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Conversion of Public Policy: The Common Challenges of Public Administration in Nigeria

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Abstract

The context of the study was on the increasing failure of public policies to resolve public problems and redeem Nigeria from increasing frustration of governance. It set out to isolate the variables accountable for the recurrent failures of policies implemented. The descriptive-analytical research design was adopted and complemented by 'case-study' paradigm examined, some public policies including, 'conditional cash transfer' which had positive outcomes in the standard of living of the target groups where it was copied, and none in Nigeria. Other social interventions evaluated, revealed that Nigeria applied the traditional civil service system of policy implementation, which resulted in no positive impact. The study revealed further that, lack of technical skills and capacity in modern public policy implementation strategies immobilized the policy processes. In addition unveiled that all social interventions were housed in the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs known for corruption, with a social register whose compilation processes are not trusted. Consequently, the various social interventions failed to impact those intended to be affected. It then proposed the adoption of the application of the Logical framework Approach (LFA), consisting of program implementation and the training of the policy implementer in the new approach, the review of the social register of the target groups, retributive justice of anyone misappropriating fund meant for the programs, extensive monitoring and evaluation to assess 'process and summative' effect of specific programs. The implications include that further social interventions programs must be taken away from the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management and link to any other whose inputs would be required in the processes, of adopting the Logical Framework Approach to public policy execution as canvassed herein, to ensure the Government works for all.

Keywords: Implementation plan, Mo-Ibrahim, Humanitarian Affairs, Arrested development

The Background

The persistent failure of public policies in Nigeria is costly both in terms of the ‘sunk-cost’ and the inability to achieve the intended impact of the policy intent at conception. It is a common practice to capture proposed policies in the political party programs, with which they campaigned before assuming political governance in the state. During governance, these proposed policies are converted into public policies. In Nigeria, the ability to translate promises into reality indicate extreme failure of understanding of the public policy dynamics. This failure have resulted in very cost in recent time, manifested in the multi-dimensional poverty. The problem became very visible during the reign of former President Muhammadu Buhari thereby converting Nigeria into the poverty capital of the world. The trend is continuing under the current President Bola Tinubu of the same political party. The poverty level is increasing, indicating a greater lack of clear understanding of how poor policy approach is aiding and abetting the growth of poverty in Nigeria.

Nigeria has been classified as resource-rich but fragile country which is expected to have poverty increase to 3.6 per cent by 2027, according to the World Bank’s/IMF Africa Pulse report from the 2025 Spring meeting just concluded (Anichukweze, 2025, p. 2). The poverty level in Nigeria is not unconnected with the failure of Public policies administration in the country in the areas of weak governance, low economic growth and lack of industrialization among others. Most poverty alleviation programs have failed to achieve their intended impact. Furthermore, despite the various interventions aimed at reducing poverty, the reality is that the poverty index in Nigeria has continue to rise (Musa, 2025, February. 16), making it a categorical imperative to investigate the phenomenon. This defined the main factor which propelled the decision to interrogate the phenomenon through the public policy perceptual prism.

The first part of this study explored and interrogated the various public policy programs intended to address poverty in the country and its associated problems. A cursory look into the Nigeria socio-political system within the scope of this work, would revealed the intention to address poverty. However, it also highlighted numerous failed public policies which have not generated the values that were intended, hence the citizenry have not savour the 'Pareto-optimality' which would have moved them from where they were to next improved level, thereby reducing the extent of poverty in which they are wallowing. In all these instances, scarce but budgeted fiscal allocations were made, released and expended (sunk-cost) on these various policies with no visible positive impact.

The second part reviewed the bibliographic database of literature on the topic particularly from 2015 to date, while, section three present the novel Logical Framework Approach (LFA) to liberate public policy from the traditional civil service strategy of implementation. Section four call-up the research questions for verification and then the conclusion.

Public policy often define the strength of commitment and drive to resolve a public problems by the state. It informs the citizens how knowledgeable the the government is in understanding the issues that affect them, the causes and strategies to surmount the situation(Ibanga, 2024, p.5). The concept of 'implementation of public policy' sound ordinary on the face value, but at a closer look it become the most difficult aspect in the policy dynamics and of-course in public administration. This is because 'political proclamation-is-cheap' however, the conversion of executive pronouncement into reality, to add value to the lives of the citizenry, require a number of variables to come into play. Technically and contextually, it refers to the processes of converting policy declaration into set of tasks for actualizing what was proclaimed. It require capacity and skills, as well as the understanding of the policy dynamics. It is indeed the active business part of public administration and the policy processes. It require the knowledge of the target groups or the social aggregates who are the intended beneficiaries of the policies. These are the group who should bear the final impact of the policies when skilfully executed to the later. It is this complexity which has made implementation the most difficult aspect of public policy, because every public policy has it target beneficiaries.

Categories of Public Policies

In the theories of policy sciences public policy could be categorize into; (i) *provisional policies***,** wherein, the state has urgent need to feel the gap of needs that have arisen, it may not go through production such as 'import Substitution Industrialization (ISI), but acquire and supply goods to the citizens to safe time and meet certain human needs much more effectively. In Nigeria such policy led to the incorporation of Nigeria National Supply Limited (NNSL). This State Owned Enterprise (SOE) imported essential goods and distributed same at moderate prices without excessive profit to the citizenry. They were others such as as Nigerian National Shipping Line to convey these good into the country to complement local production where they were available. The essence was to meet immediate needs through material provisions.

