

The Politics of Stomach and Physical Infrastructure: A Variable for Measuring Good Governance in Nigeria

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Abstract

The house hold prayer of all Nigerian is give us this day our daily bread, men celebrate being given fish to eat as against being taught how to fish. The proponent of stomach infrastructure believes that government cannot be investing heavily on physical infrastructure when the stomach is empty, both stomach and physical infrastructure need to be addressed side by side. The easiest way to organize political meetings or mobilize people to attend political rallies and campaigns is through stomach infrastructure; with the slogan use what you have to get what you want appears to be the cache. Many serving political class reveal that every day of the week from dawn to dusk, their political supporters and constituents' members besiege their homes and offices for one support or the other. These people are not meeting their political representatives to advocate for the entire constituent needs or welfare, instead their personal needs such as school fees for their children, house rent, and financial support for the new awaiting bride, assistance for funerals and other mundane requests takes the centre stage. This has not improved the living standards of Nigerians in service delivery (physical infrastructure) to the people. Nigerians like the biblical Esau are selling their birthrights for a mesh of porridge. The business of being in politics is to improve the welfare of the masses but this has ceased to be as instant political gains become the order of the day. It is now money for hand, vote for ground' and the citizens who benefits from this largesse are prepared to go extra mile to achieve their goal. The paper adopt descriptive-analysis to view the two concept of stomach and physical infrastructure side by side as indices to measure good governance in Nigeria. Also, it is the opinion of this paper to conclude to balance stomach and physical infrastructure hand-in-hand to enhance sustainable development. This will reduce enslavement of the electorates by most political holders to hunger, joblessness, poverty, hopelessness and a bleak future.

Keywords: infrastructure, Development, electorates, political actors

Introduction

The politics of stomach and physical infrastructure evolved in the political dictionary of Nigerian politics in 2014 governorship election in which opposition party (PDP) candidate Ayo Fayose heavily defeated the former governor of Ekiti State of All Progressives Congress (APC) candidate Kayode Fayemi (www.ekitistate.gov.ng). Former governor Fayemi in a chat with channels television was acknowledged by his political allies on his sterling performance in social service delivery while in office but was not happy with him because he did not cater for their stomach welfare on the altar of basic service (www.sunrise.gov.ng, 2014). All Progressive Congress (APC) members alleged that Ekiti people prefer the provider of stomach infrastructure over the builder of physical infrastructure.

Consequently, food is very important for the basic need of life and immediate survival of mankind in every society. Stomach infrastructure involves food items, money and other edible items given to voters to gain their political support. The concept of stomach infrastructure boils down to the issue of food and food security. Also, physical infrastructure is the basic facilities needed for operating a nation or society to enhance sustainable development. In the political history of Nigeria, elections are won and lost on the basis of how the aspirant makes stomach of his constituent members' major priority in his campaign manifesto if elected or re-elected. President Jonathan in 2015 campaign unity mega rally in Edo state, Nigeria state that:

Peoples Democratic Party believes in stomach infrastructure because they ensure food and job creation security in the country. Any leader that does not believe in stomach infrastructure is not ready to lead hungry people (www.nationnewspaper.ng, 2014).

Stomach infrastructure has been a stringent measure for all political aspirants in Nigeria to catch Nigerian voters and gain their support. Politicians who appealed to the conscience of the masses via their stomach always had upper hand against those who tried to use other measures. Any contestant who is not ready to share money during campaign openly or secretly to gain political support is regarded as rookie politician. The voters see stomach infrastructure not necessarily as an act of food security alone but an easy way to get share of the national cake and squeeze out other goodies or rewards from politicians for them to win elections. It has been noted that democracy is the most preferred form of government linked for periodic elections with an insight of voters to determine who govern them.

The voters always threaten that they will vote against any candidate who does not attain to their stomach needs; some even collect gifts at the elections and vote against such money bag contenders, especially if voting parallels their conscience. This accounts why many serving and out-of-office politicians in Nigeria receive mammoth crowd of party supporters and allies every day of the week from dawn to dusk for one support or the other (Iwayemi 2014, Jinadu 1997). It is ironic that these supporters are not meeting their representatives to advocate for the basic amenities of their community need, but for their own selfish needs. They visit either to demand for payment of school fees for their children, funds to pay house rent and support for new bride they are about to take or funerals they need to organize with other mundane and

self-seeking requests (Ogunsanwo 2003). They believe that once the aspirant win elections; they will not have access to them all they could do is to forget all the election promises made in their manifestoes as regards meeting their basic needs.

