), separated democracy from representative democracy by stating that democracy which is of Greek lexicon without a Latin equivalent implies direct rule (i.e. Getting things done) by the people, at same instance posited that the

representativeness in representative democracy connotes delegated action on the part of some on behalf of someone else. He concluded by asserting that the concise combination of these broad and distinct definitions gives clear and unambiguous understanding of representative democracy as a system of government. Furthermore *Obsber* (2008), pointed to the main characteristics inherent in representative democracy. These include, (a) **Sovereignty of the people expressed through periodic election of representatives** (b) **Representation as a mandate relation** (c) **Electoral mechanism to ensure some measure of responsiveness to the people by elected representative who speak and bargain on behalf of the people** (d) **The universal franchise which contain representation on an important element of political equality.**

Again, *Rehfied*, (2003) while dwelling into the concept of representation, identified a central element which is Constituency. Constituency in representative democracy is determined by territory and not by economic or cooperate interest or cultural identities but concluded by saying that citizens are represented by where the live, the same is true in all democracies around the world. *Habermas* (1996) argued that for Representative Democracy to stand as a form of government, reference to the people's sovereignty and authorization is very essential and that such should not be obtained via accessory, that is to say that the representatives of the people must emerge via election which in turn ensures accountability to the people. Investigating the concept further, *Nadia Ubinati* (2009) sees the conduct of election for the purpose of selecting representatives as both separation as well as a link of the citizen and government happening simultaneously resulting in communication gap and sometimes conflict, it is only bridged by Representation as symbolized by the Legislature. Furthermore, *Hana Pitkin* (2009) sees representation as a paradox such that the autonomy of the represented and the representative must be respected. Again, *Pitkin* expanded the concept of representation to include four broad areas, **formalistic, symbolic, descriptive and substantive representation.**

Attempt shall however be made to define each of these broad areas of representation while discussing the theoretical framework for this study. The definition of representation as propounded by *Pitkin* is such that it implies “acting in the interest of the represented in a manner responsive to them”. Looking at the Nigeria context, the constitution of Nigeria 1999, in section 71, empower the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to delineate each state of the federation into three senatorial districts and 360 federal constituencies for the purpose of election into the Senate and House of Representatives respectively. Each federal constituency is represented in the national legislature (NASS) by an elected representative chosen by popular election conducted by the constitutionally empowered so does (*section 71, CFRN*), *i.e. INEC*.



ONGOING PROJECT SITE, KUBWA, BWARI AREA COUNCIL

2.2 The Role of the Legislature in Resource Allocation for Constituency Projects

According to *Ayogu* (2010), role of individual legislature in constituency starts and terminates at the point of identifying the project. This line of argument on the side of the legislator does not seem to have gone down well with general believe that constituency project execution is to the advantage of the individual legislator in that it serves as corruption conduit to feed fat on national wealth. Furthermore *Obasanjo* (2010) had argued against constituency projects in the National assembly, accordingly he accused members of the legislature inserting items into the annual budget which are not required by ministries and connive with contractors in the execution of constituency projects by taking kickbacks. Similarly, *Yusuf et, al.* (2018) submitted that constituency projects as currently practiced in the national assembly of Nigeria is unconstitutional and that constituency projects by a legislature was unnecessary in a presidential democracy but for the expectation of constituents to have their elected representative deliver projects. Furthermore, Baskin, et al,(2010) stated that constituency projects principle is not peculiar to Nigeria and that the concept exist in other climes where it is accorded different titles such in the United States ‘Pock Barrel’, ‘earmark’ or members item on government policy making at the national and subnational levels. More views have been express on some other aspect of constituency project as vehicle for resource allocation. According to *Falana* (2016), concept of budget padding is now been associated with constituency projects allocation of resources, where its alleged that 20 legislators from both chambers of the national assembly altered by inserted constituency projects worth 100 billion naira in the 2016 appropriation estimates. Rather than see constituency project as mean for equitable allocation as well as even spread of projects throughout Nigeria, the legislature is now seen and accused of doing their personal bidding.

In all of the argument for and against concept constituency projects and the role of the legislature, none seemed to have focused on constituency projects sustainability question using

the optical prism of constituents' role. The Constituent stakeholders projects preference or choice as determinant of sustainability has remain largely silent in many literature consulted so far hence this study to determine levels of constituency projects execution, operation and ownership.

2.3 Legislature and Executive Relation in the Budget Process and Project Allocation in Nigeria

Clearly the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended, take into account the principle of separation of powers which is characteristic of presidential system of government in assigning distinct roles and responsibilities to different arms of the same government as follows – power of the purse is given to the Legislature as contain in **Section 78-84** (Federal level, National Assembly), **Section 120-121** (State level, House of assembly), Fiscal Responsibility Act of 2007 (FRA 2007) ,Annual Appropriations Act (a legal document of spending, **section 79(1)** empowers the executive via the office of the president to prepare and lay the budget proposal before the legislature for consideration annually. Incidences of conflicts and contestation in form of open disagreement between the legislature and the executive in Nigeria over role and duty concerning the final contents, structure and reach of annual budget is not far-fetched in annual budget cycle since 1999 till date. Nomenclatures such as budget padding, zonal intervention project, constituency projects funding, legislator's annual budget envelope etc. are now considered part and parcel of annual budgetary activity as the Nigeria national assembly with attendant lack of transparency and perceived corruption in the system by the public. According to *Eminue, (2006)*, the resultant volatility between the executive and the legislative arm has resulted in public policy inefficiency and ineffectiveness. While the legislature assume some form of jurisdiction over certain aspect of the budget through the insertion of constituency projects for the benefit of their constituencies, the executive argue that there is not constitutional provision in the 1999 constitution to support

such action by the legislature. Prawning further into the attendant effects of budget padding in the Nigerian legislature, *Jude ojigbo (2017)* opined that the perceived failure of the legislature to insist on procedural accountability in the implementation of annual budget by the executive arm is because the legislature is guilty of bogus insertions in the annual budget proposals and suggested that strict adherent to constitutionally defined role for both the legislature and executive be maintained to remedy the situation.