(ii) Policy on Subsidy, Government all over the world deploy economic act of subsidy as a deliberate policy to facilitate financial assistance or support to promote a set of economic activities, where the required financial outlay is too great for anyone to bear. The policy could be directed to offer; (a) direct subsidy or grant to support specific activity. An instance of this was when Medame Christine Largade, now of European Central Bank (ECB) was the Secretary of Agriculture in France. The European Union had agreed to subsidize their farmers to the tune of 4 percent (4%) of their GDP. She offered French farmers 7 percent (7%), this was intended to make French products cheaper in the European market compare to others.(b) Indirect subsidy could come in the form of 'tax break, low interests loan as the Nigerian state granted the telecommunications companies which brought the Global System of Mobile(GSM) communication facilities.© Consumer subsidy are meant to enable the citizens access goods at lower prices such as petroleum subsidy in Nigeria which was abused and subsequently withdrawn.

(iii) production, a policy where the state in realization of its natural resource endowment decided to extract it, process same into goods and services in order to curtail import and enhance export where necessary through the facilitation and supervision of the relevant 'Ministry or industries' or department. The State often incorporate State-Owned-Enterprises, to realize the policy output and impact. The Nigeria National Petroleum Company Limited is an output of this form of public policy. It is further to ensure that goods or services are offered for sale in the market, at affordable price other than as the private sector would have provided to the public.

(iv) Regulatory policies, involves using the coercive powers of the state to set rules, laws or guidelines or prohibit certain activities to protect the well-being of the citizens. In Nigeria it led to the establishment of State-Owned-Enterprises such as National Food Drug Administration and Control, Economic and Financial Crime Commission, Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (NAFDAC, EFCC, ICPC, NDLEA) and National Drug Law Enforcement Agency respectively. The essence include among others; to protect public interest, promote fair competition and enforce standards. It may include setting tariffs on imports, granting licenses or permit to allow particular activities and regulating the labour market. Regulations can be either economic or social, with the former being aimed at encouraging business and other economic actors to undertake certain activities and avoid other social activity (Hughes, 2018, p. 27)**.** All these seem to have failed in Nigeria which created yet another impetus to interrogate further the mainstreaming of policy sciences in Nigeria.

Conversion of Public Policy

We posit in this treatise that the conversion of policy into activities towards the realization of the goals proclaimed, that is the most difficult aspect of public policy administration Nigeria and in most African states. In essence, it is the transformation of the lives of the citizens as was verbally proclaimed, during political communication into concrete terms. In Nigeria with its unique form of federalism, public administrators are hardly granted 'administrative discretion' to decide the benefiting group of specific public policy and to direct the conversion processes towards them in a heterogeneous society. It is instructive to note that there are, social and technical skills that are required of the public administrators to segregate and direct the policy processes to these various target groups. The most challenging feature is the tendency of the executive to direct the policy processes while everyone else is expected to comply with their directives. This is the popular paradigm of policy execution in Nigeria.

The conventional insight of public administration remain; the processes required to deliver public good' to the general populace in the most effective and economical of ways, its major instrument being public policy. When public goods are delivered as at when due, it generates 'Pareto-optimality', an incremental value creation and addition to the well-being of the citizens, which is the essence of governance. One thing that is obvious and common with the Nigerian government and its agencies that are saddled with the public service delivery, is, the legion of abandoned public policy, programs and projects (4ps). Regrettably, all these have huge some of funds (sunk-cost) that have been committed to each of the elements of the 4ps. Consistent failure of public policies, generate incremental poverty.

It is the high frequency of public policy failure in Nigeria since 2015 which laid the groundwork for this study.This is not to submit that there have not been failure of public policies before the President Buhari and the Tinubu years in Nigeria. We should know that public policies are the consistent path-way for the delivery of public goods and tools towards the resolution of challenges in specific sector of the economy. The State adopted several social intervention programs to address specific problem. The dysfunctionality of these social intervention programs since 2015 in Nigeria masterminded this investigation. Today in Nigeria the standard of living is low, life expectancy is low, headline inflation is high, public services outputs are poor as a result of the failure of the 4ps. We became curious and decided to critically examine how the social interventions by the state to address the developmental shortfall are being implemented to ensure they actually benefit the vulnerable in the society who were the target of the policies(Musa, 2025, Feb 16 p. 6).

The Problem

The greatest problem of public policy administration in Nigeria is not the proclamation nor drafting or creation of policies but it is the absence of implementation plan which does not follow the theory and practice known as the 'Logical Framework Approach (LFA). All public policies drafting, follow the civil service system directed by the political head of the Ministry to the Permanent Secretary for advice down and up the ministry's hierarchy through minuting. This is herein referred as the 'traditional public policy implementation style'.