Geometrically, citizens used the concept of stomach and physical infrastructure as a score-card to assess most political office holders in governance of their states, constituent and wards. The concept of stomach and physical infrastructure does not require a doctorate degree in development studies, nor needs a power-point presentation in a conference room to be in operative. It only needs a leader to come down from his high horse to fulfill the immediate needs of the voters or deploy strategies to ameliorate them. Nigerians always quote the biblical injunction that man does not live by bread alone but man cannot live without bread (Olanrewaju, 2015).

Stomach infrastructure is a tool by political class to wash off sense of judgment from the voters and continuously hold them down. Dudley cited in Okunade (2008) noted that politics in Nigeria is not about alternative policies but the control over men and resources. The 1979 Nigerian draft Constitution declared that the pre-occupation with power and its material benefits was a major interest, the ideology of politics is how the society can be govern to the advantage of all but this hardly enter the calculation of Nigerian ruling class.

It is against this backdrop that the paper politics of stomach and social infrastructure as described in contemporary Nigeria politics will serve as a dual link to address good governance (Iwayemi 2014). The pertinent question remains what are the variables to approach good governance to suit the interest of the masses in Nigeria? The building of social infrastructure supposed to enhance development or patronage in place of sharing money, food items and other materials. Stomach infrastructure is not a viable route to elect honest and credible leaders who have the capacity to transform Nigeria.

Clarification of Concepts

Politics

Politics is the authoritative allocation of values; this encompass the medium through which government use to respond to the pressures from the larger society in allocating benefits, rewards or penalties (Easton, 1979). The authoritative values are widely accepted in society, and considered by the masses. Politics involves the allocation of scarce socio-economic resources to individuals, groups, regions and class; it takes place within a system of social organization centred on the machinery of government. Easton contends that politics is concerned with the allocation of values; resources are distributed to members of a society through politics. It could be noted that most people, institutions and social activities outside politics like business, schools, educational institutions, community groups, and families are non-political, because they are not engaged in running the country.

Put differently, Lasswell, (1949) defined politics as who gets what, when, how and why; this concept can easily be remembered because it is the reality for good especially in Africa. The art of who gets what, how, where and why' is the struggle for power or the authoritative allocation of resources and values has the state as its centrepiece. Politics is defined as governing of men and women; the relationship between those who govern and those

governed argues that the relationship is central to political life (Nnoli, 2003). Politics is concerned with how policies and laws are formulated, executed and implemented. The scholar equates politics to the study of state and exercise of power in government institutions. In addition, central to political activities is the allocation of values (Duverger cited in Ajayi and Ogoma, 2012). The machinery of political life is rooted in politics as a self serving, two-faced and unprincipled activity evident in the use of derogatory phrases such as office politics and politicking.

Stomach

Stomach is a muscular, hollow organ in the gastro-intestinal tract of humans and other animals, including several invertebrates; it has a dilated structure and functions as a vital digestive organ. In human and other animals, the stomach is located between the oesophagus and small intestine. It secretes digestive enzymes and gastric acid to aid food digestion (www.wiki.com, 2013). The concept of stomach infrastructure is a petty inducements and bribes, materialism, and love of pleasurable things. It is the priority to eradicate food insecurity and accelerate the institutional activation of productive systems to deliver food for the society. This aid structured strategies to build sustainable systems for immediate food security against the politically motivated system of dispensing political patronage. Francois Bayart (1993) popularized the politics of the belly in his publication “state in Africa” it is on this scholarly works produced before now all is related to abuse of official privileges and personalisation of state and its institutions in many parts of Africa. It has been argued that the knowledge of governance and politics in Africa is devoid of public interest or service rather it entails the pursuit of private ends. Williams (1980) cited Nigeria as a typical example where a narrow concept of politics reduces politics to the contest for political office and its spoils largely exists.

Physical Infrastructure

The word ‘infrastructure’ is derived from the structures and facilities (<http://www-wds.worldbank.org>). Infrastructure is the basic physical and organizational structures needed for the operation of a society like industries, buildings, roads, bridges, health services, governance and so on. It is the the products, services and facilities necessary for an economy to function (Sullivan and Sheffrin, 2003). It can be described generally as the set of interconnected structural elements that provide framework supporting an entire structure of development. It is the means of achieving an objective or set of objectives and also includes the objectives. It is an important term for judging a country, region or state’s and individual’s developments. The term refers to the technical structures that support a society, such as roads, water supply, sewers, electrical national grids, telecommunications, and so forth, and can be defined as the physical components of interrelated systems providing commodities and services essential to enable, sustain, or enhance societal living conditions (Fulmer, 2009). Functionally, infrastructure facilitates the production of goods and services, and the distribution of finished products to end-users, as well as basic social services such as schools and hospitals; roads enable the transport of raw materials to a factory (AHD, 2009). In military parlance, the term refers to the buildings and permanent installations necessary for the support, redeployment, and operation of military forces (DDD, 2005).