2.4 Constituent's Participation in Constituency Project Identification, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation.

According to **(UNDP, 2009)** effective project planning, monitoring and evaluation are needed tools in other to judge whether a given project is going in the right direction or not. This in itself helps to determine if progress or success can be claimed before the eventual operation of such project. *Keime, 2014*, posited that both monitoring and evaluation make use of information gathered about the project to assess the status of the project at any given time and that such information serves as basis for reviewing project plan which helps supervising authority make sound decisions about the project before it is put to use. The *World Bank (2002)* report presented by its internal evaluation unit says that community based projects in Africa region tends to perform better than the region's project as a whole, yet it is reported that only one in five of such community-based projects is sustainable. *Wanjiru (2008)*, while evaluating community development fund (CDF) projects in kenya, stressed the need to strengthen project monitoring and evaluation reporting then clearly stated that funds provided for in the CDF Act, 2003, should be utilized for that purpose without much bottle necks. Again *Mulwa (2007)*, emphasized by saying that any conclusion from a project evaluation team would largely depend on the value system from which such evaluating team emanates, whether it's been technically knowledgeable, corrupted or has inputs of the community i.e. the constituents. Specific role

for community in the whole process of project evaluation and monitoring is observed to be silent in the Kenya CDF Act, 2003 under review. While literature consulted recognized community as project beneficiary, none has pointed to the constituent as a necessary partner in evaluation and monitoring as well as operation of projects.



NON-FUNCTIONAL BOREHOLE, KAGINI, BWARI AREA COUNCIL



FUNCTIONAL PRIMARY HEALTH CENTER, KUBWA, BWARI AREA COUNCIL

2.5 Gaps in Knowledge

As stated earlier at the introductory stage of this research work, previous focus of scholarly works on concept of constituency projects has hovered around the need for even spread of developmental infrastructures by government ministries, agencies and departments across all federal constituencies in Nigeria. This has largely been done through the envelop system of resource allocation and distribution apportioned to each elected representatives at the National assembly (House of representative), method or formula by adopted NASS for allocation is not within the focus of this research. It must be emphasized here that little is known about constituents' role in determining constituency projects type, design, and implementation and as major determinants in sustainability of schemes, particularly those projects which comes in the form of physical infrastructures such as boreholes, solar street lightings, and primary health

facilities among other. How important is the buy-ins of constituents whenever an elected representative decides to conceptualize constituency projects as well as submitting same via annual national budget through relevant Ministry/Agency of the executive arm of government and how such synergy or absence of it has affected the success or otherwise of constituency projects sustainability is yet to be fully examined. Using Bwari/AMAC federal constituency in particular therefore, the period 2011 to 2021 as case study, it is the intention of this researcher to throw light on the subject, constituency project (zonal intervention projects) as currently practiced in the Nigeria legislature and establish that there exist a weakness in the chain, which indeed is constituents' role, that should be factored in outcome of this research therefore is expected to help bridge such gap.



FUNCTIONAL BOREHOLE PROJECT, KUBWA, BWARI AREA COUNCIL



ABANDONED WATER PROJECT, MPAPE, BWARI AREA COUNCIL

2.6 Theoretical Frameworks

This research work stands theoretically on twin concepts, **Principal-Agent theory** and the theory of **Legislative Responsiveness** as integral part of Legislative Representation. The principal-agent theory can be traced to many sources Authors such as *Mirrlees (1976)*, *Jensen and Meckling (1976)*, *Stiglitz (1975)*, and *Ross (1973)* did works extensively on the Principal-Agent theory. It was recorded that this same theory was well-reviewed by *Prendergast (1999)*

and by *Besley and Dixit* (1997). The principal in principal-agent theory refers to someone who delegates authority. The agent represents someone to whom authority is delegated. For example, going by the dictates of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) as can be related to this study, members of the National Assembly was referred to as elected representatives who bears the power of ultimate sovereignty of the people and are thus referred to as Agents while the people i.e. the constituents is the Principal. Scholars use the principal-agent model to determine when agents should and should not act in the interests of their principal.

Secondly, in order to understand the theory of Legislative Responsiveness, we now take a brief insight into the meaning of representation as one of the call duties of an elected representative. The term political representation is brought to lime light particularly due to the scholarly works of *Pekins (2009)*. Pekins had looked at representation linguistically and came up with the definition that states that “**representation implies acting for the represented, in a manner responsive to them**”.

In words of *Tefa (2020)* citing *Eulau* and *Kaps*, “The representation function of parliament has become a prominent component of democracy.

- **The legislature is an institution of popular representation composed of elected representatives**
- **In all democratic systems, a diverse group of people are either elected or appointed to represent the collective will of their societies**
- **Through public deliberation and public policy, representatives reconcile the diverse and conflicting interests and expectations of the constituent groups in society”.**

Legislative representation is further given recognitions and powers by relevant sections of the 1999 constitution of federal republic of Nigeria.

For instance the following portions provide thus;

Section 14 (2) stipulates that sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom Government through this Constitution derives all its power and authority.”

More so, Section 71 of the Constitution of Nigeria empowers the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) to delineate each State of the federation into three senatorial districts and 360 federal constituencies, for the purpose of election into the senate and the House of Representatives, respectively.