The LFA system, is the systemic conversion of the policy proclamation on the public problem isolated into 'programs' or interrelated set of activities'. Each program or activity, is then assign to 'specific persons' with the cost implication. The 'sub-objectives of the activity is noted. When each one in the program -chain would have executed his own program effectively, it would then lead to the attainment of the overall policy objectives as outlined at the initiation stage of the policy consideration after the problem identification. The person responsible for Monitoring and Evaluation, would then appraise if each program assigned to specific persons have been performed and if the overall goal have been achieved in the short, medium and long term. This is not the case with the 'traditional civil service approach to public policy execution.

The crux of the problematic is that those entrusted with the conversion of public policy declaration into socioeconomic activities, which would add- value to the lives of the citizens, do not possess the theoretical and the appropriate empirical knowledge and capacities. The realization of the policy objectives, translate to the resolution of the problem which masterminded the policy initiation. It further mean the improvement and enhancement of the welfare of the public and the growth of the society. These are not attainable with skill and capacity gaps in logical framework approach.

There are concern over the rising poverty levels in Nigeria. This was because there had been numerous Social Intervention Programs intended to reach the vulnerable in the society to address their poverty level. But after eight (8) years of interventions, the situation have grown worst.

The problem is confounded by the ‘envelope system’ of budgeting which is prevalent in Nigeria. In this an amount is allocated to a ministry in a financial year, irrespective of its scale of preference. It require the the Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) to prioritize its budget and fit into the amount allocated to in the envelope and ‘roll-over' what cannot be accommodated in the amount in the envelope. By this approach, expenditure would not be tracked and supplementary budget become a norm and deficit budget the companion.

The LFA would allow for budget tracking and accountability since each program would have been assigned to specific person along with the Monitoring and evaluation officer conducting ‘process and summative' evaluation. However, the knowledge gap of the theory and practice of public policy implementation plan among the Nigeria bureaucrats and the dictatorial nature of the political executives explained the avalanche of abandoned public policies programs and projects which dot the Nigerian socioeconomic political landscape.

The additional aspect of the problem relate to the declaration by the Mo-Ibrahim foundation in its 2024 report that Nigeria had slumped three (3) places (30^{th}-33rd) making it one of the ‘worst ruled states’ since 2014 in the continent of 54 states. This is not unconnected to the failure of public policies as scrutinize herein.

The issues are that there have been consistent failures of public policies in Nigeria. It should be noted that copied public policies such as ‘National Social Investment Programs’ have been able to generate positive impact in Latin American states of Mexico, Colombia and Brazil where they were copied. The other failed public policies included; the privatization of the power sector, inadequate education policies, the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT), National Home-Grown School Feeding Program. The N-Power Program, failed agricultural policies. Others are, ineffective poverty alleviation. All these policies failed to achieve the specific objectives which were set out their initiation at the political executive branch. All these policy programs had their budgetary allocation released and most cases followed with supplementary budget with attendant high sum expended.

General objective

To re-imagine government to work for everyone in the state.

Specific objectives

(i)To advocate for the theory and procedures of public policy conversion plan.

(ii) To identify why the impact of governance structure is lowering the standard of living rather than improving it.

(iii) To isolate the factors which informed the Mo-Ibrahim foundation verdict on Nigeria.

(iv) To create a sustainable implementation strategy for public good delivery

(v) To reveal why Nigeria's government performance on the four (4) forms of public policy is regressive rather than progressive?

Research Inquiry

We decided to raise 'exploratory research questions' in search for the missing links which account for the latent variables, which are much more than the seeming manifest factors, thus;

i) What would have accounted for the persistent low output of Public Policy in Nigeria?

ii) What precipitated the consistent low impact of policies enunciated in each regime?

iii) What variables aggregated to inform the Mo-Brahmin foundation's verdict on Nigeria as one of the worst governed country in Africa in 2024?

iv) Why have the traditional system of policy execution proven inadequate?

v) Why have the output of the four (4) critical public policy framework of government been dismally low in Nigeria?

Significance of the study

The study have theoretical, practical , methodological and social significance. It advocate for the change in approach, and administration of public policy with emphasis on the skill upgrade of civil and public servants. The overall importance and relevance of this work cannot be overemphasized; because each financial year, budget is aggregated, funds get appropriated, released and expended, yet the welfare of Nigerians deteriorate instead of improving. Each day, the state declare new public policy, funds are get allocated, yet Nigerians get no value out it. Currently, the public policy declaration is permitting increase in the tariff on electricity and telecommunications services, yet the rate of power outages would increase upon increased tariffs, drop-calls would increase in the face of increased taxation. Toll-gates on highways have been returned, the funds would not be use to maintain the highways, yet revenue would have been realized.

This study elected to go beyond the assumed manifest variables for these consistent failures, to unearth the latent manifest factors which have accounted for the regressive rather than progressive governance in Nigeria. When these factors would have been isolated and recommendations upheld, it would have re-imagine government to work for everyone in the state rather than for a certain class of people. In this wise, it would have resolved real-life problem, improve policy implementation, generate curriculum for the training of high level civil and public servants and open new frontiers for further study.