The word infrastructure has been used in English since at least 1927 according to Online Etymology Dictionary (2012), originally means the installations that form the basis for any operation or system, infrastructure in developing countries connotes roads and transport infrastructures. The advent of telecommunication services in Nigeria brought infrastructure to the front seat as the products and services necessary for the performance of an entity.

There are two types of infrastructure, "Hard and Soft" infrastructure. Hard infrastructure refers to the large physical networks necessary for the functioning of a modern industrial nation, whereas "soft" infrastructure refers to all the institutions which are required to maintain the economic, health, and cultural and social standards of a country, such as the financial system, the education system, the health system, the governance system, and judiciary system, as well as security (Kumar, 2005). The achievements of state leaders are measured with the level of basic services the leaders engage in compared to the agitation of the people and the available resources.

Good Governance

Good governance involves decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented, formal and informal actors in decision-making to arrive at the decision (Dahal, et al, 2002). Good governance is a mechanism in which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and meet their obligations to mediate their differences (UNESCAP, 2013). Good governance fulfils the social contract, empower citizens through participation in decisions affecting them. The right of every citizen is to demand from his or her government on certain dimensions like rule of law, political participation, human rights and sustainable development (Mo Ibrahim foundation, 2011). Oyovbaire (2007) declared the concept as the use of power and authority to affect human condition; this will enable the society to sustain and improve the quality of life and transform the physical environment. Hyden and Court (2002) describe good governance as the arena in which state economic and societal actors interact to make decisions. In the words of Lutz and Linder (2004), good governance is participatory, transparent, accountable, effective, equitable to promote rule of law. Good governance involves security of human rights, devolving local autonomy and socio-economic development. The management of socio-economic development in environment void of rancour, ill will, strife and disdain is a sine-qua-non to achieve selected goals (Eyinla, 2000 Davis, 2003). In the words of Potter (2000), good governance is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for socio-economic development.

Theoretical Framework

Several scholars analyzed Nigeria's politics with emphasis on the activities of dominant class and its behavioural patterns while others find the loyalties of Nigerians to region and ethnic groups prevalent to political life as the main focus of their analyses (Joseph 1987). Many scholars argued on ethnic politics and politicization of ethnicity, the concept of the 'two publics' remains classic. They prefer to look beyond the internal dynamics of Nigerian society, and emphasize the dependent nature of the country's political economy, treating domestic politics as subordinate to activities of external forces and agents (Nnoli, 1978, Kasfir, 1979 and Ekeh 1975). Some apply the theory of incentives and strategic behaviour to

explain the political economy of democratic elections in Nigeria during colonial rule and post independence era to some extent, many years after, they emphasized on colonial origins of modern state in Nigeria. This colonial state was an alien structure for exploiting indigenous officials for the benefit of primordial communities. This model is found in Weber (1978), Clapham (1985), Callaghy (1987), Theobald (1990) and Ikpe (2005) on how the layers of administration, neo-patrimonial states, legal procedures and constitutional order inherited from the colonial state have been organised through an array of personal linkages and patron-client networks. In these regimes, power is concentrated and personalised, and rulers have discretion over all aspects of public life including democratic elections, which are either rigged or determined by inducement of voters. There are occasional changes in voting behaviour and patterns as witnessed in 2015 presidential election in Nigeria between PDP and APC. In Nigeria, the personal prerogatives of rulers over-ride the rule of law and organisations, giving rise to weak institutions. It has been noted that other peculiarities in military rule have great tendencies for neo-patrimonialism, clientelism and prebendalism to worsen it. The theoretical explanation is supplemented by the theory of 'state capture'. This model analyzes the activities of weak, sensitive public institutions under individuals who are egoistic, rational and pursuit of self-centred goals (Olopoenia 1998, World Bank 2000). It explains the effects of colonial beginning of Nigeria, politicization of ethnicity, leadership failure across the civil-military political cycles, inconsistent followership and exploitation on the dark sides of government powers by people saddled with performance of basic functions of government.

