

**INTERUNIVERSITY INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE**



**INTERNATIONAL DOCTORATE IN PEACE, CONFLICTS  
AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**



**DOCTORAL DISSERTATION**

**DEMOCRATIC RENAISSANCE AND PARTICIPATORY  
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN FRAGILE STATES  
A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIA**

**SUBMITTED BY**

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**JUNE, 2017**



## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to my children, Joyce C. Chinedu and Chibuiké E. Chinedu, and all patriotic Nigerians who have fought for and are still fighting for peace and the development of Nigeria.

## **Acknowledgement**

First and foremost, I duly appreciate the Almighty God for His grace and strength, because without His grace, I would not have got to this level. My sincere appreciation goes to the members of the UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace for their kind support. Also, I would like to acknowledge my supervisor, Dr. José Ángel Ruiz Jiménez for his patience and sacrifice to ensure that this dissertation becomes successful. Finally, I am grateful to my husband for his support and encouragement to me, even when I am weak, and to my children and my entire family for their love and support to me in the course of this research. Thank you.

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## **Abbreviations and acronyms**

AIDS:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AFDB:	African Development Bank
AFRODEP:	Afro Centre for Development, Peace and Justice
AFYIDEF:	African Youths Development Foundation
APC:	All Progressive Congress
AYOPAD:	The Association of Youth for Peace and Development
BANGOF:	Bayelsa Non-Governmental Organisations' Forum
CBN:	Central Bank of Nigeria
CEDAW:	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEO:	Chief Executive Officer
CEPAB:	Centre for Peace Across Borders
CEPAN:	Centre for Peace Advancement in Nigeria
CHDST:	Centre for Human Development and Social Transformation
CIDA:	Canadian International Development Agency
COMPPART:	Community Policing Partners for Justice, Security and Democratic Reforms
CSOs:	Civil Society Organisations
DAC:	Development Assistance Committee
DAG:	Democratic Action Group
DCD:	Development Co-operation Directorate
DFID:	Department for International Development
DMO:	Debt Management Office
DOVENET:	Daughters of Virtue and Empowerment Initiative

DRG:	Debt Relief Gain
ECA:	Excess Crude Account
ELBS:	East London Business School
FGN:	Federal Government of Nigeria
FIDA:	International Federation of Women Lawyers
FMOH:	Federal Ministry of Health
FAO:	Food and Agriculture Organization
FOS:	Federal Office of Statistics
GCAF:	Girl Child Art Foundation
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GSM:	Global System for Mobile Communication
HDI:	Human Development Index
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICPC:	Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission
ICRW:	International Center for Research on Women
IDCJ:	International Development Center of Japan
INEC:	Independent National Electoral Commission
INGO:	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IPPIS:	Integrated Personnel and Payroll Information System
LDCs:	Least Developed Countries
MASSOB:	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
MFB:	Microfinance Bank
NA:	Ntighauzor Amairi
NAPEP:	National Poverty Eradication Program
NAWOJ:	Nigerian Association of Women Journalists
NCV:	National Council on Vision
NEEDS:	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development

NEITI: Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NHRHS: National Health and Reproductive Survey

NITEL: Nigerian Telecommunications Limited

NJC: Nigeria Judicial Commission

NNDP: Nigerian National Democratic party

NPC: National Planning Commission

NPC: National Population Commission

NSC: National Steering Committee

NTWG: National Technical Working Groups

NYP: National Youth Policy

NYSC: National Youth Service Corps

ODA: Official Development Assistance

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PAAIDS: People against Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

PDP: Peoples Democratic Party

PPP: People's Participation Programme

SAP: Structural Adjustment Programme

SSS: State Security Services

SWF: Sovereign Wealth Fund

UN: United Nations

UNECA: The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNIFEM: United Nations Fund for Women

WACOL: Women Aid Collective

WHO: World Health Organisation

## **ABSTRACT**

In contemporary time, democracy has turned out to be the most cherished political tool for development and social change, which has attained near global acclaim and admiration by many world leaders. Although it is contestable, the reasons for this vary. First, democracy has gained acceptability as a form of government based on equity and justice. Secondly, it purports to uphold the rule of law, as well as guarantee the preservation of human rights. Deliberative democracy can facilitate development, since it integrates popular aspirations in public policies. When it is practiced transparently, with accountability, it could lead to responsible use of public resources, and as such, increase high level of participatory development.

This dissertation purports to re-enlighten scholars about the relevance of deliberative democratic practices to the development of a nation. Using Nigeria as a case study, it intends to examine how democracy is being practiced in the country, and to relate this to the development of the nation. Overall, it examines the decadence of democracy in the country and offers a participatory national development approach in place of the existing system of governance in the country.

## **ABSTRACTO**

En tiempos contemporáneos, la democracia ha resultado ser la herramienta política más apreciada para el desarrollo y el cambio social, la cual ha alcanzado la aclamación y la admiración global de muchos líderes mundiales. Aunque es discutible, las razones de esto varían. En primer lugar, la democracia ha ganado aceptación como una forma de gobierno basada en la equidad y la justicia. En segundo lugar, pretende defender el estado de derecho, así como garantizar la preservación de los derechos humanos. La democracia deliberativa puede facilitar el desarrollo, ya que integra las aspiraciones populares en las políticas públicas. Cuando se practica de forma transparente y con rendición de cuentas, podría conducir a un uso responsable de los recursos públicos y, como tal, aumentar el alto nivel de desarrollo participativo.

Esta tesis doctoral pretende iluminar nuevamente eruditos acerca de la relevancia de las prácticas democráticas deliberativas para el desarrollo de una nación. Con Nigeria como caso de estudios, pretende examinar como la democracia está siendo practicando en el país, y esto se relaciona con el desarrollo de la nación. En general, se analiza la decadencia de la democracia en el país y ofrece un enfoque de desarrollo participativo nacional en lugar del sistema actual de gobernanza en el país.



# CHAPTER ONE

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Democracy has become a very important phenomenon in the world. Although it is necessary for the development of a country, some countries of the world are yet to introduce it in their development policies. Nigeria, like other countries of the world still struggling to develop, is yet to embrace democratic values. It is noteworthy that it is one of the countries in Africa still having difficulties in achieving sustainable development. After more than fifty years of independence, the scenario in the country remains disappointing. In Nigeria, democracy is totally misinterpreted, and it is wrongly practiced. I am a Nigerian, and I chose Nigeria as a case study for this investigation, because there is an urgent need to enlighten its teeming population about democratic values and proper practices, which could possibly facilitate rapid development in the country.

Right from childhood, I have been hearing about democracy. Consequently, I have witnessed a chequered history of conflict and violence as a result of social deprivation, inequality and underdevelopment in Nigeria. I was told by my parents and elders that we were in democracy and that democracy means ‘people say.’ Although I did not understand what this meant, when I was a little child, I observed civil disobedience, like people demonstrating on the streets for change of the status quo;

workers refusing to go to work (strike) as a result of poor salaries, withheld payment of workers' salaries, poor infrastructure, and so on.

Over the years, I have waited for the desired change to come. However, this is delayed. People, especially, the poor keep suffering; nothing seems to have changed to ameliorate the sufferings of the vast majority of Nigeria's teeming population. This led me to think about possible solutions to the underdevelopment and crises that exist in Nigeria. I have come to realize that when people who need positive change, participate in charting the change they desire, the result is often better than when the change or strategy to bring about the change is imposed on them without their consent and active participation in the whole process. In this dissertation, I propose a participatory national development approach for Nigeria, which could be a better alternative to the development method Nigeria has had in the past.

Democracy ought to enhance citizens' participation in the development of a nation, which I equally refer to as 'democratic development.' Most importantly, democracy should be able to facilitate the provision and equal distribution of resources and basic human needs, and as well, enable a fragile State to manage its divides peacefully. This dissertation also seeks to establish a working relationship between deliberative democracy, which I also refer to as participatory democracy and development in the context of national development, with particular reference to Nigeria. For the purpose of this work, I shall be using the words, 'participatory' and 'deliberative' interchangeably. 'Participatory democracy', as I have termed it here, could be equated with deliberative democracy.



Participatory or deliberative democracy drives deeper into not just the theory and or delivery of democracy, but into the proper practice of democracy. It promotes civil involvement in the workings of the government. Deliberative (Participatory) democracy, in this context, denotes the processes of consultation and debate among citizens and groups (in the rural and urban areas, regardless of gender, age, religion, ethnicity, class and social status), and the process of policy formulation and implementation involving State officials in consultation and partnership with community-based actors, like community-based organisations, women's groups, youth groups, farmers, trade unions, religious organisations, etc.

## **1.1 STATE OF THE ART**

Despite the spread of democracy globally, it faces challenges. Badmus, Mutiu Aderemi (2014:259) observes that “it is not universally accepted and practiced,” given the contradictions surrounding it. According to Badmus, “there still exist difficulties in adopting and translating its holistic values into the framework of sustainable development in most parts of the world.” He attributes factors hindering the proper translation of the values of democracy to poor development of democratic institutions, ideological confusion and misconceptions, (Badmus, Mutiu Aderemi (2014:259).

The term democracy is said to have been invented by the ancient Greeks, and developed further by the Athenians (Badmus, Mutiu Aderemi, 2014:261). Quoting David Held's definition of the term democracy as “...a political community in which there is some forms of political equality among the people,” (2006:1), Badmus observes

that this definition, in terms of political equality, is problematic, given that most governments claim to be democratic, (see Badmus, Mutiu Aderemi, 2014:262). Viewing it from the point of emerging democracies, Marc F. Plattner (2010:83) writes that:

The advanced democracies may appear to be paragons of successful governance, but that is not generally how it looks from the inside, where dissatisfaction with politics is widespread. This manifests itself in contempt for politicians (especially the people's chosen representatives in the legislature), frequent outbreaks of scandal and corruption, and declining trust in political institutions.