Review of Literature

a)Ohiole O.K. & Ojo, I.S (2015), saw the New Public Management theory as a revolution in public management. The government have embraced the New Public Management system to re-engineer the public sector. NPM brings new implementation strategies to public sector delivery. The study sought to improve public sector delivery through the mechanism of New Public Management reform through market forces principles that would form the foundation of for progression, improving technical, managerial and leadership skills of government employees is vital for New Public Management to succeed. They submitted that NPM should be carefully formulated, programmed and implemented in a bushiness-like approach. The failure of NPM in the Nigerian public sector was highlighted by Frank (2017),'Neo-liberalism and the NPM in Nigeria' in 'Handbook of Administrative Reform Theory and Practice in Nigeria (ed) by Oguonu & Ikeanyibe)' which vitiated the view that NPM has made any significant impact in the public service delivery in Nigeria. This article rejected the administration of the state with business approach. Government functions arose from 'social contract' and not from profit motivated engagement. The approach of Ohiole & Ojo were based on market determinism, hence they based their conclusion on European agreement (ECA, 2004). NPM is not generating additional value for the Nigerian general populace since its debut an has not worked effectively since the adoption of privatization.

b)World Bank (2009), CDLSS (2020), Jameel (2024), Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) report in Argentina, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nicaragua and Mexico revealed the aims of the programs to include (i) to reduce poverty by making welfare programs conditional upon receivers actions (ii) to break the cycle of poverty in the current generation by lifting them out (iii) the funds were to be transferred to those who; enroll their children in public schools, those who go for regular check-ups at doctor's offices and those who receive vaccinations.

The effectiveness reports of these social interventions programs obtained from 'Progressa' in

Mexico, 'PETI' in Brazil and 'Atencion' in Nicaragua implied that CCT were effective incentive in investing in the poor's human capital development thus;

(a) In *Argentina*, the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (NSTRC) found that it increased school enrolment and attendance for children between 15 & 17 by 3.9 percent.

(b) It affected not only overall household composition of consumption which received CCT intervention, they had better composition of consumption with higher nutrients than those that did not receive CCT interventions.

(c) In Bangaladesh, Pakistan and Turkey the report declared where girls enrollment in schools were lower than the boys, CCT recipient have reduced this gender gap.

(d) Also CCT helped to reduced poverty among households that did not hold back from seeking other sources of income to complement what they received from CCT. Thus, CCT provided steady income which guaranteed certain needs in the household and prevented income shocks.

All the Social Intervention Programs administered in Nigeria were copied from Latin American states as indicated in the previous literature reviewed. Conversely, the Nigerian versions have no formal evaluation reports to indicate the levels of success, outputs and impact or change generated in the larger society. All inquiries at the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management, where they were domiciled showed the nonexistent of any such evaluation report.

It is only unpublished undergraduate reports which are available in the universities library. Those examined could not ascertained; (a) any sustainable impact of the programs (b) they all surmised the challenge of effective monitoring of the various programs (c) the social registers in which the program beneficiaries were drawn could not be publicly displayed, (d) the compilers of the registers have not been able to establish when and where they were on the field for data collection.

The undergraduate studies all reported how corruption in the process of the execution of the projects, consumed the resources. They recommended that the project though laudable in conception, should be thought through for maximum impact. Unlike the the instances in Nicaragua, Brazil, Bangladesh and Turkey, the success of the Nigerian version remained a myth, yet fiscal funds had been expended with nobody to be held to account for the expended funds.

Daniel (2013) situated urban problems on the increasing population in the cities, and rising urbanization are inconsistent with housing and infrastructural development. In conjunction with the past failures of both the Government and the private sector, housing deficit became the major challenge. Public-private partnership have provided houses which are out of the reach of the low-income households, substandard houses became the signature (slumps) of the urban centers in Nigeria as the result of housing difficulties. The evidence of this situation are deficient infrastructure, shortages of good housing, unplanned urban expansion, poor living condition and high residential rentals. The review was conducted with focus on the implementation strategy.

The implementation techniques showed the consistent application of the ‘top-down system through the design and execution of the mass housing scheme. This is the traditional policy execution paradigm prevalent in Nigeria from the federal to state and the local government level respectively. The paper’s verdict was that this approach failed to achieve the desired results due to non-engagement of relevant stakeholders. The study further submitted that the over centralization of the roles in the Federal Government agencies translated to monopolized implementation process. There were lack of probity in the procurement processes, accountability and efficiency became deficient. It recommended bottom-up approach, decentralization of roles and partnership with multiple actors. Reversing institutional monopoly and promoting institutional pluralism in partnership and participation of key stakeholders. Finally, the study recommended the adoption of the OECD (1996) framework for wholesale application in Nigeria.

Though Daniel(2013) focused on the traditional approach to policy execution in Nigeria, the current work had made it the crux of its problematic. We however differ from Daniel (2013) at the point in which he requested the adoption of the European model without mainstreaming the strategy into the Nigeria situation. The details of the OECD strategies remain unclear. The study therefore created a narrow knowledge gap which we intend to fill.

Henry(1986), discussed Woodrow Wilson’s ‘Politics-Administration dichotomy 1887 which sought the separation of politics from administrative functions to allow policy to be converted into reality in the most economic and effective of manner without political interference. Wilson averred that (a) politics is in the realm in which elected officials debates, negotiate and take decisions on what to do, that is, ‘what of governance’. Administration is in the realm of policy implementation where bureaucrats, administrators convert the policy into ‘tasks’. It is concerned with the ‘how’ of the policy implementation.