The framework emphasizes on the inherent dangers in trivialising politics of the belly, such politics were popularized in Ekiti State during 2014 governorship election and have enjoyed widespread acceptability less than a year later. Adedayo (2015), posit that this brand of politics is described in some quarters as *jejune*, un-intellectual and elementary; the Ekiti voters reflected their voting pattern in 2014 governorship elections to suit their demand. An assertion by Jeremy Bentham and jurist states that government is government if only it seeks the welfare of its citizens. Most beneficiaries of this brand of politics are acolytes and praise singers which is a continuation of the sycophantic followership that coincided with high level of poverty and despondency under General Babangida, and this was inherited in fourth republic. Finally, President George Bush of United States in 1989 quoted thus:

He alluded to the need for a refinement of the old ways of dealing with issues of governance, jurisdiction and even economy. We can't turn back the clocks but when our fathers were young our differences ended at the water's edge'. It is necessary to reconsider certain humane qualities and values, especially in terms of welfare of the ordinary people, in our bid to attain developmental goals in Nigeria.

The Nature of Infrastructures in Nigeria

Infrastructure development is the bases for assessing the achievements of democratic leaders and it is the foundation of good governance. Agitation for infrastructural development is higher in democratic government than in military dictatorship, compared to developed countries. This is because the resources for provision of infrastructure are always scarce.

Ethnic-interest agitation and lobbying are common things in democratic governance in developing countries. The Infrastructural report of Nigeria like other third world country is nothing to write home about. The housing situation is in a sorry state both quantitatively and qualitatively (Agbola, 1998; Ajanlekoko, 2001; Nubi, 2000; Onibokun, 1996 Oyedele, 2006). Most infrastructures are now decayed and need repair, rehabilitation or replacement. Government is the system that plans, organizes, controls and supervises the people who are resident in an area in order to have conducive environment for living and a sense of belonging. They have the power to put in place all measures that it deems fit to make an environment beneficial for living for everybody.

Infrastructure development in democratic governance is more challenging because of the accessibility of people to government and involves identifying the right project, carrying out feasibility and viable studies and embarking out physical development of the project. The challenges are numerous and include finance, technology for development, maintenance and design. The challenges include quality requirements of projects to meet international standard and to be sustainably developed. Projects must meet the carbon emission standard set by international organizations like International Standard Organization. Air capture and analysis are done in communities to ensure that they emit as little greenhouse gases (GHGs) as possible, human settlements must be bio-diversified with co-habitation of other animals and plants and natural environment must be conserved for sustainable development and so on.

Tradesmen and other technical human resources needed for infrastructural development are scarce because of lack of training and motivation. As a result many professional people, tradesmen and senior managers are immigrating to other countries (Robbins et al, 2009). Because of fast money, most youths that suppose to learn trade are now commercial okada riders and the numerous challenges have not been tackled as they should. Nigeria's lack basic infrastructure to facilitate sustainable development and trade both regionally and globally to ensure competitiveness is known by all. In particular, for the large number of local governments, especially the rural ones, the dwellers produce have no access to markets and are not stored, hampered by weak transport and energy infrastructure.

The Manifestations of Stomach and Physical Infrastructure in Nigeria

The principles of electioneering in a democratic dispensation involve rallies, symposiums, town hall meetings and many more, but electoral process in Nigeria has taken dimension of mobilization and campaign. Instead of political rallies where candidates present their manifestos and aspirations to the electorates on physical infrastructure to improve their lives such as roads, electricity, pipe-borne water, schools and many more, candidates now employ stomach infrastructure to win the hearts of the masses to buy their votes. The 2014 governorship election in Ekiti State in which Governor Ayo Fayose was return to the office he occupied in 2003 analyze stomach infrastructure or politics of the belly in contemporary Nigeria. However, Fayose seemed to rekindle and adopt the populist agenda of late Adegoke Adelabu and Lamidi Adedibu both of Oyo State. The personal attributes of Fayemi on his performance while in office for providing road and other social services were sufficient for his re-election in some quarters but other factors probably accounted for his defeat. Among

these were inaccessibility to the downtrodden masses, his cat and mouse relationship with state workers' union and few other important socio-political groups. It is a well known fact that governance requires seriousness, discipline and stepping on toes, the peculiarity of African in terms of poor economies and disturbing levels of underdevelopment requires balancing. Nigeria is country harbouring the largest populations of the poor globally therefore poverty cannot be overemphasized (*Sunday Punch* 4, 2013). It has been noted that 70% of Nigerian population lives on less than United Nations poverty threshold of \$2 a day. A huge population is unemployed or engaged in various forms of informal business activities which incomes and earnings are unstable because of harsh economic conditions (Yagboaju 2014).