The conceptual ambivalence surrounding the term, 'democracy' could be attributed to the fact that it is multidimensional. Thus, it could be grouped into these essentially contested concepts as suggested by Gallie, W.B. (1962:121): power, justice, peace, freedom, equality (see also Ojoh, E.O, 1999; Omotola, 2007:249). Hence, the essence of democracy is inclusiveness, participation and civil liberty. Democracy will not last if it fails to create opportunities for citizens to participate in charting the development they desire. This takes us to the next section, which focuses on the theoretical framework of this thesis. In the next section, more light would be shed on deliberative democracy, which informs the basis of this research.

## **1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Much of the current discourse on development stresses the importance of sustainable development, which is dependent, inter alia, on the creation of participatory policy-making processes for citizens, and not merely on representation (Stiglitz, J.E.

2002:165). By this approach, citizens are able to express their concerns and thereby, design the type of change they desire to have. Deliberative democracy, in this context, signifies a people's initiated, designed and implemented democracy. It involves the processes of consultation and debate among citizens and groups (in the rural and urban areas, regardless of gender, religion, ethnicity, social status, etc.), and the process of policy formulation and implementation involving state officials in consultation and partnership with community-based actors.

Development requires the total participation and commitment of local citizens, both at the State and community levels, in designing and implementing policies. In other words, the ultimate goal of democracy is to create and strengthen mechanisms which promote civil participation. Perhaps, the analysis of the link between deliberative democracy and development could be seen as a reawakening of the state of development in most countries, especially the less developed ones. Participation in national development is not confined to only voting and representation. It goes beyond mere representation and voting, to total involvement and commitment to the general good of all citizens. It includes empowering local people to be vibrant social actors, rather than passive subjects in issues that affect their lives.

It is increasingly recognized that development is multidimensional, involving the process of incorporating economic, social, and environmental objectives, which without doubt, can be delivered through the contribution of participatory governance, that embraces all stakeholders in the development process. Sen, A. (1999: 3) defines development "...as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy." He also adds that development would require the removal of major sources of unfreedom, which

include: poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities, and intolerance or overactivity of repressive states.

In line with Sen's definition, the Human Development Report (2005) recorded that:

Human development is about freedom. It is about building human capabilities-the range of things that people can do, and what they can be. Individual freedoms and rights matter a great deal, but people are restricted in what they can do with that freedom if they are poor, ill, illiterate, discriminated against, threatened by violent conflict or denied a political voice (UNDP, 2005: 18-19).

The report goes on to identify the most basic capabilities for human development, which includes: leading a long and healthy life; being educated and having adequate resources for a decent standard of living; social and political participation in society, etc.

The Agenda for Development (UN, 1994) outlines that:

- Development is a fundamental human right, and the most secure basis for peace;
- Successful development is not achievable by pursuing any one dimension in isolation;
- Economy is the engine of progress, and economic growth as the engine of development;
- Without social justice, inequalities will consume positive efforts made;
- Without political participation in freedom, people will no longer have voice to shape their individual and common destiny;

- Without peace, human energies cannot be productively employed.

From the above contribution, it is evident that development is all encompassing - crossing across human rights and needs, justice, the environment, gender, health, culture, and so on. Development as freedom suggests that individuals have the right to decide which way they wish to go, or how best they could develop their nation.

Most recently, interest in research and practice related to participatory development has increased, given that it is now accepted that citizen involvement in local or national development is the key to increased equality, and sustainability. Platt (1996) highlights three types of participation by local communities, and individuals. These include:

- Physical Participation –described as being present, using one’s skills and efforts;
- Mental Participation –described as conceptualizing the activity, decision-making, organization and management; and
- Emotional Participation –described as the process of ‘assuming responsibility, power and authority.’

Although inadequately stressed, participation is a core value in national development. Citizens’ participation in deliberation over common problems in the country is one of the steps toward resolving the problems. Continuous deliberative engagement is very important in bringing citizens close to the government so that the citizens will contribute substantively in political decision-making processes for effective development.

Drawing from the work of Doubon, Ramon E. and Harold Saunders (2002:176-191), it is clear that citizens' participation is necessary for sustainable development. They attribute the failure of development assistance programs to the narrow focus on the economic aspects of development and projects. Doubon and Harold maintain that sustainable development is dependent on increased people's "capacity to concert," stating that financial resources are only one among 'three parts' of sustainable development, which according to them, include advice and networking connections.

Fung, Archon (2006:669-684) argues that direct participatory democracy and expert-driven representative democracy are complementary, and suggests that the democratic deficits of electoral system can be reduced through the systematic incorporation of citizen deliberation into the representative system. Following this, he identifies four democratic deficits where deliberative practices can foster a "thicker continuing relationship between political elites and their constituents:"

The first is when citizens' preferences are unstable or unclear. Here, he states that it is difficult for elected representatives to develop policy that is responsive to these preferences. He suggests that deliberative democratic practices have the potential to clarify and/or stabilize citizens' preferences, thereby making them an important part of policy development.

When preferences are more stable and clear, electoral mechanisms provide only "blunt signals" regarding the preferences of citizens. Here, Fung states that using deliberative participation as a way of facilitating conversation between politicians and their constituents provide a more nuanced picture of the citizenry's preferences, allowing the government to be more responsive.

The “electoral mechanisms may prove too weak to hold the political and administrative machinery of government accountable to citizens when they have clear preferences,” and even when politicians are aware of citizens clear and stable preferences in a way that meets the needs of citizens. For instance, if a community has high crime rates, even if elected representatives pass laws toward crime reduction, there may be solutions to discover and steps to take that citizens and only a deliberative citizenry can arrive at through a process of deliberation.

Deliberation is a prerequisite to arriving at a solid plan for sustainable citizens-motivated development, both at the community, state and national levels. Gutmann, Amy and Dennis Thompson (1996) posit that deliberation belongs anywhere decisions need to be made. They argue that where there is moral disagreement over public policy, citizens should deliberate to find moral agreement. Here, three principles regulate the conditions of public deliberation –reciprocity, publicity, and accountability.

Simone Chambers (2003:308) describes deliberative democratic theory as a normative theory which suggests ways to enhance democracy and criticize institutions that do not live up to the normative standard. He asserts that the theory turns away from the liberal individualist or economic understandings of democracy, quite often than not, many theorists and practitioners have followed, and focuses on accountability and discussion, rather than on voting. He states that talk-centric democratic theory replaces voting-centric. In his explanation, he gives priority to communication and accounts, which ought to precede voting. He opines that deliberative democracy focuses on the communicative processes of opinion and will-formation that precede voting.” He goes on to state that “accountability replaces consent as the conceptual core of legitimacy.”

He argues that voting does not disappear; rather, it is given a more complex interpretation.

Deliberative democracy can leverage communication and accountability. Communication is indispensable for democratic development, which draws from the views of local citizens. By this, I do not mean elite-dominated communication. Rather, it is communication that is open to public views –a participatory communicative process, which respects the opinion of the civil society members, especially, grassroots organizations, given that they often articulate the interests and aspirations of the local citizens to the state government. This process allows them to articulate the concerns of the local citizens in order to accelerate the development of the nation.

This consideration informs the new discourse on participatory development and democratic governance, which argues that sustainable development, depends on the incorporation of local perspectives on the nature and form of development. Such participation, enabled by democratic governance structures, is an important means to ensure the sustainability and suitability of development initiatives in the context where they are implemented. This in part, informs the assertion made by Sillitoe, P (1998: 224), that “it is increasingly recognized that development initiatives that pay attention to local perceptions and ways are more likely to be relevant to people’s needs, and to generate sustainable interventions.”

### **1.3 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

Nigeria is one of the largest countries in Africa. The country which consists of 36 States and the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), gained its independence in 1960,



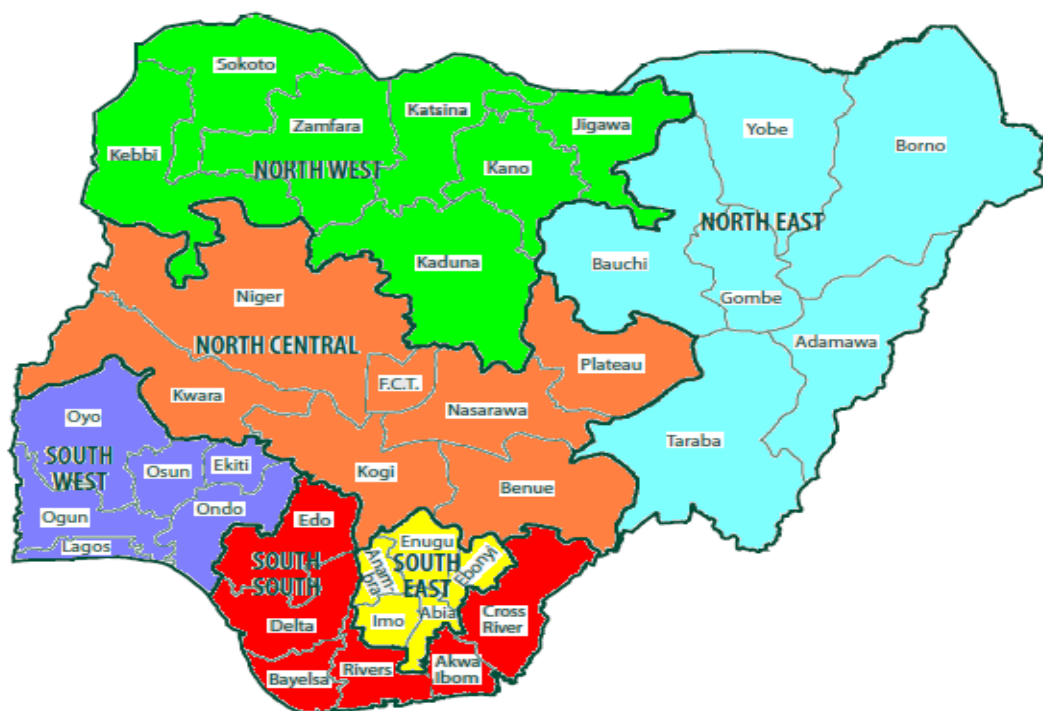
and became a Federal Republic in 1963. With an estimated population of 182.2 million (Trading Economics, 2017), its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) contracted by -2.24% during the third quarter of 2016, (National Bureau of Statistics, 2016:4). Also, the Human Development Index of the country is 0.527, which places the country in the low human development rank of 152<sup>nd</sup> out of 188 countries and territories (UNDP, 2016:2).