Wilson's position was based on; the need to avoid the abuse of power by the executive branch to direct ‘how’ policies are to be executed and (b) to ensure the policy administrators remained neutral, impartial and © ensure the policy is administer effectively and efficiently. Politics represent the external stages of public policy-making where the ‘general will’ of the state is aggregated, while administration refer to the internal stages of policy administration with focus on economy and efficiency in public service/good delivery.

Iglesia model of policy implementation (cited in Egomnwam,2002), concern itself with planning and the management of resources intended for the policy in the typical civil service style and not with desirability of the policy. It assume the inherent capacity of the implementing agencies, even where they have not attended any refresher course in capacity building. The inputs require by this model are; resources, structure, technology, instrument, support and leadership. The civil service is in deficit of these elements. The Smith model in the same literature averred that public policy is a deliberate action by the state to change old orders for new impact. New policies often generate tension between established pattern and expected new one. Conflict often arise between implementer and the beneficiaries. Grindle’s model (in Egomnwam, 2002, p.151) focused on the factors which impinged on public policy in the third world. It identified how political context of the administrators affects policy execution. The interest served and others opposed to it. People require immediate benefit are impatient with long term expected benefit. When the implementing body is disperse geographically, execution become difficult.

The writings fell-short of espousing the specifics steps to implement the policy to achieve effectiveness and efficiency. It did not also provide the components (the individual parts or elements that make up the larger system) of the 'how' to carry out the realization of the policy objectives. The shortcoming of the postulations remained the inability to outline the task to be perform pursuant to the realization of the policy objectives.

The Gaps in the Literature

The problematic which this study set-out to address, was that 'the traditional system of public policy implementation are devoid of the 'theory and practices of implementation plan. As a result public policy, programs and projects (4ps), a in Nigeria have budgeted resources expended without the anticipated impact achieved or with no 'return-on-investment'(ROI). The main task of this study therefore was to canvass for a new approach to the public policy implementation to always earn 'Return-On-Investment', which refer to the ultimate change in the situation to another which is better than the former. The literature reviewed left yawning gap to be filled by the new approach canvassed herein. Iglesia, Smith and Grindle are on the same page on the issue that the civil service is incapable of executing public policy effectively given its problems, skill and capacity gaps.

Ohiole & Ojo (2015) expressed deep faith in the functionality of the NPM, yet all former public organizations earlier privatized are not functioning optimally in Nigeria.Their services are not satisfactory in relation to what Nigerians are paying. The NPM has no mechanism for Monitoring and evaluation mechanism to ascertained its functionality to give Nigerians positive return-on-investment.

The CCT and other Social Intervention Programs in the Latin American States came close to applying the theory of implementation plan with decentralization, and definition of activities with 'whose is' responsible for specific activities. It embodied monitoring and evaluation, hence, its positive impact could be ascertained. Daniel (2013) had not defined the steps for the adoption of the OECD (1996) models for adaptation in Nigeria. Woodrow Wilson on the other hand, failed to outline the various steps required to consumate the 'how' of public policy implementation in the politics/administration dichotomy. The obvious gap is in the detail steps to policy implementation, though the code of conduct of the administrators were specified. The details of how to attain the economy and effectiveness in policy implementation within this prescribed model remained unclear. At this stage, therefore how to achieve effectiveness in policy implementation still remained a mirage. All these constitute the gap, to be filled by the application of the 'logical framework approach of policy implementation matrix' herein canvassed.

The theoretical Model:Logical framework Approach of Policy Implementation was distilled from several development works including the USAID which adopted it in 1969 in its

International Development Programs. It was further found to apply to the World Bank, European Union, Asian Development and AUSAID in their quest to ensure the funds they donated generated the expected impact in recipient countries. This was after several failures of their donated funds to 3rd world to have visible Return-On-Investment (ROI).

The theoretical framework is a mental model which have been adopted to resolve the real world problem of public policy implementation in Nigeria after the constant failures of the erstwhile traditional approach. The theory of implementation plan of public policy through this theoretical models consists of the following steps;

(a) Problem identification which could be initiated by various groups or individuals (mass media, political parties, pressure groups, individuals etc), questions such as why is the situation a problem and what are the issues that when isolated and address amount to a tentative resolution of the identified problem. Data would then be obtained and the root causes of the problem isolated.

(b) Set the main goal and objectives (i) state the long term goal and (ii) the short term objectives. Ensure the objectives are specific, measurable, achievable, relevant and time-bound on the (S.M.A.R.T) paradigm.

(c) Situation Analysis -What is the current situation with problem? How extensive is the problem in nature and coverage?Who are the stakeholders and their interests in community? Identify their roles and obtain their buy-in/inputs. What is the SWOT analysis of the social structure which will execute the policy in this age of ICT?