Ekiti State is peculiar in the sense that it is one of the smallest and it receives the smallest allocation from central government. The state is an agrarian and predominantly rural, almost all its inhabitants look to the government for sustenance. Although Fayemi administration on social security in which aged indigenes of Ekiti State and widows collected monthly stipends of N10 000 each was commended but the direct effect was not felt by many other needy groups. These include unemployed people and jobless youths, artisans no longer patronized as before, and commercial drivers and *okada* riders among others for obvious reasons, members of these groups formed the bulk of the electorate.

The fear of continuity forced them to register and obtain their permanent voters' cards (PVCs); their joblessness, which afforded them the ample time required for registration as voters and collection of PVCs. Ayo Fayose, with his populist style unlike the polished approach of Fayemi, which made him appear somehow elitist cashed on the vulnerability of the jobless young people and others not gainfully employed, but whose votes counted. The outcome of 2015 National Assembly and State House of Assembly elections in Ekiti appears that majority of them believes that politics of stomach infrastructure is elementary to what they want for now (Adedayo 2015). This is obvious in spite of any theorizing concepts of good governance that is not directly felt by majority of the common people in the State. It is logical that Ekiti state is classified as well-educated elites in Nigeria should know better, most elites in Nigeria prefer to live in cities like Abuja, Ibadan, Lagos and Port Harcourt do not participate in voting as much as the commoners.

This was a de-factor in favour of Fayose whose populist agenda accommodated the immediate needs and aspiration of local artisans, labourers, drivers, transporters as well as lower cadre public servants, all of whom formed the bulk of the electorate in rural state of Ekiti. According to Adindu (2014), the idea of Ekiti people is that Fayemi provide physical infrastructure at the detriment of their stomach and was confident that he provide democracy dividends but people disregard this because they cannot enjoy mighty infrastructure when their stomachs were squirming with hunger pangs. This is bottom-top, gradual approaches in developmental strides, carrying everybody along in his own pace in political circle.

In Osun state, the August 9th 2014 gubernatorial election, where rice and other food stuffs were distributed as a tool for winning the votes of the electorate by various political parties (OSG, 2014). Political parties with financial muscle were more involved; it was like pay as you go campaign session with PDP and APC having the edge and outdoing them; even though they denied sharing food stuffs to buy votes. Governor Aregbesola was committed to

construct and rehabilitate roads, build schools and markets, provide pipe-borne water and even build bridges within the state available federal resources. The governor introduce school feeding programme to increase number of children in school, as well as food production. This entails feeding 300,000 pupils every school day at the cost of N3.6 billion per annum and welfare of the elderly programme for his bid for a second term against PDP, Omisore seemed to be divert interest and purpose as most candidates for the election took to the stomach infrastructure agenda; forcing APC to shift ground because if you cannot beat them, you join them. The two parties in the poll embarked on sharing of rice, noodles, milk and kerosene in order to win the hearts of the electorate.

This practice of foods sharing was underground mostly in the interior parts of the state, this seems to be a normal practice in major cities and towns, forty thousand youths were engaged through Osun Youth Empowerment Scheme O-YES (OSG, 2013), road networks, free home medicare like eye treatment and surgery for 14,000 elderly citizens, with N10,000 (\$67) monthly allowance for 1602 vulnerable elders without any kind of support from anywhere, security of lives and property as indicators of performance. There were O-YES recruitment exercise that led to the employment of 20,000 youths in the first 100 days of Aregbesola's office as Osun State governor, monthly stipends for widows and aged, and provision of free railway services to those travelling to Osun during festivities.

Aregbesola did not leave out traditional rulers with other community and religious leaders, many conduct regular prayer sessions and other forms of solidarity often broadcast in the mass media. This gave him victory over Senator Iyiola Omisore of PDP and Akinbade of Labour Party for a second time as Osun state governor (Oludayo, 2001). Also, the 2003 governorship election in which Bisi Akande, lost to Olagunsoye Oyinlola could be linked to failure to patronage and money politics. despite his frugality, transparency and high level of performance in his administration The widespread fraud up-turn many results by the election tribunals and courts of law that characterized the general elections of that year helped to account for Akande's unfavourable electoral outcome.