The country is positioned between longitudes 80° east, latitude 100° north, and occupies approximately 577,355 square miles. Its predominant religions are Christian and Islamic religions. Nigeria has one of the lowest life expectancy rates in the world. The May, 2016 life expectancy data published by the World Health Organisation has shown that the country's life expectancy ratio for females is 55 years, while the males' is 54 years. Also, the country stands at the 177<sup>th</sup> position with an average life expectancy ratio of 54.5, (Thisday, 2016). The causes of the short life expectancy in the country have been attributed to illnesses which can be treated effectively, such as pneumonia, heart disease, diabetes, kidney disease, cancer, Malaria, HIV/AIDS, and malnutrition (Thisday, 2016).

Apart from the Biafran War which took place from 1967 to 1970, claiming lives and properties, as well as displacing a lot of families, other violent conflicts have taken place in the country. Notably, in 1987, violence erupted in Kaduna State (one of the largest States in Northern Nigeria) between students from different ethnic and religious groups in Kafanchan. The violence soon spread to other towns, causing loss of lives and properties. In 1992, the Zangon-Kataf crisis broke out with lots of killings. It was a clash between the Hausas and the Kataf (a predominantly ethnic Christian group) over the relocation of a market. I witnessed this crisis with my family because we were

resident in Kaduna during that period. I was in Primary six in one of the public schools close to where the violence took place. Many people were killed during the violence regardless of their ethnic groups. After this incident, my family retired back to our home State.

**Nigeria Regional Map**



Nigeria is a multilingual and multicultural nation with 250 ethnic groups. However, English is the country's official language, with the Igbos, Yorubas, Hausas, Fulanis, Igalas, Kanuris, Tivs, Ibibios, Ijaws, Edos, Efiks, Urhobos, Idomas, and the Itsekiris as the major ethnic groups. It shares boundaries with the Republic of Benin to the west, Niger Republic to the north; Chad to the north-east, Cameroon to the east, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. Agriculture is one of Nigeria's staple economic activities; but mineral resources (iron, tin, columbite, limestone, coal, natural gas, and oil) are other increasingly important aspect of its economy.

Although some parts of the country (especially, South-South and Southeast), record high in terms of enrolment into educational institutions, the overall literacy rate of the country is still poor. For example, a survey of youth illiteracy of Nigeria between 1991-2015, shows a growing number of illiterate Nigerian youths. The number grew from 5.19 million in 1991 to 9.43 million in 2015 (Knoema, 2015).

#### **1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Since independence, Nigeria has experienced a chequered political history characterised by persistent incidences of military misadventure into her political landscape, violence and corruption. This phenomenon has since disrupted the structure and functioning of the body polity, and further obstructed peaceful coexistence and effective service delivery of public goods. The experience with citizens' participation in electoral politics in the country has not been encouraging given the politics of self-interest which exists in the country, coupled with electoral malpractices. Even where development of local participation is an important tool for rural development and where political education in mass participation is a key element of the development strategy, programmes have not increased genuine participation and responsibility among the people. There are political, socio-cultural and bureaucratic constraints to political participation in the country.

Nigeria is struggling to wriggle itself out of the intricate web of recurrent violence, infrastructural decay, moral deterioration, and election rigging associated with several decades of leadership failures. The trend of democracy in the country has been

characterised by clan-based politics, elite domination and centralized system of governance; widespread electoral malpractices, as well as persistent incidences of political violence. The competition and excessive quest for political power has made politics to be associated with violence in the country. Politicians in the country are becoming too desperate and arrogant in taking and retaining power, and intolerant of opposition and efforts at replacing them. They do not care about the loss of lives and properties during political violence.

As a developing country, it records slow progress in meeting the development demands of its teeming population. It is noteworthy that the urgent need to eradicate poverty, to ensure environmental sustainability, among others, have been considered as a priority among world leaders. However, the task of ensuring its success over time is dependent on governments' genuine intentions over their people.

The government of Nigeria declares that it is committed to democracy and good governance. But, in practice, it has not advanced much progress in this direction. Where this situation is prominent at the national level, it is certain that similar conditions may be easily reproduced at the State and local level. Nigeria needs an urgent intervention for democratic emancipation. This emancipation has to be reflected in every segment of the society. Thus, the government should promote freedom of people to contribute positively towards the development of the nation, accountability, decentralization, increased local citizens' participation and balance of power.

It is obvious that most sectors of the economy of the country are controlled by the Central Government. This increases public upheaval, thereby leading to widespread crises. It is very important to increase citizens' empowerment in the country. And, for

this to become effective, there is also the need to enhance local autonomy. If the local municipalities are to be given more autonomy, the local citizens would be induced to take part in decision-making processes which affect their lives more often, and there is a possibility that local officials will be more inclined to involve the local people in policy-making processes. This could enhance democracy in the society, and as such, improve the living conditions of people.

## **1.5 HYPOTHESIS**

The hypothesis of this dissertation is that the democratic practice which encourages and promotes active participation of local citizens in development plans, decision-making, and in the implementation of the overall development agenda, can offer better alternatives to national development, thereby reducing the incidence of recurrent public agitation and violence.

## **1.6 OBJECTIVES**

Democratic practices can promote the participation of local citizen in the development of Nigeria. Against this background, therefore, attempt is made to critically examine the benefits Nigeria stands to gain if true democratic principles are imbibed and allowed to have its course in the country. Thus, in order to actualize the foregoing, below are the prime objectives of this study:

- To examine if Nigeria is truly democratic,

- To study possible ways of achieving sustainable, local-driven, poverty-reducing development that encourages the active participation of local citizens,
- To establish possible relationship between democratization and citizen participation in guaranteeing economic and political benefits in Nigeria, and
- To propose a participatory approach to national development in the country.

## **1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The following research questions shall serve as guidelines towards the achievement of the objectives of this project work:

Are Nigerian leaders democratically elected?

What is the state of development in Nigeria?

Are people politically informed and active in Nigeria?

Is political participation affected by socio-cultural factors?

## **1.8 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

This study focuses on Nigeria. It examines how awareness to the principles and practice of democracy could enhance the development of a nation. It also examines some literary works on democracy and development from African and non-African perspectives for a better understanding of the theme, and to offer a more participatory approach to national development.

## **1.9 METHODOLOGY**

The researcher employs qualitative methodology to describe how democracy relates to national development. Data utilized include primary and secondary data generated from questionnaires, journals and books.

## **1.10 ORGANIZATION OF THESIS**

The dissertation is organized into eight chapters, with an introduction and a conclusion of the themes discussed. Chapter one gave the general introduction of the study, and includes the following: the objectives of study, hypothesis, scope of study, state of the art, theoretical framework, methodology, and organization of thesis.

Chapter two discussed the relevance of peacebuilding and development in fragile states. It also examined if power-sharing is a solution to Africa's flawed elections. Chapter three examined and drew a linkage between this embattled trinity: democratization, good governance, and national development. Each theme was discussed separately for a better understanding.

Chapter four examined African perspectives of democracy and development and chapter five presented the democracy and development history of Nigeria. Also, the role played by Nigerian women and youths in the development of the country was highlighted in this chapter. Chapter six discussed about governance, development plans, reforms and challenges in Nigeria. It further examined the results of the MDGs in Nigeria. Chapter seven presented the field research with data presentation, analysis and research findings. In addition, this chapter provided a framework for participatory national development in Nigeria, as well as vital conditions for rebuilding the nation.

Finally, chapter eight drew the conclusion of the study, and provided further recommendations to enhance development in Nigeria.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **FRAGILE STATES, PEACEBUILDING, POWER-SHARING AND DEVELOPMENT**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

War, violence or social instability has a negative impact on development. Behind every war or violence, there is a root cause or there are root causes. In recent years, many states have become shaky, fragile or unstable as a result of social grievances. State fragility inhibits development. In order to eradicate social upheaval and to build a peaceful and sustainably developed economy, there is a need to tackle the root causes of conflict. This chapter examines and clarifies the conceptual underpinnings of these terms: fragile states, peacebuilding, power-sharing and development. Also, it discusses the relevance of peacebuilding in maintaining development in fragile states.