(d) Policy Logical Framework Matrix- This is the point at which options to the problems are listed. First the ‘narrative summary -which details the problem to be resolve in a very brief format. Both the long and short term goals are outlined. Secondly, The program for resolving the problem, consisting of various set of activities. Each set of activity is assigned to a particular person to lead. He is to be held accountable for failure or otherwise. Funds for the activity would be released to the ‘team lead’

Thirdly, the social indicators for reading-off each activity would be define. This would include output and *outcome* indicators. Fourthly, (MOV) the means of verification -method or tools and sources to collect and verify data on indicators (it could be evaluation or monitoring reports, administrative, secondary/primary data). This ascertain if all activities in the program had been executed, where challenges are noted corrections are effected. Fifthly, each policy option would come with its assumption and risk analysis. Example of the assumption could that we presume that the internal audit unit of the organization charged with overseeing the implementation of a social intervention would not delay the release of funds, that is, less bureaucracy.

e) Monitoring and Evaluation (M & E) The process of helping to track progress, assess effectiveness and to make informed decision to improve the program outcomes. The M&E officer must be avail of the details of all other activities and their cost and time-lines to enable the verification through monitoring and evaluation of the outputs and impacts against the initial objectives set.The M&E report serve as ‘feedback’ into the system to form a cycle of checks, balance and corrections. This is to ensure a functional system of all activities leading to the achievement of the objectives and the eventual goal earlier set.

The Propriety of the Theory

The adopted theoretical framework has several expediencies such as; clear objectives are set on the 'smart paradigm' making it easy to measure. It also involve programming where each activity to be perform has who is responsible who can be held to account for the resources entrusted to him. Accountability and transparency come to play unlike the traditional approach in which no one is usually held to account. It enhance stakeholders engagement to foster 'buy-in' to the policy, programs, outputs and outcomes. It identify the risk thereby enabling program managers to generate counter measures. All these were not part of the traditional approach to public policy implementation, hence, the high rate of policy failures in the old dispensation, this would be curtail in the adapted paradigm.

Approach

The method and procedure, deployed to investigate the subject-matter was descriptive-analytical research design, with its built-in 'case-study' procedure. It utilized 'observation' of all the steps taken to implement the public policy. The data collection method was 'observation and recording' of the various public policy execution processes and description of what empirically were done to actualize public policy in Nigeria.

The case-study procedure subjected the cases to detail scrutiny. It enable an in-depth study of the processes applied in specific case revealing the 'modus-operandi' of each case examined. The justification of the application of the case -study' approach rested on the fact that the cases examined were located among different set of people and different environment. We then had to isolate each case for thorough investigation to unearth the variables which created the dynamism in each case that was examined. The variables were then triangulated.

Procedure; in the first place, specific cases of public policy were identified and chosen. We then isolated its objectives and interrogated them to ascertain if the objectives were 'specific, measurable, achievable, relevant and time-bound (S.M.A.R.T.) format. We then checked for the variables which accounted for their successes or failures. The applied procedure revealed that the same factors in all the cases, accounted for the massive failures of social interventions in Nigeria.

Ugo & Olewe (2018), in their scholarly work outlined the long term and specific objectives of Social intervention policies to include; alleviation of the sufferings of the citizens, the poor and the vulnerable, to provide economic and social protection, reduce poverty and vulnerability, risk and enhanced their capacity to manage exclusion, sickness and disabilities. Social protection the work further espoused, could fall into three (3) classes; social insurance, social assistance and labour market regulation.

The study then examined some social interventions programs in Nigeria in the past to include; NAPEP 2007, Vision 2020, Trader Moni, Market Moni, Farmer Moni and the current ones, the Conditional Cash Transfer, National Home Grown School Feeding program (NHGSFP), the National Social Investment Program (NSIP) within which were; N-Power (2017) a youth empower scheme to address the problem of youth unemployment and poverty reduction, targeted at graduates and out-of-school youths for ages 18-35 with a stipend. The N-Health for pregnant women and children and other vulnerable members of the society. N-Power Teacher volunteers, who were deployed as teacher's assistants in primary schools, to help basic education delivery. N-Tax, volunteers were to work as community tax liaison officers in their states with tax authorities to create awareness on tax compliance and addressing online queries. Government Enterprise and Empowerment Programme (GEEP) for interest free loans to offset the cost of setting up business enterprises (Ibanga 2024). It examined the implementation of these programs in Enugu state. Ugo and Olewe (2018), concluded by requesting the government to improve on the institutional framework and the capacity -building in order to achieve effective programming.

The implementation bureau for N-Power revealed an hierarchical structure consisting of; Federal Ministry officials, senior special assistant on job creation to the president, State focal person and an officer from Federal Ministry of Economic Planning Commission. At the state level, the commissioner (Health, Education & agriculture), official of National Orientation Agency (NOA), An officials from the three focal ministry each. This was typical of all other social intervention programs. No specialized bureau trained for the purpose. The assumption here was that the civil service has the modern technical knowledge for the implementation of all public policies.