Furthermore, it has been discovered through various scholarly works that, representation is composed of other concepts. *Eulau and Karps, (2009)* called this concepts responsiveness and categorized them into four broad areas for discussion;

- **Policy responsiveness**
- **Allocation responsiveness**
- **Symbolic responsiveness**
- **Service responsiveness**

All four responsiveness as discussed by *Tefa, (2020)* citing **Hana Pitkin**, is outlined thus;

Policy Responsiveness: this refers to how or whether the policy preferences of constituents align with the behaviour of representatives. It refers to the policies legislators assist constituents to enact.

Allocation responsiveness: This refers to the act of getting public goods and personal services for constituents, individual or groups.

Allocation responsiveness is concerned with the general expectation that representatives should do things that benefit the constituency.

Example, empowerment programmes such as buying bikes, sewing machines, building of schools and hospitals

Symbolic responsiveness: relates to the attitudes of constituents towards their representatives and the legislature, this is achieved when the psychological needs of constituents or citizens are met.

But again the need to aggregate what the constituents want is also vital for effective responsiveness to take place. *Payne, (1984)* opined that it is always a problem when trying to find out what the people want. Sometimes what leaders in various communities wants may defer from what individual constituent consider as priority in considering how effective responsiveness has been.

Legislative responsiveness model is considered suitable and adopted for this research work because quantitative variables in the form of physical projects can be investigated through oral interview and administered questionnaire to show if there has been a top to bottom approach or bottom top approach in project identification implementation and operation in Bwari/AMAC federal constituency during period covered by this research.

2.7 Conceptual Frameworks

While establishing a sound theoretic framework for this study, we shall attempt to establish a correlation if there is, between the dependent variable (preferably referred to here as **Sustainability of Constituency Projects**) as well as the independent variables which for the purpose of this study are the **Constituent members** (Bwari/AMAC Federal Constituency) as well as the **Elected Representative** (House of Representative 2011-2021). Further work is done to determine if there exists a measurable relationship between the independent variables used in this study. This researcher's interest is to determine and establish whether there exists a gap between the constituent and their elected representatives Bwari/AMAC CONSTITUENCY and to predict this will be bridged and to find out if regular inter-face consultations are held by way of town hall meetings.

Secondly, inquiries are made to find out if constituents are invited to participate in constituency projects execution by way of projects monitoring and training to ensure suitability of project after completion.

Third, predictor would be to situate constituent's rejection or cases of projects' abandonment , particularly those infrastructures solely conceptualized by elected representative and that such action by constituents amount to passing vote of no confidence on elected representatives.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter gives an overview of research methodology adopted for this study. Terms such as Research design, Target population, Sample size and Sample technique for this study are now technically defined and explained in details. Also contained in this chapter are terminologies such as Identification, Description of research instrument, Data type adopted for the study, Data collection process, Validity of data and how reliable are the Data collected for the research. This chapter ends by taking a closer look at methods of analyzing data collected for the purpose of this study.

3.1 Research Design

For the purpose of this research, a descriptive research method approach is adopted. According to *Shuttleworth (2008)*, descriptive research design is a scientific method which involves observing and describing the behavior of subjects without influencing them in anyway. *Shuttleworth (2008)* further state that subject or subjects as the case may be are to be observed in their complete natural and unchanged natural environments. Kemei in (*kemei 2014*), stated that a major focus of descriptive research focuses on “what” questions which is appropriate in proving the existence of a social problem and can challenge assumptions about the way things are and attract attention. Also descriptive research help to probe the question “why” as it help to test the underlying theory in the study by taking logic to the field, for instance this research intends to ask the question “why the seemingly low patronage of constituency projects by some members of Bwari/ANAC federal constituency after commissioning?” The outcome of this descriptive work is expected to give vivid picture of actual occurrences in Bwari/AMAC

federal constituency. This will justify the assertion by *Burns and Grove (2001)* that descriptive research is designated to provide a picture of a situation as it naturally happens, justify or otherwise current practices and make conclusion and open the door for further studies.

3.2 Target Population

Population here is seen as the entire items that the research is expected to be generalized upon. In this case, persons living in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency. This is in accordance with the definition by Parahoo (1997) that population is the total number of units from which data can be collected. In an attempt at finding appropriate population for this study, three variables are within the radius. These are population of executed constituency projects, population of constituents as well as the population of elected representatives in the period 2011-2021. However the focus of study is centered principally on constituency projects (35) which is the dependent variable, elected representatives, 1, 0055,572 (2006 National population) constituents which combine form the independent variables for this study in AMAC/Bwari constituency.

Table 3.1 Target population for the research

Population category	Target population
Number of Elected representatives	3
Population of AMAC/Bwari Constituency	1,005,572
Population of Constituency projects	35
Total Population Target	1,005613

3.3 Sampling Size and Sampling Procedure

According to *Burns and Groove (2001)*, sampling refers to the process that involves choosing or selecting a group of individuals, events or behavior to represent a population with which a research is to be conducted. It should be noted that a sample of a given population is usually periodically selected scientifically for the purpose of generalization on the population.

3.3.1 Sample size

The population of AMAC/Bwari federal constituency is known according to 2006 population census. The sample size of the constituents therefore shall be based on Krejcie and Morgan (1970) table for sample size determination. This technique is justified for this research due to the heterogeneous nature of AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency which has both urban and semi urban population spread. The researcher consider the large size of the population of this constituency (1,005,605), the descriptive rule that require 20-30% of the population be used could not be applied in arriving at the sample size hence the reliance on the K and M table of sample size determination (see appendix), also census method by random selection is used to determine number of projects sites as well as the number of elected representatives interviewed.