#### **2.1 FRAGILE STATES**

In recent years, ‘fragile states’ has become an important concept for researchers and policymakers. Fragile states are those states which are prone to internal or external instabilities, and are vulnerable to conflicts, probably, as a result of illegitimate governing institutions, religious discrimination, inequality and endemic corruption. State fragility contributes to underdevelopment and forced migration through

unprecedented medium. This, in part, contributes to the constant migration of low income countries' intellectuals. Where the governing institution lacks legitimacy, there is a tendency that some group of people, particularly the elites, would siphon the public property, which in turn, could lead to fractionalization and environmental disaster. Fragile states could lead to militarization, the enforcement of child soldiers and abuse; and at the same time, hinder humanitarian assistance and the protection of civilians.

In their report on the Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations (2007a), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and DAC stated that “states are fragile when state structures lack political will and /or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations.” Following this statement, many international actors began to focus either on capacity or will, without incorporating such issues as legitimacy in operation.

C.S.C. Sekhar (2010:263-264), asserts that “a state is defined as failed or fragile when it is unable to perform its core functions and displays vulnerability in the social, political, and economic domains.” In addition, he states that “fragile states are highly vulnerable to domestic and international conflicts, and shocks. They are also significantly susceptible to any form of crisis in one or more of their subsystems.”

Given that there is no agreed global list of fragile states, the Department for International Development (2005:7) argues that “all states are fragile in some respect and States move in and out of fragility,” (see also, Moreno Torres, M. and Anderson, M. 2004), and “fragile states are more likely to become unstable and fall prey to criminal

and terrorist networks, which aggravate their instability,” (DFID, 2005:10). The following observation was made by the DFID (2005):

- People who live in fragile states are more likely to die early or live with chronic illness;
- People in fragile states are less likely to go to school or to receive essential health care. In 2000, there were 37 million children in fragile states who were not at school;
- Nearly half of all children who die before the age of five are born in fragile states. Child mortality is almost two-and-a-half times higher than in other poor countries and maternal mortality is more than two-and-a-half times greater; and
- Fragile states have very weak economic growth.

When a state is fragile, things go wrong in the society. Firstly, there is the tendency that the government would neglect the health sector and other sectors entirely. People begin to die from curable and incurable diseases, given that patients no longer receive adequate attention from the health professionals employed by the government – health professionals often stop from rendering their services when their salaries are not paid, or when they are underpaid. Patients also die when the health workers are not qualified to carry out their functions.

Subsequently, when a patient or the patient’s family does not have any source of income, such patient is unlikely to pay his/her hospital bills. In such situations, patients die, because they are unable to afford the medical bills for the necessary medical care. Students are more likely to drop-out of school, or marry early as a result of poverty,

insecurity, social instability, and teenage rapes and pregnancies, and economic activities halted, leading to market losses. Given that fragile states can destabilize regional and global security, as a result of widespread poverty, the DFID suggests working better in fragile states (2005:9).

## **2.2 FRAGILE STATES, PEACEBUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT**

State fragility calls for peacebuilding which in turn could create a peaceful atmosphere for development. Peacebuilding essentially implies the consolidation and promotion of peace and the building of trust in the aftermath of conflicts to prevent a relapse into conflict or war. More broadly clarified, it relates to integrated approaches to address violent conflict at different phases of the conflict cycle and development to achieve a meaningful and just peace. In order to achieve this, security measures have to be considered and put in place for the benefit of everyone.

Several literatures exist on this theme ‘peacebuilding.’ However, few focus on broader integrative measures to consolidate peace and to promote sustainable development. Since it gained its currency in 1992 through the former United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros-Ghali, peacebuilding has had several definitions from different perspectives. In his report titled, *An Agenda for Peace*, Boutros-Ghali defines peacebuilding in a narrow sense, thereby emphasizing on structural peacebuilding in post-conflict period, and stating its functions as: “rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war,” (1992: 8).

Strickland and Duvvury (2003:6) identify two separate concepts of peacebuilding. One is associated with a short-term involvement of the international community, and revolves around political measures and actions by external agents. The other has to do with a long-term effort of indigenous actors who promote political, economic development and sustainable conflict resolution.

Johan Galtung who is credited for introducing the idea of peacebuilding as distinct from peacemaking conceptualizes peacebuilding as involving the negative task of preventing a relapse into overt violence, and the positive task involving national aid recovery and eventual removal of the underlying causes of internal war (Galtung, 1976: 297). In his conflict triangle, he made a distinction between peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding. Whereas peacekeeping reduces the level of destructive behaviour, peacemaking changes the attitudes of the main protagonists through mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and negotiation; and peacebuilding tries to overcome the contradictions which lie at the root of conflict (Galtung, 1996: 112; Hudson and Heidi. 2006: 8).

Peacebuilding has become the central concept in nations at war and nations devastated by war trying to rebuild and reconstitute themselves; and development has also become integrally linked to it (Rajendram, 2005: 2). Rajendram argues that communication is a united force for these two activities, but regrets that enough attention has not been paid to communication in peacebuilding and development activities. As a result, he suggests using communication as central component in peacebuilding and development activities through a 'sense-making approach.'

International players are often blamed for pressurizing the protagonists to sign peace agreements hurriedly when they know that the agreements are likely to fail because of unrealistic time frames, or as a result of the root cause of the conflict that is not yet addressed (Neethling, 2005: 34). For instance, De Coning (2004: 42) asserts that extensive research undertaken over a considerable period suggests that about half of all peace agreements fail in the first five years after their conclusion. The blame also goes to the protagonist groups in conflict who frequently agree to peace agreements for tactical reasons without being firmly committed to a long-term peace process. For these reasons, there is a growing concern with emphasis on the necessity of linking security to special peacebuilding measures.

After considerable debating and disagreements regarding the exact meaning of peacebuilding, the former UN Secretary-General modified his position in the 1995 supplement to *An Agenda for Peace* and suggested that peacebuilding could also be preventive (UN, 1995). This coincides with a somewhat broader view that peacebuilding is essentially about removing factors that breed or sustain conflict, and reinforcing factors that build positive relations and sustain peace (Hitchcock, 2004: 38).

Hence, it could be stated that peacebuilding has evolved from a strictly post-conflict undertaking to a concept with a broader meaning. The general consensus therefore, would be that peacebuilding efforts should be attempted during the earliest indication of tension in a situation of potential conflict. Against this background, Tschirgi (2003: 1) states that the term peacebuilding was gradually expanded to refer to integrated approaches to address violent conflict at different phases of the conflict cycle.

On the other hand, Recigliano (2003: 445) argues that organizations working in the peacebuilding field face the challenge of taking a holistic, integrated approach to peacebuilding, which combines traditionally distinct disciplines (human rights, humanitarian assistance, sustainable development, environment, conflict resolution, security, and the rule of law) in order to be effective in today's complex conflicts. Considering the protracted trend of conflicts that emerged in the 1990s, Recigliano (2003) suggests that an integrated approach to peacebuilding has the potential to address the trends, and proposes a 'Network of Effective Action,' which promotes practices for collaboration in order to facilitate integrated approaches to peacebuilding, both on the ground and in terms of the theoretical development of the field.

Consequently, Lederach's 'Integrated Framework for Peace-building' aims at developing a comprehensive, integrative and strategic approach to the transformation of conflicts through two sets of lenses. Here, the root causes of conflict, crisis management, crisis prevention, vision of a desirable future, and transformation are analysed and addressed from an issue to system level of response, and within a time frame of crisis management to a desired future (Lederach, 1997: 80). To this end, conflict prevention and peacebuilding are often considered two sides of the same coin. However, it should be noted that the exact concept of peacebuilding is still contested (Haugerudbraaten, 1998; Shannon, 2004: 36).

The Development Co-operation Directorate (DCD, 2007: 13-19) identifies some striking challenges that occur in defining the boundaries of conflict prevention and peacebuilding as a result of unproved claims and assumptions. Some of these challenges are those identified below by DCD (2007):

Some interventions proceed on the unexamined assumption that they are conflict prevention and peacebuilding. In this category we find statements such as, all poverty reduction promotes peace. Or, women are crucial to peace; or working with youth is essential for building peace. It is often naively assumed that any programme that does good in a context of conflict contributes to peace. However, there is clear evidence that this is not the case. Good activities undertaken singly or in collaboration do not inevitably support conflict prevention or peacebuilding.

Efforts that appear on the surface to be peacebuilding must also be held accountable for their actual effects in a particular context at a particular time. For example, one can imagine that under certain circumstances, establishment of a truth and reconciliation process (normally accepted as an important element of transitional justice, and therefore of peacebuilding) might not contribute to achieving durable peace or could even have a negative impact.

Still, other interventions claim that they are building peace or preventing conflict, when in fact they may have no discernable impact on peace or conflict dynamics. The motivations for such claims vary widely. Some respond to donor funding criteria by adding a conflict prevention and peacebuilding component or title.

Conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities are efforts that adopt goals and objectives aimed at preventing conflict or building peace, usually focused on a particular conflict zone. Drawing from examples of States emerging from conflict, such as Afghanistan, Zakhilwal and Thomas (2005: 8-9) argues that not only is rural development essential to peacebuilding in Afghanistan; but that participatory rural



development has come to be seen as a main vehicle for peacebuilding among the people and between the people, and the government.

While potentially including a very large number of activities, in practice, peacebuilding is understood in the UN and the international aid community as typically involving post-conflict programs for humanitarian assistance, return of refugees, security sector reform, economic reconstruction, rebuilding of key government institutions, elections and political reforms, justice reform, and the establishment of foundations for long term development and social reconciliation.