Almost all the elections that have been conducted in the country were won and lost courtesy of stomach infrastructure. The presidential election victory of M.K.O Abiola of Social Democratic Party in 1993 was won via stomach infrastructure. Abiola was able to gain the love of Nigerians and harvest their votes not because of the policies he promised to put in place when elected into office, but because of his large-heartedness which appealed to the masses. The masses needed it because he was once in their shoe, and he campaign around the country distributing rice and other edibles to cheer Nigerians (Abegunrin, 2006). They were spellbound by his seemingly bottomless pockets that he was dishing out goodies that flowed to long-suffering and economically disadvantaged plebeians (George, 2014).

There are two notable deceased Nigerians that have used the weapon of feeding their loyalists to win votes. These two gentlemen were Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu and Dr Abubakar Olusola Saraki. While Adedibu held sway in Oyo State as the strongman of Ibadan politics and promoter of 'Amala' politics; Saraki is the same in Kwara politics. These two musketeers were kingmakers in their own rights. They played key roles in the emergency of governors and other political office holders in Oyo and Kwara states respectively. By providing food for

the hungry, buy their unflinching loyalty and use their influence to win elections for their protégés. On 11th June 2008, Lamidi Adedibu died, many people wept and moaned in his house at Ibadan for many days which in the opinion of Agosu, (2014) is not because of the love they have for him but because there will not be free food for them again after his demise. Similarly, many people have lost their lives while several others sustained injuries two on different occasions at late Olusola Saraki's residence in Kwara State, in a stampede that occurred when they were trying to collect their share of free food distributed on Salah day. Ibrahim Babangida, Nigeria's former military Head of State understood this idea of stomach infrastructure very well. He is famous for his generosity and people skills traits which kept him relevant in Nigeria's power play. Many Nigerians claim there is nothing wrong with it, because it is not a crime in the eye of the constitution; let them not forget that Esau's sale of birth right was not a sin in the eye of God, it had serious implications on him (Ezema, 2014).

In Abia State, Governor Okezie Ikpeazu may have drawn from these two concepts, the building of dilapidated roads of Abia, particularly renewing the city of Aba at the same time building human capacity by feeding of school pupils fall in line with stomach infrastructure. Gov Ikpeazu is constructing forty-five roads and two bridges in Abia, these cut across the three geo political zones of the state. Also, the road construction in Aba has cement pavement technology that blaze a trail, this is because apart from airport tarmacs and factory platforms where big machines are installed, cement technology is not common experience especially in road construction. It is a proven theory that the practice of stomach infrastructure must be in the character of political leadership in present Nigeria (www.abiastate.gov.ng).

The lesson emerged in physical and stomach infrastructure must be given due consideration by any leader who wants to remain a legend in the hearts of the citizen. On the contrary, stomach infrastructure looks down to the people's immediate needs empowerment programme for unemployed youths and widows; assistance to the aged; health foundation to the poor; agriculture facilities for rural farmers; skill acquisition centers for unskilled men and women; take off grant to enable them start in little measure; direct food relief to poorest of the poor; borehole in rural communities to solve water scarcity; establish small-scale cottage industries in rural community to work and acquire experience on how to produce minor things and many more. It is from this perspective that governor Ikpeazu under the UBE provisions, the governor is driving a pilot arrangement of feeding primary school pupils three in ten schools in the 17 local councils of the state.

The pupils are to be feed on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. This action will be executed in schools in rural areas with high indigent population. The target public is the poorest of the poor, pupils from indigent homes who study under very unhealthy situations. The governor wants to create an enabling environment and share his human kindness. At his 51st birthday celebration, the governor launched the school adoption initiative and invited the friends of Abia to come and rediscover their roots and give back to the communities that vote them by adopting indigent pupils and volunteer to renovate the dilapidated structures of the schools. This project is a novel idea different from government tradition of renovating and equipping primary schools in rural, urban and semi urban areas. The approach is to identify the worst

primary schools in rural area and give them a face lift with the hope that when the worst of these schools are upgraded, the effect on the school system will be enormous (Adindu, 2014). The 2015 general elections in Lagos State, Nigeria's commercial city warrant an analysis for a number of reasons. The effect of the widely reported relocation of President Jonathan and the alleged extensive distribution of money to party stalwarts, traditional and other opinion leaders in Lagos State with other neighbouring communities in south-west cannot be ignored. While it could be argued that financial inducement partly accounted for the closeness of the '659,788 votes won by Jimi Agbaje of PDP to APC's Akinwunmi Ambode and the eventual winner's 811,994 votes' (*The Punch*, 13 April 2015), this possibly accounted for some incidents, particularly within PDP in the aftermath of the 2015 general elections.