Table 3.2 sample size and procedures

Population type	Target population	Sample size	Procedure
AMAC/Bwari constituents	1,005,572	384	cluster method
Respondent per project site		11	census method
Elected representatives	3	3	census method
Constituency projects	35	35	census method
TOTAL	1,005,610	433	

3.3.2 Sampling Procedure

Using the figure in table 3.2 above, number of constituency projects to be considered for this study shall be 35 obtained by census method, the number of elected representatives is 3 also by census method and a total of 384 members of the constituents were selected using the probabilistic sampling method with the aid of K and M table. The distribution of the selected sample size is evenly spread to the location where the 35 constituency projects are cited and 11 respondents are randomly selected to participate in the research at each constituency project site. It is expected that this approach to the survey will effectively give equal chance for everybody in the population to participate.

3.4 Research Instruments

3.4.1 Method of Data Collection

For the purpose of this study, both primary and secondary sources are used to aggregate data needed to arrive at desirable conclusions. First, secondary data are obtained from published literature on the subject matter as present in chapter two of this research report while primary data were collected using administered questionnaire. Also direct oral interview was carried out simultaneously. The questionnaire administered was design to have three sections of questions (see appendix 1) these consists of open ended questions as well as closed ended questions. Respondents were allowed to freely answer by ticking boxes corresponding to appropriate answers or alternatives provided and are expected to be as objective as possible while filling the questionnaire; this is emphasized in the questionnaire guild so as to give true reflection of actuals that this research seeks to crystalize.

3.4.2 Pilot Testing

The use of pilot test in research survey is emphasized by *Mugenda and Mugenda (2003)*, where it posited that conducting pilot study was very important as such exercise helps the researcher to familiarize with the research environment hence test the clarity of questions in the questionnaire and whether it adequately cover the needed information sought for the research. The pilot testing for this study was conducted in kubwa community in Bwari area council where a constituency project is cited. At the pilot testing, the suitability and the validity of research instrument was affirmed.

3.4.3 Validity of Research Instrument

According to *Mugenda and Mungenda (2003)*, validity of a research instrument confirms the soundness of the inferences based on the score, that is to say whether such instrument measure the variable it is intended to measure and at the same time not measure what is not required in the survey. For the purpose of certainty, the input of the supervisor was sought for the validity of research instrument by perusing the questionnaire design for the study. Types and format of question were intelligently coined, arranged and structured to elicit interest of respondents as a way of reducing percentage error before the approved questionnaire were produced for field work.

3.4.4 Reliability of Research Instruments

Reliability of a survey test as research instrument (Questionnaire) is defined as ability of such test to consistently produce same outcome when repeated measurements are taken from the same individual or event under the same condition, *Koul,(2005)*. Reliability of research

instrument used for this study was conducted via pilot testing in Kubwa a suburb in Bwari area council, questionnaire distributed among 15 testing respondents. *Nkpa (1997)* opined that trial testing of measuring instrument should be undertaken using a few subjects whose characteristics are similar to those in the sample to ascertain the feasibility of the research. A reliability coefficient was eventually generated based on the pilot testing, outcome showed a value which exceeded 0.7 mark suggested by *Kothari(2004)*. The questionnaire was then certified reliable for the study.

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

Data collected for the purpose of this study will be both qualitative and quantitative types. Most of the qualitative data form was sought from printed publications from National Assemble gazettes on constituency projects via zonal interventions in the annual national budget reports 2011-2021. The office of elected representatives also provided records from which more secondary data were further extracted for this research work. Quantitative data for this study was gathered majorly through administered questionnaire and oral interview. Though data collection method was both formal and informal, the data obtained was however structured. In other to reduce incidences of loss of administered questionnaire, a system of instant retrieval of completed questionnaire was adopted as it also afforded the researcher opportunity to provide on the spot assistance or clarification on any aspect of the questionnaire where respondents need it.

3.6 Data Analysis Procedure

This researcher analyzed data collected relied on pattern laid as down by *Polit and Hunger(1997)*, that data analysis must involve organizing, providing structure and deducting

meaning from raw data collected. The questionnaire used has severally been tested for credibility via reliability and validity; data collected is coded and tested for completeness. Further analysis involves descriptive statistical presentation in forms of charts, tables and graph. For the purpose of understanding relationship between the dependent variables and independent variables in this study, both qualitative and quantitative data was analyzed side by side. Other analytical tools used in descriptive statistics such as frequencies, standard deviation, means and percentages were further applied in the analysis of data collected for the study. Computer based statistical packages used for analyzing data such as Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) was further employed to generate inferences without bias after which line of correlation was determined between the dependent and the independent variables.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, present data obtained through administered questionnaire and oral interview conducted in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency for the purpose of investigating the sustainability question centered on **Role of Constituents, Present status of constituency projects, Benefits or current utility level obtainable and Ownership of already completed projects** are presented.

Answers obtained from respondent are voluntary and objective for this study is devoid of any interference the researcher. On the whole, a total of 384 residents (sample size) of AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency participated in the study. Thirty-five (35) projects sites was visited, a breakdown of this number indicates that an average of eleven (11) respondents per project locations visited were interviewed with aid of administered questionnaire and orally.

4.1 Background Characteristics of Respondents

This segment of presentation aggregates data collected in **Section A** portion of the questionnaire, it covers aspects like the personality or personal data of respondents, Gender, education status, age bracket of respondents etc.

4.1.1 Gender of Respondents

First the study sought to know the gender distribution of respondents in percentage and ensure no significant disparity between male and female respondent. The outcome is as displayed in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Gender of Respondents

	Frequency	percentage
Female	141	40%
Male	243	60%
Total	384	100%

—

The result here shows 40% female responds while majority 60% of respondents were male. Reasons for this skewness are not far-fetched. The culture and religious inclination of the constituents of AMAC/Bwari federal constituency makes it difficult to have females openly respond to public enquiry with ease. However a respond rate of 40% is considered significantly reliable for this study. The 60% respond rate for male resident is considered good for the study.