The Department for International Development (DFID) (2009: 2-3) states that building peaceful states and societies is at the heart of achieving lasting poverty reduction in highly fragile environments. In many cases, poverty stands as a major contributing factor that exacerbates conflicts. In line with this, there has been growing evidence over the past few years that poverty reduction and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) cannot be achieved without addressing the underlying causes of conflict and fragility.

Peacebuilding attempts to encourage the development of the structural conditions, attitudes and modes of political behaviour that may permit peaceful, stable and ultimately, prosperous social and economic development. Also, its activities are designed to contribute to ending or preventing armed conflicts, and may be carried out during armed conflicts, or as an attempt to prevent an anticipated armed conflict from starting. As conceptualized in the joint *Utstein* study (2004: 20), peacebuilding activities fall under four main themes:

- To provide security,
- To establish the socio-economic foundations of long-term peace,
- To establish the political framework of long-term peace, and
- To generate reconciliation, a healing of the wounds of war and justice.

As the concept of peacebuilding grows, its meanings tend to emphasize on institutional or structural reforms and security. This is because when peacebuilding is institutionalized, it gives it legitimacy and makes it effective to achieve the anticipated objectives. Upon this assumption, the Canadian International Development Agency's Peacebuilding Initiative Strategic Framework defines it thus:

Peacebuilding is the effort to strengthen the prospects for internal peace and decrease the likelihood of violent conflict. The overarching goal of peacebuilding is to enhance indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence. Ultimately, peacebuilding aims at building human security, a concept which includes democratic governance, human rights, rule of law, sustainable development, equitable access to resources, and environmental security...Peacebuilding may involve conflict prevention, conflict resolution, as well as various kinds of post-conflict activities. It focuses on the political and socio-economic context of conflict, rather than on the military or humanitarian aspects. It seeks to... institutionalize the peaceful resolution of conflicts (Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), 2002b; Strickland and Duvvury, 2003: 6).

Bock and Anderson (1999:327) described two categories of approaches used by aid agencies to prevent or transform conflict, namely –the promotive and the pre-emptive approaches. By promotive approaches, they refer to those aimed at:

“...creating a foundation of trust between people of varying identities and engendering an appreciation for communal harmony, and they aim to lay a foundation for the prevention of further violence, or to

reduce the likelihood of escalation of an existing conflict” (Bock and Anderson, 1999: 327).

On the contrary, the pre-emptive approaches seem to be focused on the community level. According to them, the pre-emptive approaches entail actions designed to divert and prevent conflict when communal tensions are high and violence imminent. In that sense, rather than promoting good will for the long run, as in the promotive approaches, these approaches prepare people to dispel communal passion whenever it flares up (Bock and Anderson, 1999: 329).

There is no assurance that promotive approaches would always be effective, given the fact that many initiatives quickly break down as soon as violence flares up between and within communities. Here, the pre-emptive approaches may be useful. The case of Eastern Sri Lanka where there was a mosaic of villages of different ethnic groups living together, serve as an example. After initial negotiations and works which were often facilitated through the help of an International Non-governmental Organisation (INGO), the people organised a peace forum where problems could be discussed and potential flashpoints identified and investigated by members from the peace forum. The interaction between the communities over a period of time helped to prevent the reoccurrence of violence in that very locality.

Building a strong civil society during peacebuilding is considered as a prerequisite to sustainable peacebuilding. That is the reason why it is becoming a global approach in the resolution of conflicts. Barnes (2005: 10) argues that a diverse and thriving civil society is the crucial underpinnings for strengthening the capacity of

societies to manage conflict peacefully, especially, when individuals are members of multiple groups. Also, it is best achieved when the strategies and approaches adopted by peace builders recognize the importance of human rights and justice. Given its complexity, Beer (2004: 120) observes that peacebuilding must involve the need for partnerships with recipient States to address the multitude of tasks in rebuilding and sustaining development in conflict-torn States. Citing the case of Haiti as an example, where there was urgent need for partnership, Beer proposed 'collective efforts' in peacebuilding operations (2004: 121).

Since it requires flexibility, coordination, and cooperation among participating actors, there is need for a consensus among donors, and ratification by the recipients. This has been considered as the first step in any peacebuilding operation, without which, undesirable consequences arise (Beer, 2004: 122). Beer identifies that lack of real coordination and collaboration by peacebuilding partners affected the attitude of Haitian recipients.

Agbu saw the reduction of war-related hostility through repair and transformation of already damaged relationships as another important aspect of peacebuilding (2006: 15). He maintains that this aspect focuses on trust-building, forgiveness, reconciliation and future imaging; and seeks to reduce poor communication and to maximize understanding. Nevertheless, he identifies that effective communication at the grassroots level and negotiation are necessary for the transformation of conflicts, arguing that it enhances dialogue, which ultimately increases awareness of the other party's interests and identity, thereby ensuring proper future imaging (Agbu, 2006: 17). In addition, he suggests that there is need for every

individual engaging in peacebuilding, or individuals coming to the negotiation table after war, to go through a healing process before they could proceed for the negotiation, otherwise, it would be very difficult to reconcile differences under the influence of hatred, agony, and anger.

Enshrined in peacebuilding is the irrevocable role of women in peace processes. As such, several international actors and organizations advocate that women be included in all its aspects. Women are no longer seen as victims of war and the vulnerable group, but as one of the primary actors in the development of peacebuilding initiatives. The influence of women, according to Anderlini (2000: 8) must not be confined within local and regional women's organizations. She maintains that women must be equal participants in post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation programs.

Given that gender is also integral to peace and development, there is a growing consensus to integrate gender perspectives in the analysis, and evaluation of conflicts. Including women in the process, is seen as fundamental in the achievement of gender justice in peacebuilding process and in development. McKay (2004: 157) argues that gender justice is a key aspect in the improvement of women's human security. The main aim of peacebuilding goes beyond the establishment of physical security to include changes in gender relations in the overall development process. It could also entail political and socio-economic transformation, mechanisms to address the past, and the development of effective governance and environmental rejuvenation (Clancy and Hamber, 2008: 5; Hamber and Kelly, 2005).

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also become integrally linked to it (Rajendram, 2005: 2). This scholar admitted that communication is a united force for these two activities, but regrets that enough attention has not been paid to communication in peacebuilding and development activities. As a result, he suggests using communication as central component in peacebuilding and development activities through a ‘sense-making approach.’

Peacebuilding attempts to encourage the development of the structural conditions, attitudes and modes of political behaviour that may permit peaceful, stable and ultimately, prosperous social and economic development. On the other hand, Knight (2004: 357) argues that addressing the underlying structural causes of conflict is best achieved through what he calls a ‘bottom-up’ approach in addition to decentralization of socio-economic and political structures. This implies that peace must be built on social, economic and political foundations that serve the needs of the populace. For example, promoting substantive and procedural justice through structural means typically involves institution building and reforms, and strengthening of the civil society. Also, strong executive, legislative and judicial institutions are very necessary in order to deliver services to the people. This suggests that democratization is a key instrument in the creation of peace-enhancement structures.

Over the years, structural changes in the political system focus on political development, state re-building, and the improvement and establishment of effective governing institutions, which often involve electoral reforms, judicial reforms, constitutional reforms, building of political parties, creation of conflict resolution bodies, establishment of monitoring mechanisms, and at worst cases, adopting power-

sharing measures. Enshrined in this area of peacebuilding is the two-fold process as identified by Knight (2004: 358):

- Deconstructing the structures of violence; and
- Constructing, or reconstructing the structures of peace.

According to him, the above strategies can be used to eradicate dysfunctional institutions, norms and practices, as well as the nurturing of conflict, to enhance the rebuilding of the fundamental institutions of a society which support tolerance, stability, socio-economic development and enduring peace. He maintains that strengthening governing institutions, involving both social engineering and transformation of a society from a culture of violence to a culture of peace, is the ultimate goal of peacebuilding. Yet, these strategies complicate the whole process when the actors to perform the great task of deconstruction and reconstruction are not fully identified and included in the task. This raises the concern about the role of civil society in peacebuilding, which is currently supported by those who understand the task involved in peacebuilding.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), as members of the civil society, have been credited for their tireless efforts in emergency cases, and their rapid contributions in the development of war-torn societies. However, there are a lot of lapses in their operations because they are being accused of causing unintended consequences and reinforcing violent conflicts pre-existing in societies where they work. One of the reasons why NGOs seem to fail in their humanitarian assistance is that identified by Keating and Abiew (2004). According to them, “the local context must be taken into

account in decision-making with regard to where, when, and how to engage in peacebuilding operations” (2004:107).

For this reason, Mazurana and McKay (1999) iterate that to build peace requires visioning what constitutes peace and security across cultures, nationalities, ethnicities and between genders. In other words, it is very important that NGOs in the fields of peacebuilding and development, take into account the local people whom they claim to help. It is equally important to treat the local populace fairly without any favouritism given to any particular group.

The greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is the local people and their culture (although some cultures are violence in disguise). Since in some cases, there are cultural dimension of conflicts, it is necessary to understand the cultural dimension of conflicts, and to identify mechanisms to resolve conflicts which exist within that cultural setting. Agbu (2006: 18) identifies the Kpelle peoples of war-torn Liberia as having such mechanisms in the past. They had a well established forum for informal settlement of conflicts, called ‘House of Palaver’ which was made up of an ad hoc council of kinsmen and neighbours of parties in conflict. This group of people investigated claims with honesty, and at the end, just judgment was made, followed by sharing of drinks.