The Application of the Case Studies: Study Orientation

The case-study approach involved in-depth evaluation of five cases examined. These were; Trader Moni, Market Moni Farmer Moni, the Conditional Cash Transfer(CCT), N-Power. The steps taken involved;

i) The isolation of the problem that was intended to be resolved.

ii) We then engaged in descriptive and explanatory in-depth analysis of the operation and governance system in the phenomenon.

iii) The data drawn from the secondary sources indicated that the governance in each case-studied were constituted principally by the federal ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management in most cases, and the corresponding state ministry or their representative at the state level.

iv) The data obtained by observation and documentary analysis further showed that Monitoring & Evaluation were not conducted in all cases examined to ascertain the functionality or otherwise of the policies in all cases.

v) All cases of social interventions revealed an identified pattern or trend. The trend was that they were all housed in the Federal Ministries. The governance structure consisted of civil servants and politicians in the rank of Ministers and senior special assistant, National Orientation Agency and their counterpart at the state and local government level respectively.

vi) The trend further showed that the civil servants/politicians had no specialized training in the modern theory of implementation plan which is essentially, programming policy into a logical framework matrix.

vii) They were no Monitoring and Evaluation officers to generate, process, output, outcome or impact indicators to read-off the performance of the programs, to strengthen it with changes.

viii) The interpretation of the governance system of public policy in the cases examined revealed that the policies and social intervention were administered as a ‘routine bureaucratic duties’, wherein the bulk of the finances were consumed as administrative costs, processes subject to red-tapism with attendant low output, characterized by corruption or arrested development with ultimate no impact.

Data Presentation and Analysis

We herein present qualitative data generated to affirm or repudiate the research questions which guided this study.

i) All the social interventions programs were initiated by the Federal Government of Nigeria and administered in the states and local governments.

ii) All of the Social Intervention Programs were housed by the Federal Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management with very few exception

iii) It should be noted that the governance structure of all the social programs had hierarchical bureau consisting of civil servants, one representing the federal ministry and the others the state.

iv) The Nigerian federal and state bureaucracies are characterized by; red-tapism, inefficient processes lack of transparency, inadequate capacity, lack of meritocracy and low in-service training budget, all these amount to low capacity for public service delivery(Frank, 2015).

v) The Federal Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management have been a center of corruption. The ministers and the coordinator of the National Social Investment Programs have been suspended from office and the previous two ministers have been guests of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC). Sanusi, A.(2024) reported that Betta Edu directed 585 million naira or $663,000 worth of grants meant for vulnerable groups to be paid into private a account known to her.

It was reported that Covid-19 funds from the World Bank loan, Abacha recovery loot were all missing. It would be recalled that during Covid-19 lockdown when no school was in session, the Minister Sadiya Umar Farouq claimed to have fed pupils in school. Thus, Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission(ICPC) and Other Related Offence Commission revealed that N2.67 billion meant for School Feeding Program during Covid-19 induced lockdown was missing(Sept, 2020).

The logical matrix here is a simple one, if the ministry is a cesspool of corruption, it is certainly the fiscal resources for these various social interventions that are at the center of corruption, leaving little or nothing for the programs. We observed that many people have not received some accrued payment from the N-Power scheme till date.

Section II :Validation of research Inquiries

In this section of the study, we evaluated the central queries which guided the investigation. Thus; question (i), what accounted for the persistent low-output of public policy in Nigeria? Public policy outputs are program initiatives design to lift people out of poverty and to address societal needs. They are often carried out in either of the four (4) categories to meet the classical purposes of the government as enunciate by Aristotle, Cicero, Bentham and J.S. Mill. In other to ensure the happiness, welfare and security of the citizenry. The International Labour Organization (ILO) had estimated that the underemployment rate in Nigeria stood at 13.9 percent and per capita income at less than $1,400 (NBS,2016 cited in Ugo & Olewe 2018, p.12), and about 112 million Nigerians lived in multi-dimensional poverty line out of about 200 million people. The implication is that only about 33 million Nigerians can afford three (3) square meals. Out of this 33 million, mostly those connected to the politicians can boast of accessibility and affordability of three(3) square meals.

The government then choose the subsidy window to embark on the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) and many other social interventions programs discussed herein to empower the citizens in poverty. After 10 years of the administration of social intervention programs, Nigeria became the 'poverty capital' of the world, indicating very low output of public policy and social interventions successes in this regard.

The 'case-studies' showed these policies were all copied from Latin America where it had worked effectively, in Nigeria it was left to the civil service bureaucracy, hence, it was infected by civil service viruses of the Ministry of Humanitarian and Disaster Management, translating to low output. The validation followed thus;

Research inquiry(i) focused on what accounted for the persistent low output of public policy in Nigeria. The investigation revealed that the traditional system of public policy implementation is grossly inadequate because it is the normal civil service approach characterize by high immobility. In addition, the civil and public servants have not been trained and imbue with the ‘theory of policy implementation through programming system. The new approach consists of activities ensuring that the implementation body establish the SMART objectives of the policy. It then define all activities that are necessary to actualize the program. Each activity has a cost attached and who is responsible for its implementation. Then all the information are made available to the Monitoring and Evaluation officer who conduct 'process and summative' appraisal of each activity to verify that it was accurately executed. When all these are actualized, the program objectives would have been achieved follow by goal in the logical framework of policy implementation system. The problem would have changed into a new one. This is not the situation currently in Nigeria.