4.1.2 Age Bracket of Respondents

This was considered in four broad age groupings. The result can be seen in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Age Bracket of Respondents

	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 25 years	46	12%
26 – 35 years	61	16%
36 – 45 years	192	50%
Above 47 years	85	22%
Total	384	100%

The result shows young adults less than 25years (12%); adults (16% and 50%); as well as the aged in the constituency (22%) respectively participated in the survey. This implies the study collected data from wide segment of the society there by validating the responds of the study. It is however noted that age group 36-45 years (50%) responded more. This could be due to mobility of this group of persons within AMAC/Bwari federal constituency.

4.1.3 Distribution of Respondents between AMAC and Bwari Area Councils.

AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency is composed of two area councils. These are Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) as well as Bwari area council. The distribution of respondents according to area councils is depicted in the table below:

Table 4.1.3 Distribution of Respondents

	Frequency	Percentage
AMAC	154	40%
Bwari council	230	60%
Total	384	100%

It is evident that respondents from AMAC Bwari area councils participated in the survey for the study, the ratio is 2:3. Reason for this disparity is due to difference in social economic distribution of constituents resident in both councils. AMAC is predominantly cosmopolitan while Bwari Area Council on the other hand is semi-urban and tends to respond more to queries through administered questionnaire. This means that the survey conducted for the research is fairly distributive between the area councils.

4.2 Constituents, Elected Representatives Synergy

Under this, data presentation and analysis was focused on the information gathered in **Section B** of administered questionnaire to show whether consultation or interface exist between elected representative and constituent.

4.2.1 The Use of Town Hall Meetings

Respondents confirm by Yes or No, that Town hall meeting between elected representative and constituents of AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency do take place or have being invited to such meeting for purpose of consultation about constituency project in their respective communities. The table 4.2.1 below shows data from respondents.

Table 4.2.1 Town Hall Meetings Invitation or Participation of Constituents

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes, town hall meetings	138	36%
No town hall meetings	246	64%
Total	384	100%

Figures as presented in table 4.2.1 reveal that more than half (64%) of constituents surveyed claim ignorance of any form of town hall meeting for the purpose of selecting projects type as constituency projects in their community. Only about 36% of respondents could confirm that town hall meetings did happen for consultation about constituency projects. The course of this wide disparity may not be unconnected with the nonexistence or obscurity of location for constituency office where such meetings could hold or lack of adequate publicity about such town hall meetings may be the case which in itself point to minimal consultation existing between elected representative of AMAC/Bwari federal constituency and members of the constituent using the instrumentality of town hall meeting. The impact of this gap on sustainability shall be examined in another sub-head.

4.2.2 Types of Constituency Projects Initiated in Amac/Bwari Federal Constituency used for this Research Purpose.

A distribution of all projects site visited in both AMAC as well as Bwari area councils is here presented in table 4.3.1

Table 4.2.2 Type of Projects Initiated by Elected Representative in Amac/Bwari Federal Constituency Surveyed for this Research in a Total Of 35 Projects Site Visited.

	AMAC	Bwari council area
Borehole projects	6	10
Solar street lights	3	4

Health care centers	5	6
—		
Percentage	40%	60%
—		
Total number of projects site visited		35
—		
Total percentage		100%
—		

The sub-urban nature of Bwari council could be responsible for the existence of more physical infrastructure (60%) sites visited from which data is collected for this study. AMAC area has fewer project sites (40%) visited. Data obtained still indicates even spread and reliability for the study and serve as cross geographic comparison, that is to say, urban area versus semi urban area.

4.2.3 Current Status of Constituency Projects.

Here we present an unbiased data on the current status of projects as obtained through administered questionnaire.

Table 4.2.3 Current Status of Projects in Amac/Bwari Federal Constituency

Status of project	No of respondent	Percentage
Very functional	238	62%

Never function	38	10%
Broken down /Stopped functioning	108	28%
Total	384	100%

Result from data table 4.2.3 shows that large number as indicated by 62% of projects site surveyed are still functional, 38% of the projects are in one state of dysfunction or another. This shortfall in functionality of completed projects in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency is a pointer to the level of sustainability of physical infrastructure sited in the period (2011 – 2021) covered by this study. Although 60% level of functionality may be considered high, deprived benefits inherent in the 38% shortfall is significant enough to affect sustainability of constituency projects in AMAC/Bwari federal constituency in the long run negatively.

Cause of non-functionality of observed 38% shortfall of constituency projects could be traceable to the non-existence of statutorily defined roles assigned to constituents in the conceptualization, evaluation and execution of executed projects in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency as respondents via oral interview claim ignorance of how to fix projects that have stopped working. There is also the challenge of poorly executed projects with many of such not connected to any reliable source of power and many equally lack trained manpower to carry out minor repairs in the event of breakdown. This became evident in many primary health facilities visited in the cause of this research. Health workers particularly complained during oral interview of not being able to fix broken down borehole solar panel systems nor reconnect damaged power points within the primary healthcare facility.

4.2.4 Benefit Derive From Completed Constituency Projects

Table 4.2.4

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Satisfaction	Frequency	Percentage
Very useful	131	34%
Moderately useful	108	28%
Not useful	146	38%

Results from table 4.2.4 clearly shows that constituents derive very minimal benefits from projects initiated by elected representatives. Only 34% found such projects very useful, 28% consider these projects partially beneficial to them while 38% of respondents wholly derive no utility whatsoever from the project cited in their area, this respondents attributed to non been carried along in project type and preference. The obvious identifiable gaps, in the opinion of this research has adversely affected sustainability. Neglect or rejection of project led to outright decay in many project sites visited.

4.3 Ownership of Constituency Projects

This segment considers data as captured in **Section C** of administered questionnaire.

Questions under this category bother on operation and ownership of constituency projects by the constituents of AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency.