Peacebuilding has some linkage with development. Like some have suggested, development can help to reduce conflict (Clancy and Hamber, 2008: 5). The close relationship between peacebuilding and development has been described as a restructuring of conflicting relationships to create a situation, a society, or community in which individuals are enabled to develop and use to the full, their capacities for



creativity, service and enjoyment. Unless development in this sense can take place, no settlement will lead to a secure and lasting peace (Curle, 1971: 174; Strickland and Duvvury, 2003: 6).

Ball (2001) defines peacebuilding as consisting of three main objectives. These include:

- Creation and strengthening of democratic political institutions;
- Encouraging sustainable, poverty-reducing development; and
- Fostering collaborative, non-violent social relations.

According to Strickland and Duvvury (2003: 6) the political, economic and social processes relating to those objectives mentioned by Ball (2001) and the normative framework in which they are situated, must be viewed through a gender lens, in order to recognize and include women as full and equal partners with men in peacebuilding, in post-conflict societies. From their experience, they suggest applying a gender perspective to the peacebuilding enterprise, and adding that improving gender-sensitivity in structure will likely increase the chances of gender-equitable outcomes that are potentially fundamental elements of sustainable peace in post-conflict period (Strickland and Duvvury, 2003: 7).

Peace psychologists have used preventive, proactive, human needs, eradication of oppression and inequality approaches in discussing peacebuilding, with all reflecting concern with human processes (McKay, 1999). Yet, they have given little attention to women's views of peacebuilding within their own cultural contexts. Having surveyed gender and meanings of peacebuilding at the United Nations, NGOs, and grassroots

levels, some gender experts conclude that women's peacebuilding is culturally and contextually based, and is usually located at the community and regional levels (Mazurana and McKay, 1999; de la Rey and McKay, 2006: 143).

For example, women in the Mano River Women's Peace Network in Sierra Leone, West Africa, collaborate across national boundaries of Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone to foster reconciliation and lasting peace between their countries (Femmes Africa Solidarite, 2000). In South Korea, women challenged patriarchal norms and practices by advocating against the pervasiveness of militarism, linking it with violence against women, prostitution, and sex trafficking (McKay, and Mazurana, 2001).

Arguing from a gender standpoint, Nakaya wrote that, "...women's participation is an issue of equitable representation, for legitimate conflict resolution, and peacebuilding requires an inclusive and participatory process" (2004: 144). In other words, peacebuilding or any form of conflict resolution is only legitimate and sustainable when women are fully represented at the negotiation table, and are full participants in deciding the way forward.

Women seem to be active agents in waging conflict non-violently through activism and advocacy. They are active in reducing direct violence, transforming relationships and in building capacity for sustainable peace. For example, women mobilized themselves as mothers and grandmothers in Argentina to sustain weekly protests when other activists had gone into hiding due to severe government repression, and achieved truth and justice (Shirk, L. and Sewak, 2005: 98). Also, they argue that the Liberian Women's Mass Action for Peace was crucial for the agreement reached between the rebel and the government leaders.

Peacebuilding in Somalia was made possible through the initiative of the women. As soon as they stepped in after the prolonged civil war, change came in; they provided shelter and medical care to combatants, supplied water in war-affected areas, and restored destroyed schools (Nakaya, 2004: 152). Although some women were active agents in the perpetuation of violent conflict in Sri Lanka, the Middle East, and in Kashmir, as observed by Shirch and Sewak (2005: 97), gender equality in peacebuilding is paramount for securing every member of the society, and for rebuilding a war-torn society. Since gender inequality is built into the structures, it is also important for men, as well as women to join force in fighting this cancerous disparity for positive peace to take shape.

Eliminating gender inequality in post-conflict peacebuilding and in conflict prevention poses a great challenge. As a result, there is a growing demand for gender mainstreaming in peace processes (UN, 2000; Shirch, and Sewak, 2005: 102; UNIFEM, 2002: 6; Nakaya, 2004: 146). In light of the above explanations, the perspectives, roles, and active participation of all stakeholders, including women and women organisations, are crucial for building peace, maintaining order in the society, and for development.

Sen (1999: 3) defined development "...as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy". He adds that development would require the removal of major sources of unfreedom, which include: poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities, and intolerance or overactivity of repressive States. In line with Sen's definition, the Human Development Report (2005) recorded that:

Human development is about freedom. It is about building human capabilities- the range of things that people can do, and what they can be. Individual freedoms and rights matter a great deal, but people are restricted in what they can do with that freedom if they are poor, ill, illiterate, discriminated against, threatened by violent conflict or denied a political voice (UNDP, 2005: 18-19).

The report goes on to identify the most basic capabilities for human development, which includes: leading a long and healthy life; being educated and having adequate resources for a decent standard of living; social and political participation in society, etc (UNDP, 2005).

The Agenda for Development (UN, 1994) outlines that:

1. Development is a fundamental human right, and the most secure basis for peace;
2. Successful development is not achievable by pursuing any one dimension in isolation;
3. Economy is the engine of progress, and economic growth as the engine of development;
4. Without social justice, inequalities will consume positive efforts made;
5. Without political participation in freedom, people will no longer have voice to shape their individual and common destiny;
6. Without peace, human energies cannot be productively employed.

From the above contribution, it is evident that development is all encompassing - crossing across human rights and needs, justice, the environment, gender, health,

culture, and so on. But, the development pattern, especially in the developing world, seems to have been imposed by the West and predatory leaders who benefit more from development assistance. Critic, like William Easterly, argues that “the ideology of development is not only having experts design your free market for you. It is about having the experts design a comprehensive, technical plan to solve all the problems of the poor” (Easterly, 2007: 2).

Development assistance seeks to help the poorest nations develop their economies, and to give them a better life, while addressing the political, economic, structural, cultural, and social dimensions which impede the advancement of the nations (but, in some cases, in exchange with their valuable resources). However, it is being criticized due to the approaches adopted by donor agencies. For instance, Easterly (2005: 58) refers to the so-called development plan and strategy as ‘utopian nightmare’. On the other hand, Schlesinger (2007: 58) refers to the rebranding of foreign aid in Kenya, as “the continuation of poverty”. These stem from the fact that the development aid given to the developing countries, seems to be engineering poverty, and inciting violence, due to inequality in the distribution of the resources.

Rather than promoting the development of the nation and its populace, the development aid seems to be contributing to poverty, hatred, corruption, and social discontent and underdevelopment. Policies for development are rather, imposed on recipient countries, without them mapping out how best they think their nations would develop, and without more than half of the population and those most affected by poverty, participating in the development plans.

Most recently, the definition of development changed focus to sustainability. Having been introduced earlier in *Our Common Future* by the UN General Assembly in 1948, sustainable development has to cover various areas, ranging from satisfaction of human needs and aspirations; promoting good living standard; ensuring equitable opportunities for all; harmonious demographic developments, and much more. At the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992, governments made a commitment to adopt national strategies for sustainable development, which are highly participatory instruments intended to ensure responsible economic development and the protection of the resource base and the environment for the benefit of future generations.

Although the idea of sustainable development is highly applauded and approved by many nations, achieving sustainable development requires deep structural changes and new ways of working, be it in political, economic, and social life. Issues of inequality of access to assets and resources, as is the case in most developing countries, have to be addressed. It may be necessary to reform the land tenure policies, so as to increase access to marginalised groups, especially, women and the girl child. Sustainable development will only be made possible if the strategy employed is participatory.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defined it thus: “a co-ordinated set of participatory and continuously improving processes of analysis, debate, capacity-strengthening, planning and investment, which integrates society, seeking tradeoffs where this is not possible” (OECD, 2001: 3). The organisation, however, advocates for cross-sectoral and participatory institutions, at the

local and national levels, and the integration of mechanisms, which can engage governments, civil society and the private sector in developing shared visions, planning and decision-making, which are very important.

In order to accelerate progress in development, the UN General Assembly, in 2000, adopted eight Millennium Development Goals, of which the third Goal (Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment) is set as a priority in order to meet other Goals. Following this latest development, it is agreed that gender equality and women's empowerment are powerful multipliers of development efforts. Ultimately, gender equality and women empowerment are key drivers of economic growth. It plays a vital role in conflict prevention, resolution, and in development. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) holds out the promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected, and that barriers impeding their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance, and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed.

Despite all awareness created in issues concerning the involvement of women and gender perspective in peacebuilding and development, many women across the world still suffer marginalization in peace processes; in political participation, and in development in general. This challenge raises the question of how to educate men and women across the world, on the importance of gender equality and the empowerment of women. According to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995, the advancement of women and the achievement of equality between women and men are a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and should not be seen in isolation as a women's issue. They are the only way to build a sustainable, just and

developed society. Empowerment of women and gender equality are prerequisite for achieving political, social, economic, cultural and environmental security among all (OECD, 1999: 11).

Overall, there is no better way for building peace and developing a nation effectively than recognizing that women's contribution in the whole process is crucial. Empowering women by ensuring that they are well represented in decision-making processes related to peace, security and development enhances any peacebuilding and development process with better outcomes.