The second inquiry (ii) sought to know the rationale behind consistent low -impact against the backdrop of fiscal expenditure. The case-studies revealed that all the social interventions discussed herein produced low impact because of; (i) poor programming arising from lack of technical capacity by the civil service (ii) the civil service approach to policy implementation is not transparent and accountable and does not follow the L.F.A-theory of policy implementation plan. (iii) It does not specify the objectives of the policy in the SMART format. (iv)The oath of secrecy in the service made it impossible to access information for effective 'process' and 'summative' evaluation to be conducted. All these precipitated low-impact of public policy in the period covered by this study.

The third attention was on Mo-Ibrahim 2024 verdict. The foundation verdict on Nigeria considered factors such as security and safety. The social interventions carried out by the state faced considerable challenges in the Northeastern, Northwestern, Northcentral and Southeast states where there have been enormous armed conflicts since 2014 with no end in sight. In these areas, civilian lives are precarious, short, nasty and brutish. There are many in Internally Displaced Camps. Civilians are forced to migrate for safety as if there is no government in place. The principle of the rule of law regarding social interventions is poor. Almost all the fund earmarked for the social intervention are misappropriated by the ministers (the cases of ministers Saidya, and Beta Edu are instructive) and the coordinators of the programs with no retributive justice on them has made corruption a social norm. Beneficiaries are short-changed, many on N-power program have not received the stipulated stipends for months. The public perception of accountability in the programs- is that of lack of trust. Anti-corruption is very weak, hence, any official of the program do easily capture the fund. Nigeria's ranking in the Transparency Corruption index is always very low. All these amounted to the failure of social protection and welfare, hence, the verdict of the Foundation as calculated on their template of governance.

The fourth inquiry-sought sustainable policy implementation plan, which is the theoretical framework of this study, the logical framework approach matrix. The application of this framework would generate 'return-on-investment' which would be in the positive and would impact on the lives of the citizenry. This is a deviation from the 'traditional civil service approach to policy execution dominant in Nigeria. Unlike the traditional system, this sustainable approach, programs the policy, breaks it down into set of interrelated activities, it assign each activity to a leader, provide the resources for the activity assigned. It generate options for the activities, and adopt the most credible option on the basis of cost-effectiveness- analysis. The Monitoring and Evaluation officer is availed the details of each activity, to enable him conduct 'process and summative' evaluation to track progress against the established objectives. It enhances accountability and transparency which is alien to the traditional system of public policy implementation. The challenge is furthered by the oath of secrecy which the civil servant are to uphold. This made it difficult to release information for evaluation. The prescribed approach liberate public policy from that challenges. Consultant should be the implementing body or a trained group of persons outside of the civil service, or review the curriculum of the civil service training to imbue them with the new approach.

The fifth concern of the inquiry was on the inability of the state to use its four structure of public policy; 'provision, production, subsidies and regulation to generate impact in the society. The state adopted the global ideology of 'globalization and liberalization' whose contents included privatization and commercialization of government functions. These are embedded in the New Public Management (NPM) which was to replace public administration. Government, we have posited is out of 'social contract' not out of commercial contract. The obligations of the state is to provide, regulate, subsidize and not commercialize. The government embrace of NPM and globalization abdicated their roles to the private sector which operates on profit motivation, yet are not there. The State- Owned-Enterprises became privatized yet the services are not being provided as effectively as anticipated. The government services cannot all be provided based on free market determinism. Consequently, the impact of state through these avenues remained poor since the embrace of this ideology of governance hence, discontent with globalization.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The analysis herein has proven that the Nigerian bureaucracy as constituted by the ministries, department and agencies of government, operates the traditional Weberian system for policy implementation in all the cases interrogated. The bureaucratic processes consume enormous ressources before a policy passes through it. The policy outputs and impacts often become dismal unlike in other climes where same policies had achieved considerable impact.

It is therefore the prescription of this study that (i) the logical framework approach matrix should be adopted henceforth, this would convert policy into program, which are set of activities, with who's responsible, and resources allocated, while each activity would be monitored and evaluated and the report serve as feedback mechanism. (ii) the top echelon of the M.D.As whose business it is, to define the strategies for policy realization, should be sent to consultants/training workshops to updates their skill in this respect to enable them meet the need of the time in the use of administrative discretion. (iii) Social interventions serves as subsidies to arrest security and safety, its failure in Nigeria translate to these values not being met. The excessive corruption in the ministry where social interventions are domiciled, means that the funds for the projects are arrested yet no one is held to account(distributive justice). The absence of social protection and welfare, and the dysfunctionality of public policies to generate 'Pareto-optimality' were the factors which informed Mo-Ibrahim's verdict on Nigeria. (iv) The sustainable pathway for effective pubic policy implementation in Nigeria, would be the logical framework matrix of policy implementation. (v) The Nigerian government performance index on *'productivity* of the economy had been halted by the wholesale buy-in to the liberal economic principles of letting the private sector run the economy rather State-led development which is the usual thing in developmental states.

The social register should be reviewed to ensure that it is actually the vulnerable in the society that are captured therein, because the various social interventions have not made any appreciable impact. The target groups should be brought into the formal banking population because financial interventions through the banks exclude the vulnerable who neither have Bank Verification Numbers (BVN) nor National Identity Numbers (NIN). By this token, operators of the programs must have been paying themselves as beneficiaries rather than the vulnerable. The objectives of the study by this conclusions and prescriptions are herein accomplished but subject to further researches.

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