4.3.1 Ownership of Existing Constituency Projects in Amac/Bwari Federal

Constituency. Outcome of survey is contain in table 4.3.1

Table 4.3.1

Ownership	frequency	percentage
Government (federal area councils)	92	24%
Elected representative	123	32%
Community (constituents)	169	44%
Total	384	100%

The table 4.3.1 clearly shows that, though a significant number (44%) of respondents accepted ownership of constituency projects cited within their community, same cannot be said of the remaining 56% of respondents who carry on with the notion, that constituency projects either belong to the government (Federal, Area councils) or at best. Such projects are owed by the elected representative who solely initiated the project. It therefore follows that care and concern about continuous existence of commissioned projects as well as functionality of same is greatly left unattended to because it is the believe of the less informed that government property is considered nobody's property. Furthermore, this singular factor in the view of this researcher, beyond other considerations, affects sustainability of constituency projects in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency particularly in the period 2011 to 2021.

4.3.2 Who Fixes Constituency Project whenever there is a Breakdown of the Facility

This is paramount importance to this study because in answering the question of who fixes constituency projects in a given community in the event of breakdown, gives insight into the ownership structure of such facility. This in itself provides direct bearing to projects sustainability which the research seeks to unravel.

Table 4.3.2 Who fixes constituency project whenever Broken-down

Who has been responsible	frequency	percentage
Govt. agent	15	3.9%
Elected representative	31	8.1%
The community	177	46%
Concerned individual	100	26%
Never fixed	61	15.9%
Total	384	100%

4.3.3 Participation in Operating Constituency Project(S) in the Community

Respondents were asked to respond if they participated at any time in the operation (running) of project(s) sited within the community they live in. The researcher further conducted oral interview on this particular question irrespective of answers provided by individual respondent. A “Yes” or “No” answer was required for the purpose of answering, if “No” answer was supplied by respondent, further enquiry to ascertain why “No”, was the answer provided. Responds to this question in particular is vital to the overall objective of this study, in that it wraps together all indexes that defines ownership of constituency project while at the same time establish the existing correlation between stakeholders role and sustainability of constituency projects. The result is outlined in the following table.

Table 4.3.3 Participation in Operation of Constituency Project(S)

Participate	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	106	28%
No (do not)	278	72%
Total	384	100%

It is evident from result depicted by table 4.3.3 that a mere 28% of respondents had at one time or another participated in operation of constituency projects sited in their community. Reasons for this abysmal level of participation in operation of project, was further extracted via oral interview. It became clear that majority (72%) tends to distant themselves from operating the facility because they do not poses basic skills required to operate such facilities sited in their community, many equally associate this seemingly boycott to the alienation constituents suffer right from inception of constituency project particularly in project choice and preferences. A handful tend to distance themselves from operating the projects particularly the female folks because of phobia for new technology, the apprehension stern from the erroneous belief that in their attempt to operate such “difficult piece” of technology might lead to total collapse or damage to the facility. The outcome from this outlay shows that sustainability of constituency projects is adversely affected, this is largely so because beneficiary of these developmental infrastructures under the current arrangement, were found to be too distant from operating the facility provided, hence cannot adequately accept or take full ownership.

We consider the paradox in this light, provision of constituency projects as seen as an example of production of economic good whose process is considered incomplete until it gets to the final consumer and it is consumed. This analogy holds for sustainability of constituency projects, the process will remain largely unsustainable until the stakeholders take full ownership (choice, identification, operation and protection) of the facilities provided.

4.4 Discussions of Findings

The graphical presentation of research outcome in this work is deliberate and intentional. Research works like this one are action related and are usually focused on solving nagging problems inherent in the constituency projects regimes as currently practiced in Nigeria.

It is also worthy to note that this researcher adopted the simple percentage presentation of data in order to make it easily understandable by interested readers, for the purpose of further research as well as adaptation.

This researcher will now discuss some of the findings contained in chapter four of this report.

First, it was observed that the gender of respondents in the data collected was disproportionately skewed towards the male gender. This was largely so because of the influence of cultural as well as other religious practices prevailing in the environment where this research was carried out. It was observed by this researcher that the female folks particularly in Bwari area council were not overtly receptive to administered questionnaire. To this end, it is the opinion of this researcher that more social enlightenment and re-orientation might be needed to correct this imbalance. It must be noted however that this observed trend did not affect the objective of this research negatively. Furthermore, the data collected precipitated a large percentage of respondents among the 36 – 45 year bracket. Reason for this is largely due to the involvement of this set of respondent in the political activities as well as the electoral process occurring in the Federal constituency under investigation. This researcher observed that many of these under the given age bracket, were voters and regularly participate in voting exercises.

Outcomes as observed in data on constituents / elected representatives synergy was revealing. The main take-away was the near absence of constituency consultation meetings between the elected representative and the constituents of AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency. The same is evident in the way projects are initiated by the elected representative as well as the execution of projects. Data collected confirmed that majority of respondents are ignorant about project choice and preferences. It is further evident from data analyzed, that the challenge of lack of synergy between elected representative and constituents, in particular tends to affect the

optimal performance of already commissioned projects, thereby depriving the target constituents the inherent benefits of such projects in the long run . Whereas a substantial number of these projects are not functional, some are functioning at suboptimal level while some are currently doing fine.

Again, data analyzed shows that the overall ownership of constituency projects in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency is negatively affected by two main factors.

These factors are;

1. The inability of members of the constituent to fix or carry out minor repair works on the installed facility in the event of minor breakdowns.
2. Lack of capacity by members of the benefiting community to operate on installed facility.