### **2.3 POWER-SHARING: A SOLUTION TO FLAWED AFRICAN ELECTIONS?**

Power-sharing is often advocated as a remedy to countries emerging from ethnic, religious, or political conflicts. However, this measure has not totally solved the problems confronting fragile countries, especially in Africa. The term 'power-sharing' is believed to quicken a negotiated ending of war, since it offers opposition parties the choice to share power. Nevertheless, it must be noted that it is often accompanied with bitterness and disagreement. Anna Jarstad (2006:3) believes that power-sharing as a means to develop democratic governance, rests on the logic of inclusion by joint decision-making, which is expected to lead to moderation. However, she argues that, "power-sharing does not always end violence and promote moderation; but, can trigger mechanisms that have negative implications for long-term democratization and peace." This implies that power-sharing is capable of making it difficult for rival party members to reach a negotiated settlement.



According to Gates, Scott and Kaare Strom (2007:iii), “power-sharing arrangements aim to reduce the risk of civil conflict by guaranteeing potentially warring parties a role in the country’s government, thus lessening the stakes of political contestation.” Although its potential benefits are being enumerated by many scholars and international organizations, some scholars still express their concerns over its unintended negative side-effects (Jeremy, Horowitz 2009:2). Such concerns outlined by Jeremy include “heightening of the transaction costs of governance and immobilism.” He also noted that power-sharing may create an adverse selection problem, which ultimately empowers extremist leaders over moderates, and as well, exacerbates moral hazard (2009:2). This leaves us with questions such as, has power-sharing in countries emerging from violent conflicts brought an end to corruption and inequality? Does it fully address the root causes of conflicts in these countries?

Walter, Barbara (2002) explains the function of power-sharing as a mechanism for solving the commitment problem in a context of severe distrust and vulnerability as was the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where the power-sharing deal stalled as a result of the exclusion of the Pro-Hutu extremist, *Convention pour la Defense de la Republique (CDR)* from the negotiation process, coupled with distrust and civil war. Meanwhile, examples like Rwanda, DRC, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria, show that it is very difficult to form coalitions in war-torn societies, regardless of international pressures on opposition groups.

Anna, Jarstad (2006:16-17) asserts that the function of inclusion leads in practice to exclusion of certain groups or individuals, arguing that a peace accord which rests on the levelling of power relations between groups, become fragile if the original basis for

calculation of the quota such as demography changes. She notes that “elite-negotiated regulation of the primary conflict can result in extremist splinter groups that threaten peace and undermine democratization,” (Anna, Jarstad 2006:16-17).

Power-sharing can exacerbate conflict, rather than resolve it. Recent experiments of power-sharing in Africa show that it is not the appropriate path to follow by Africa. It is only a short-term arrangement designed to end civil wars, without fully addressing the root causes of conflicts, and its result varies. The Rwanda *Arusha* negotiation was simply a continuation of civil war. In South Africa, Griffiths, Robert observed that the power-sharing agreement worked because the major restructuring that took place in the state institutions and multi-ethnic distribution of power supported by a joint control over the forces (Griffiths, Robert 1995).

According to Oluoch, F. (2008), Kenya and Zimbabwe examples could discourage some incumbent Presidents of Africa from accepting free and fair elections in the hope to share power with their opponents. Thus, Africans must therefore, think over power-sharing again because it is a questionable path to follow. Africa needs leaders with vision for positive change, good governance, social justice, transparency, accountability, and respect for human dignity. Power-sharing may not be a rightful solution to Africa’s flawed elections.

## **2.4 CONCLUSION**

This chapter examines fragile states and the need for peacebuilding and development. It also examines how power-sharing has influenced credible elections in Africa. Various aspects were considered. From observation, it is very important to work well in fragile states. Also, there is the need to decentralize peacebuilding and

development efforts in fragile states for better results. Decentralization can improve access to decision making for local communities by bringing planning closer to the grassroots level. When this happens, women, men and youths are empowered to get involved in making plans that affect their lives, especially, in the development of their communities and in building peace.

Also, this gives them the opportunity to ensure that their demands are met; increases their control over the decision-making and resource allocation process, and enhances transparency and accountability. Here, decentralization has to ensure that there is plurality of community involvement in project/programme design and implementation through the strengthening of the relationship between the State and local communities. Decentralization takes place gradually and is expected to enhance the opportunities for participation by placing more power and resources at a closer, familiar, and more easily influenced level of government.

Finally, it is necessary for Africans to embrace legitimate and credible elections while upholding the rule of law and respect for human rights. These could be better than the power-sharing alternative, which breeds corruption.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

# **DEMOCRATIZATION, GOOD GOVERNANCE, HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT**

### **3.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the previous chapter, we discussed about fragile states, peacebuilding, development and power-sharing in the African context. In this chapter, we shall look at democratization and how good governance can bring about development in States often referred to as fragile States. I begin this chapter by briefly clarifying these concepts: development, democratization, human rights and good governance.

### **3.1 DEVELOPMENT**

Development is all encompassing and is referred to as one of the most ambiguous terms in social science discourse (Majekodunmi Aderonke, 2012:65). It refers to advancement or growth, and includes economic growth and the development and delivery of social welfare, education, healthcare, the alleviation of inequality and poverty, as well as the provision of service-related infrastructure. Viewing development in general terms to include political, economic and social dimensions, Majekodunmi cites Amartya Sen's concept of development which according to him, connotes 'capacity expansion,' (see Majekodunmi Aderonke 2012:65; Amartya Sen 1990).

Arguing that development requires an enhanced state capacity as well as institutional and governmental stability, Majekodunmi maintains that it is only within such framework that individual members of the society can find fulfillment in terms of the basic necessities of life (2012:65). In addition, she cites Todaro (1989) who conceptualized development as a multidimensional process which involves major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, national institutions, acceleration of economic growth, reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty, and Rodney (1972) who sees development to imply both increase in output and changes in the technical and institutional arrangement by which it is produced, (see Majekodunmi Aderonke 2012:65). The structural dimension of development is very important. When the structural dimension is neglected, especially when wrong structures are in place, all efforts to achieve the development agenda may end up in futility.

### **3.2 DEMOCRATIZATION**

Democratization is simply transitioning to a stable democracy. It entails practical political reforms that strengthen the principles of democracy. Shola Omotola (2007:250) defines it as “a process of movement from authoritarianism to a stable democracy.” On the other hand, Majekodunmi, Aderonke quotes the definition of Potter, D (2000:368) thus:

A political movement from less accountable to more accountable government; from less competitive (or no-existent) elections to fuller and fairer predicted civil and political rights; from weak (or non-existent) autonomous associations to more numerous associations in civil society. Democratization is not just a movement, but a commitment to ending

tyranny, misappropriation of public fund, political hooliganism and insanity, and the promotion and solidification of peace in the society,( see also Majekodunmi, Aderonke (2012:64).

Democratization is making democracy work. It entails making democracy efficient in a country where it has been adopted. However, it must be noted that democratization requires vision, commitment, patience and hard work, because it does not happen automatically. For that reason, Charles C. Hauss (August 2003) asserts that, “Democratization takes time because it requires the development of new institutions and widespread trust in them, which almost never happens quickly.”

### **3.3 HUMAN RIGHTS**

Human rights are those fundamental rights that everyone deserves, like right to life, education, expression, association, etc. The discussion on development and good governance will be incomplete without introducing human rights issues into the discussion. Human rights issues are paramount in any viable development agenda. Every human being has the right to be treated with dignity, respect, and to contribute towards the decision that affects his/her life.

### **3.4 GOOD GOVERNANCE**

Like other hotly contested concepts, the definitions of governance vary. Weiss, T. (2000:795) highlights some of these varied definitions. According to him:

Governance denotes the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development to the OECD.

On the other hand, the UNDP views governance as the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affair at all levels. This comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.

Thus, achievement of the objectives of good governance is heavily dependent on the caliber and orientation of the political leaders in government and a competent, well trained, and motivated public service. Good governance includes “both a broad reform strategy and a particular set of initiatives to strengthen the institutions of civil society with the objective of making government more accountable, more open and transparent and more democratic (Minogue, 1997:4)”.

From the World Bank definition, good governance can be guaranteed on a platform of a plural democratic system and a public service that can work and achieve results. Also, this becomes very fundamental and imperative when viewed against the backdrop of massive deterioration of government institutions, pervasive poverty and widespread unemployment, corruption, as well as the near total collapse of moral and ethical standards engendered by nearly three decades of military rule in the country, which saw governance capacity weakened at all levels (World Bank, 2002; Ujomu, 2004).

Good governance involves accountability and transparent checks and balances. It encompasses the rule of law, active participation, respect of human rights, effective access to knowledge, equity, political empowerment, among other factors. It stands to

help a country achieve its desired sustainable development and social justice. Good governance is the premise upon which participatory development is built.

### **3.5 LINKING GOOD GOVERNANCE, HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT**

Good governance, human rights and development are mutually connected or linked. The interconnection between good governance, human rights and development has been made directly or indirectly by the international community in a number of declarations and other global conference documents. For example, the Declaration on the Right to Development was formerly declared by the United Nations General Assembly in 1986 (Khurshid, I, 2007:1). The declaration states that every human person and all peoples “are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development” (article 1). According to Rachel Gisselquist (2012:1):

...human rights principles inform the content of good governance efforts: they may inform the development of legislative frameworks, policies, programmes, budgetary allocations and other measures. On the other hand, without good governance, human rights cannot be respected and protected in a sustainable manner. The implementation of human rights relies on a conducive and enabling environment. This includes appropriate legal frameworks and institutions as well as political, managerial and administrative processes responsible for responding to the rights and needs of the population.