As widely reported by *Sunday Punch* newspaper on 19 April (2015) include the alleged mismanagement of N2-trillion election funds and request for an audit by President Jonathan. Other incidents are allegations that many top-notches' of the party responsible for sharing the funds utilized most of them for personal cars and houses. There were calls for the resignation of Adamu Mu,azu, then national chairman of PDP, as well as his national working committee.

Challenges Affecting Physical Infrastructure in Nigeria

Funding is a challenge to infrastructural development in Nigeria for decades, as the country's population demand for additional infrastructure in all sectors increases. The government resources hardly meet the demand. Consequently, government relied on foreign loans to complement budgetary allocations in the provision of infrastructure. This situation led the country's indebtedness over the years. At the inception of fourth republic in 1999, Nigeria's foreign debt profile was over \$40bn. The country received debt pardon from her creditors and recorded a zero debt profile about five years ago, the country has been plunged into debt because of need to develop infrastructure in critical sectors of the economy.

PARETO Analysis: is a statistical method in decision making used for identifying a specific number of tasks that produce major impact. It uses Pareto Principle called 80/20 rule which originated the idea that by doing specific 20% of the work, you can generate 80% of the benefits of doing the whole job. In terms of quality improvement, majority of defects (80%) are produced by a few causes (20%). In project management, 80% of project delays are caused by 20% tasks. It means that 80% of the tasks are done by 20% workforce. The people in charge should strive to improve the workforce that is genuinely working.

Development Matrix: The four requirements of any physical infrastructure projects are: design, finance, technology and management. The appropriate designs that will ensure value for money are not adopted. If the finance is not adequate it procured a high interest rates and financial management is lacked by most Nigerian contractors. The technology of construction is scarce and the management of infrastructure is lacking. The maintenance culture of Nigerians is poor and this allows most projects to be in a state of decay.

Bad Governance: visionary leaders are the builders of a new dawn working with imagination, insight, and boldness. They present a challenge that calls forth the best in people and brings them together around a sense of purpose. Most of the visionary leaders are change agents; Nigeria contains few change agents and lacks the needed infrastructure to develop the

nation. Poor system of governance is responsible for poor infrastructure in all sectors. To realize vision 2020, the country's economy is expected to grow at 14% per annum; but current data show that the economy is growing at 7%. The low GDP growth is due to inefficient allocation and poor management of country's human and natural resources (www.punchnewspaper, 2011). The system of governance in Nigeria has truncated infrastructural development at the grassroots. Section 7 of the 1999 constitution empowers states Assemblies to make laws for the operations at the local councils. Consequently, this provision gave state governments opportunities to control the finance of local governments, many local governments across the country today lacks financial freedom to embark on infrastructural development project that serve as catalyst to propel economic empowerment among the people at the grassroots.

Corruption and Economic Sabotage the socio-economic problem in Nigeria has negative effects on infrastructural development. The embezzlement of public funds allocated to infrastructural development is a common feature in public offices. Many projects for which funds have been allocated and released were never completed while inflation of project cost is a common experience. The case of abandoned projects is common because civil servants in charge of such projects collect bribe from contractors and this either results to sub-standard jobs or abandonment. According to Transparency International Report Index (2011), Nigerian civil servants received \$3bn bribes in 2010 while private companies is said to be involved in such crimes (www.punchnewspaper.ng, 2011). Corruption and economic sabotage through vandalization of public facilities impact negatively on the nation's economy. The vandals' are regularly observed with oil pipelines and power transmission lines. The plundering of the country's gas resources due to the failure of foreign oil companies to invest on infrastructure and utilize natural gas is act of economic sabotage needs to be checked. Gas flaring not only wastes a potentially valuable source of energy but adds significant carbon emissions to the atmosphere. As long as the country intends to be one of the 20 top economies in the next nine years, the country cannot afford to be wasteful. Corruption does not only raise the price of infrastructure but reduce the quality and economic returns from infrastructure. The corruption in Nigeria is very high and unbearable for effective infrastructural development. The Bureau of Public procurement (BPP), the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) have not been able to eradicate corruption in the country. The BPP has saved the country a whopping sum of N216.6 billion during the 2010 Appropriation year from its review of contract process before the issuance of Certificate of no Objection.

Pestles Analysis: The challenges of infrastructural development in Nigeria can be discussed under Analysis meaning political, economic, social, technology, legal, environmental and safety, this has to do with political stability, policy formulation and politics of the project environment both within and without. Economic environment deals with issues like interest rate, inflation, currency exchange rate, price fluctuation. The social environment has to do with workforce diversity like cultural difference, age difference, and technology environment deals with the machineries used for executing projects. Physical environmental like site topography, geology and climatology is essential while safety issues have to do with health

and security of resources on site that is human, material and financial. Nigeria does not have strategic targets for infrastructural development, good governance entails that resource allocations will reflect on national development priorities and respond to societal demand.