The impact of these twin challenges as determinants of projects ownership, also in turn affected the ultimate sustainability of commissioned projects. Hence the existence of this problem cannot be ignored. This researcher observed through physical inspection that, project failure or the lack of sustainability of same in the geopolitical area in the period 2011 – 2021 could largely be laid at the point of divergence between project ownership and constituents' participation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the researcher presents summary of significant findings as deduced from analyzed data which have been fully tabulated and relevant inferences deduced for the justification of this study. We now present observations in trends as observed while carrying out this research in a bid to provide answers to the research questions and objectives set out for this study. Furthermore, this research will now attempt to progress by making recommendations including useful suggestions that could serve as guild to relevant organs of government, particularly the leadership of the National Assembly of Nigeria (Legislature) whose constitutional responsibility it is, to ensure value for money through project execution and sustainability of such projects (appropriation and oversight duties of the relevant legislative committees). Recommendations are also directed at project execution agencies (Executive) of government for action.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The major aim set out for this study was to satisfy three cardinal objectives which centers on ensuring that constituency projects executed in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency in the period 2011 to 2021 have met the developmental needs of the people resident in the defined geopolitical area. The study also sought to examine the present state of existing infrastructure (constituency projects) domicile in the area covered by this study as well as examine the best way to ensure the by-in of constituents in order to guarantee sustainability of existing projects in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency. It is the assumption of this researcher that, outcome (existence of gaps) from this study could give idea about similar occurrences in other Federal constituencies across Nigeria. This study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data analysis which has been presented in chapter four. It is done using current descriptive statistical

tools such as tables, percentages and arithmetic means, simplified for easy comprehension for action (this is the hallmark of descriptive action research).

From the tabular presentations contained in chapter four of this research report as well as a concise discussion of findings, first it is clear that, the general awareness level of majority is >80%, that is to say that large numbers of persons who responded to this research agree to the existence of one form of constituency project or the other in the area visited by this researcher, similarly, majority of the respondents claimed not to have seen their elected representative since after election. This study has further established that there indeed exists a huge gap between elected representatives and the constituents. Elected representatives are found not to have conducted town hall regularly for the purpose of constituents' consultation about project choice and preferences. Also, it is observed that, there exists the challenges of inadequate publicity coupled with lack of accessibility to such meeting venues where indeed such meetings did take place. Town hall meetings for the purpose of consulting constituents of the AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency are indeed rarely held. As a result, many respondents feels cut off from participation in such exercise which sometimes precede project execution, they are equally feel alienated from other processes such as operation and ownership too. Many respondents believed that existing constituency projects in AMAC/Bwari federal constituency are owned by the elected representative who solely initiated the project and that it is the same elected representative that should dictate how such facility should be operated, safe-guarded and repaired in the event of any break down of the infrastructures. Statistical inferences from data collected and analyzed for this research, confirms real existence of constituents / elected representatives gaps as noticed in the following areas;

- Lack of Existence, dislocation and non-functionality of constituency office as operated by elected representative in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency. This research observed that this particular gap responsible for the lack of effective communication between the

principal (constituents) and the agent (elected representatives) when situated around AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency. Gaps of this nature is found to have affected sustainability of projects because people's choices and preferences are not properly investigated, neither are they adequately aggregated before projects are conceptualized for implementation. Furthermore, challenges faced by constituents in the event of break-down of installed facility are not effectively reported through constituency office of elected representative due to the absence or non-functionality of existing constituency offices. A major set-back is also observed in the quest for project sustainability where the people cannot locate office of their elected representative for routine complain about projects operation and security.

- Choice, Preference of constituency projects type as well as current status of projects targeted at meeting the developmental and infrastructural needs of the people of AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency. A major issue of sustainability, that seem to have escaped per review of constituency projects performance in Nigeria over the years would have be taken care of if constituent's role and duties are galvanized through projects preference and choice. Choice and preference is so important that the failure to accommodate it over the years due to ignorance on the part of planners is found to be responsible for the large scale project sub-optimal performance of constituency projects in AMAC/Bwari federal constituency.
- The huge gap that exist between projects Operation, and projects Ownership also affects security of existing physical infrastructures such as Boreholes, Solar Street lightings, Primary Health Care Centers in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency is lay bare by this research. These obvious hindrances are enough to make constituency projects regime in Nigeria non sustainable.

The following recommendations are hereby put forward by this researcher to remedy the problem facing sustainability of constituency projects regime.

- It is the recommendation of this researcher that, a sincere and frontal approach at addressing these gaps be urgently carried out to make the quest for sustainability of projects a reality. The people must be encouraged to own the projects, secure and strive to maintain same.
- How best the constituents are able to fix minor problems in any incident of breakdown or non-functioning of already commissioned constituency projects should be captured in the project conceptualization process. What channel of communication exists after installation and what model is developed for at least a member of the benefiting community to be trained to be able to handle the most basic of repairs in the event of facility break-down. Facility break down in many cases are as a result of minor or trivial technical issues which could be fixed by a trained member of the constituent. Sustainability of such facility will be highly enhanced where adequate measures are put in place for this gap to be bridged.

Findings from this study further confirms the notion held by many observers/researchers that, constituency projects regime as currently practiced in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency has neither lived up to expectations nor is it sustainable unless the status quo is tinkered with for better outcome.

Finally, this research evidently shows clear cases of high level physical detachments amongst intended beneficiaries from the project site. This observation is same in the two area councils that make up AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency surveyed for this research work. Interestingly, such trend was observed in the operationalization, security/safekeeping as well as ownership (<40% ownership) of constituency projects. To remedy this therefore,

constituents should be encouraged to familiarize themselves with the projects in their communities.

5.2 Conclusion

Holistically, Inference from this study therefore shows clearly that sustainability of constituency projects will remain challenged majorly, until current strategies about constituency projects particularly in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency and in Nigeria as a whole are reviewed in other to accommodate the constituents as equal partners.

It is the view of this researcher that changes in the constituency projects regime must be done in synch with elected representative in both arms of the legislature and such changes must cover all aspects of project identification (preference and choice), conceptualization, execution and ownership (operation and security) of constituency project delivery in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency.

Again, this study has shown that constituents preference and project choice are pivotal to sustainability. Elected representative should therefore not take for granted the core duty of legislative responsiveness which must be in tandem with the needs of the people.

5.3 Recommendations

On the whole, outcome of this study has thrown up many issues which are recognizable, effects of which has made the realization of core objectives behind constituency regime largely unachievable in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency. It's against these obvious challenges precipitated by outcomes from this research work that actionable recommendation are suggested as follows:

- The appellation **Constituency Project (CP)**, be replaced by **The Peoples Project (TPP)**, it is the view of this researcher, that this will create a sense of ownership for the benefiting communities within the constituency, it is hoped that this will facilitate sustainability of project.

- That inputs of constituents be made mandatory as necessary factor that must be considered before a constituency project is initiated or submitted by the elected representative via the envelope system of resource allocation as currently the case at the Nigerian legislature. A statutory role for the constituents is/will be established for constituency projects sustainability through legislative and legal framework.
- The pricing and procurement arrangements for projects by Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) of government should reflect provision for constituents training on basic repairs and operation of constituency projects, in other to cater for anticipated breakdown of such facility. Such arrangement when adopted will greatly promote sustainability.
- Strategic location and relocation of existing constituency office of elected representative of AMAC/Bwari Federal Constituency to places of high visibility and accessibility is highly recommended as a result of these research findings. Furthermore, elected representative are encouraged to carry out some of their legislative function such as consultations, open question day and town hall meetings at least once a month to enable the constituent interface with their elected representative. Such periodic town hall meeting should be widely publicized for enhanced participation by the constituents.

5.4 Suggestions from research outcomes for further research

As objective as the recommended suggestions from this research may sound, it's the view of this researcher that birthed avenues for further research work on the subject, 'Sustainability of constituency projects (**The Peoples Projects**)'. Areas covered by statute of constituents' role in sustainability as legal frame in this regard is largely open for further studies.

5.5 Contribution to the Body of Knowledge

This research has contributed to the body of knowledge by fulfilling the objectives set out for this research, these include;

- (a) **Constituency projects and developmental needs of the constituents:** this is largely answered in the negative as the input by way of preference and by-in of constituents by way of operation, securing and ownership are all needed for maximum derivable benefit from a given project be achieved.
- (b) **Current state of constituency projects in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency:** the present reality according to findings of this research shows that many of the constituency projects in the area covered have stopped functioning while a few others projects such as solar street lightings operate sub optimally .
- (c) **Ensuring the by-in of constituents for the sustainability of constituency projects in AMAC/Bwari Federal constituency:** the need to redefine the status of constituents' role and projects to be predesignated as “**The people’s Projects**” was discovered necessary to guarantee the by-in of stakeholders to guaranty sustainability.

Appendix A

NILDS/UNIBEN QUESTIONNAIRES;

Data collection in AMAC/Bwari Fed. Constituency for Research to determining role of constituents in project sustainability.

Please tick in the box for the right answer.

Section A: Demographic Data of constituent

1. Your gender Male [], Female []
2. Your age. Less than 25 years [], 26 – 35 years [], 36 – 45 years [], More than 46 years []
3. Your education level No formal education [] Primary [] Secondary [] Tertiary []
4. Location that you come from (kindly tick) Bwari Area council [] AMAC []
5. Are you a registered voter in AMAC/Bwari federal constituency? Yes [], No []
6. Do you participate in political activity / meetings in your community? Yes [], No []
7. How long have you lived in AMAC/Bwari federal constituency? (a) less than two years [], (b) less than five years [], (c) six years and above []
8. Your employment? (a) Unemployed [], privately employed [], government employment [].
9. Are you a member of any political association? Yes [], No []
10. Are you physically challenged? Yes [], No []
11. Are you aware of existence of any constituency office in your area? Yes [], No []

Section B: Constituents/ elected Representative synergy and effect on constituency projects.

12. How often do you see your elected representative visit your area for consultation? (a) Once a year [], (b) twice a year [], (c) every month, (c) never visit []

13. Have you or other members of your community visited your elected representative at the constituency office or at his/her office at the National assembly for the purpose of constituency projects? Yes [], No [].
15. Does your elected representative hold town hall meeting and consultation at the constituency office in your area? Yes [], No [].
16. Have you ever taken part in identifying any constituency projects in your area? Yes [], No []
- (b). If yes, how often do participate? Always [], occasionally [], rarely []
17. Do you feel it is necessary for your elected representative to consult members of your community before a project is cited in your area? Yes [] No []
18. Are you aware of any member of your community who took part in Identifying and execution of constituency project in your area? Yes [], No []

Section C; Constituency identification and Constituents participation

17. What type of constituency project is cited in your area? (a) Water borehole [] (b) street lightings [] (c) primary healthcare center
20. Is the constituency project in your area functioning? (a) Yes (b) never function (c) stopped immediately after commissioning (d) has broken down
21. Are you ready to protect the constituency project in your area? Yes [], No []
22. How much has the constituency project in your area met your immediate developmental need? (a) Moderately [], (b) very well [], (c) not what I needed [].
23. In the event of breakdown of constituency project in your area, who fixes it? (a) Government agent [], (b) elected representative [], (c) the community [], (d) concerned individual in the community [], (e) never fixed []

24. Who do you consider as owners of constituency project in your area? (a) Federal govt. []
 (b) Bwari/AMAC council [], (c) you and your community [].
25. Do you participate in the operation of constituency project in your area (a) Yes []. (b) No []
- If No, why don't you participate? (a) The project is not mine [], (b) I was not trained to operate it [] (c) only govt. officials can operate it []

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