The Marriage between Stomach and Physical Infrastructure

Stomach infrastructure involves bribing electorate in a brazen manner, with material incentives like rice, vegetable oil and small cash during elections. Sometimes, voters openly demand this indulgence while on queue to cast their votes (Ojo, 2014). The term literally emerged around the mid-2014 during the governorship election in Ekiti State of Nigeria. During the time, the incumbent governor, Kayode Fayemi of All Progressive Congress (APC), relied on his development provision of social infrastructure as a guarantee for victory at the poll. On the other hand, Ayo Fayose of Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) subscribed on distribution of consumables to citizens and eventually won the election with a wide margin (www.ekitistate.gov.ng). Aremu and Ahmed (2011) argued that the concept of gratifications in Nigeria is reflecting on the failure of government to curb crime and provide gainful employments to teeming youth. Macebong (2014) posit that stomach infrastructure is philosophically anecdote that describes the system by which political patronage is dispensed to various groups in a particular society.

The patronage predates election manipulations and this can manifest in varying forms. The scholar argued that influencing job placement for a relative by putting in a good word' to a high-ranking ruling party chieftain; award of contract to political ally and their relative and issuance of necessary documents to meet a point and time of need is a recurring decimal in Nigeria. The grassroots politics in Nigeria is more or less a fancy term for maintaining stomach infrastructure or having a strong political structure that dispense political gratifications to the masses.

In the words of Ejiofor, (2015) stomach infrastructure is a two-side coin history and psychology of African. Historically, Ejiofor argued that the concept of the stomach infrastructure dates back to the pre-independence regional elections across the country. To him, Nigerian political history shows that politicians who appealed to the conscience of the masses via their stomach always had the upper hand in elections. It has been noted that across board a good number of elections conducted at all levels were won and lost courtesy of the stomach infrastructure (Ejiofor, 2015). The scholar summarized that because food-related poverty is rampant in Africa, it should be expected that a hungry man could be too angry to appreciate the benefits of the social infrastructures built for him. Idike (2014) explained how politicians in Nigeria and their proxies have cashed on the weakness of the social fabric created by pent-up poverty to arrive at stomach infrastructure. Following these Idike (2014), developed a paradoxical twin-paradigm explanation of voter's preference that led to the development of stomach infrastructure.

The first paradigm relates to losing election despite developing social infrastructures in conventional governance should guarantee landslide victory. The second paradigm relates to winning election by directly giving bailout cash to needy citizens, giving them food items and attending to their sundry personal problems Stomach infrastructure can be cause and effect of

clientele politics of the reinter states, a process described by democracy theorist as abhorrent to the development drives of the states.

Conclusion and Suggestions

This paper states that physical infrastructure supersedes stomach infrastructure because when the basic services are put in place the events of stomach infrastructure will be overtaken towards development of any nation. The nation has to imbibe the culture of transparency and accountability with managerial skills, adequate funding and private sector participation. In other words, if we had stayed this long as a third world country in spite of clamour for development, we should be getting ready to shift to a worst place with stomach being our new priority. As voters continue to pretend they are deceiving the contenders and vice-versa, it will make sense if we bear our dear country and the generations yet unborn in mind as we clamour for what gives immediate satisfaction at the expense of what offers a more lasting satisfaction that will be beneficiary even to generations unborn.

The politics of balancing stomach with physical infrastructural development must go hand-in-hand and side-by-side. Food is good and investing on stomach infrastructure is equally good. The reality remains that many Nigerians are hungry with little or nothing to eat and any politician that looks after their nutritional wellbeing is an astute statesman, humanitarian and shrewd politician. Investment in stomach infrastructure is good but must be a short-term measure and not a long term policy. Food only meets an immediate, basic and pressing need, while adequate physical infrastructures stabilize institutions, and increase the possibility that those pressing needs will always be met in the future. Neither of these measures should be neglected, ridiculed, castigated or set aside. In one way or the other, they contribute to the improved wellbeing and upliftment of the masses. When people put stomach infrastructure before physical infrastructure, the price for immediate gratification is corruption, unending poverty and underdevelopment. Nigerian political class should not subject the poor electorates to hunger, joblessness, poverty wages, hopelessness and a very bleak future, all in the name of building the 21st century modern infrastructural development.

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