Gisselquist further organizes the links between good governance and human rights around four areas:



### **Democratic Institutions:**

Here, she asserts that when led by human rights values, good governance reforms of democratic institutions create avenues for the public to participate in policymaking either through formal institutions or informal consultations. They also establish mechanisms for the inclusion of multiple social groups in decision-making processes, especially locally. Also, they may encourage civil society and local communities to formulate and express their positions on issues of importance to them.

### **Service Delivery**

Gisselquist states that in delivering state services to the public, good governance reforms advance human rights when they improve the state's capacity to fulfil its responsibility to provide public goods which are essential for the protection of a number of human rights, such as the right to education, health and food. In addition, reform initiatives may include mechanisms of accountability and transparency, culturally sensitive policy tools to ensure that services are accessible and acceptable to all, and paths for public participation in decision-making.

### **Rule of Law**

According to her, human rights-sensitive good governance initiatives reform legislation and assist institutions ranging from penal systems to courts and parliaments to better implement that legislation. Here, good governance initiatives may include advocacy for legal reform, public awareness-raising on the national and international legal framework, and capacity-building or reform of institutions.

### **Anti-Corruption**

In fighting corruption, the above scholar asserts that good governance efforts rely on principles such as accountability, transparency and participation to shape anti-corruption measures. Such initiatives may include establishing institutions such as anti-corruption commissions, creating mechanisms of information sharing, and monitoring governments' use of public funds and implementation of policies.

Well planned democratization process can foster good governance, human rights and sustainable development. In democratizing societies, the conceptual vehicle that connects the elements of social change described above is democratic practices which the political leadership must spread across the institutional landscape of governance. Hence, democratized governance institutions would mean building institutions and rules that are not just efficient but also fair, and that are developed through a democratic process in which all people have a real political voice. Foremost among these institutions are; independent but dependable electoral system to superintend democratic transition, and the institutionalization of an enduring legislative system to provide the legal framework for democratic good governance.

### **3.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter discussed the relationship between democratization, good governance, human rights and development. Having explained briefly, the conceptual bearings of these terminologies, this chapter further highlighted their interconnectedness and relevance in achieving a sustainable development in a nation. It gathered among

other things, that every effort to promote good governance must respect human rights, and also rely on accountability, transparency and the participation of the people who are supposedly, stakeholders in decision-making and in the overall development planning, monitoring and implementation.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES OF DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the previous chapter, we discussed about democratization, good governance, human rights and development. We also attempted to link these together in order to show how inseparable they might be in the development of a country. In this chapter, we look at various African perspectives of democracy and development. The result is intriguing.

#### **4.1 DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIND OF AFRICA**

The Western approach to the study of Africa has drawn significant criticism from Africans. Issa G. Shivji (1989: 12-13) highlights the pitfalls of the debate on democracy in Africa, arguing that it was stimulated by the unabashed celebration of liberalism, and that it lacks faith in the masses. On the contrary, Claude Ake's contribution is an analysis of the relationship between democracy and development in Africa (Ake, Claude, 1996:173), which seeks to give a more informed analysis of the African crises of governance, especially as it relates to democracy and development. He

examines the internal and external constraints of democracy and development from colonial to independent Africa.

According to Ake (1991: 1), “The assumption so readily made that there has been a failure of development [in Africa] is misleading. The problem is not so much that development has failed as that it was never really on the agenda in the first place.”

The thrust of his argument is that political issues constitute the greatest impediment to development in Africa, and seeks to demonstrate how ‘politics underdevelop Africa.’

Another critical issue examined by Ake (1991), is the place of power and the struggles and agitation over its control in Africa. He illustrates how power tussle has not allowed African leaders to adopt an effective development agenda in their respective countries. Power has consequently been made an end in itself, a social artefact, which determines other values to be aspired. And, because the prime objective of the ruling elites is to gain political power, the control of the State tends to be the essential motive of most African leaders, not for the sake of democracy and development, but for self interest.

Terms such as ‘democracy’ and ‘development’ have a long standing dwindling record in the African context. To put forward, African experience of democracy is quite paradoxical and ambiguous. Over 40 years ago, Maxwell Owusu made an attempt to explain the cause of political instability and other social problems which include authoritarian and military order, and how to make liberal democracy possible. He realized that such occurrences were not new to the continent, tracing it to 1960s, prominently known as the era of civil unrest, when there were coups, the rise of one-

party states, military rule, and the overthrow of western-style of democratic institutions. However, it dawned on him that most countries of Africa would likely welcome back the western system of democracy (1971: 68-76).

The intensification of the struggle for democracy in the 1980s stirred up the interest of African scholars to the question of democracy in the continent (see Archie Mafeje, 1999:3). Although there were exceptions, notably, Botswana, The Gambia, Mauritius, Senegal, Zimbabwe, studies show that repeated attempts to introduce and sustain democratic government from the 1960s through the 1980s faltered (see Naomi Chazan, 1994:59; John A. Wiseman, 1996:1).

Despite this short list of African states which claimed to be democratically governed, it was observed that Zimbabwe was soon delisted when President Mugabe declared his intention to introduce a Marxist-Leninist single-party in the country in 1990 (see Jonathan N. Moyo, 1992). Some express scepticism over the democracy in Africa. According to Wiseman (1996:2),

To say that democratic systems predominated in Africa would be an exaggeration but to say that there had been a quite remarkable movement in that direction was incontestable, notwithstanding the existence of a number of states (most notably, Angola, Rwanda, and Burundi) where the initial momentum had been reversed.

The nation of Angola had a renewed civil war after a temporary cessation of fight following a peace agreement and competitive elections (see Inge Tvedten, 1997:6-11). Also, the government of President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda insisted that 'no-party democracy' should remain in place until the end of the century (see Oloka Onyango, 1991:125-141).

On the other hand, Nigeria is said to have had a relatively democratic elections in 1992 and 1993, but faltered later as a result of military misconduct and refusal to surrender power (Anthony, A. Akinola, 1990:309-327). Similar case was found in Sierra Leone (see Zack-Williams, A. and Stephen, Riley, 1993:91-98). Having gained her independence from Ethiopia in May 1993, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which was the country's transitional government, pledged to proceed in the direction of a multi-party system (Wiseman, 1996:2).

Nzongola-Ntalaja (1998) argues that there are controversies concerning the feasibility of democracy and democratic governance in contemporary Africa. On the other hand, Ukpokodu (1997) observes that most African nations tend to shift back and forth between three types of government systems, namely: democratic, semi-democratic, and authoritarian. Based on this argument, Lexi Shechtel (2010:48) states that "democracy in Africa is a relatively new and often unstable institution."

The popular movement for democracy in Africa is said to have revolved around three major demands namely: Abolition of the one-party state in favour of democratic pluralism; decentralization of power –greater local autonomy; and respect for human rights and the rule of law by African governments (Mafeje, 1999:3). These demands, according to Mafeje, were a revulsion against African governments that had become unbearable and oppressive.

It must be clearly stated here that respect for human rights and the rule of law remains a great challenge for the African government to achieve. Drawing from a human rights-based approach, Idowu (2008:27) asserts that democracy and development will ever remain most paramount in the affairs of all nations which cherish

liberty and good governance. Although the manifestation of true democracy exists much in theory in most countries of Africa, including Nigeria, Idowu points out that “Nigerians have come to realize that genuine concern for human rights and democracy is a viable option for attaining effective development.”

Critics argue that neither the democratic reforms and democracy assistance policies which was first directed at multiparty elections and political parties, nor the donor shift to a broader approach of good governance and human rights, have addressed the institutional context of multi-party competition, characterized by the fusion of powers and a powerful presidency (see Oda Van, Cranenburg, 2011:443-444). Recent examples of powerful presidency in Africa could be seen in countries like Equatorial Guinea, Zimbabwe, Egypt, and Cameroon. It is difficult to justify the existence or practice of democracy in these countries. Democracy assistance provided in these countries, and many other African countries, has not yielded sufficient positive results.

Cranenburg asserts that African democracy is often based on a particular set of institutions which tend to concentrate power in the executive. He reveals that the fragmented nature of democracy assistance makes it difficult to identify the core goals, strategies, implementation, and to assess their results, and argues that explicit attention to the institutional context of multiparty competition remains largely absent in democracy promotion policies. According to Cranenburg, most African political systems represent a ‘hybrid regime’ type –a type of regime that combines elements of presidential and parliamentary systems of government. Thus, his contribution tends to address the institutional problem present in African political systems, which according to him, is at the heart of liberal democracy (2011: 445-446).



Like Africa, every existing democracy faces its own challenge. Right from its origin, democracy has passed through stages of change and has been modified several times. The governments and people of the older democracies might conceal the reality. However, when closely studied one would realize that what exists in theory is practically incomplete. What works for one might not work for the other. One of the problems Africa is suffering from today, is as a result of imitation, or put differently, over-copying. Most African governments tend to copy from the West who is more developed as a result of early industrialization and well established and diversified governing structures.

#### **4.2 LIBERAL OR SUBSTANTIVE DEMOCRACY?**

Gabrielle, Lynch and Gordon Crawford posit that Sub-Saharan African countries are more democratic today than in the late 1980s. However, they call for more meaningful processes of democratization that aim not only at securing civil and political rights, but also socio-economic rights and the physical security of Africans, Gabrielle, L. and Gordon C. (2011:275-310). Mubangizi, John, C. (2010:188-204) adds that respect of the rights of the people and the guarantee of equal opportunity for all people must be included in the democratic process.

In his essay on *African Theory of Democracy*, Ademola Kazeem, F. (2006: 105-106) highlights the difficulty encountered in translating the concept of democracy into a functioning organ in different societies; especially as it relates to development. The liberal democrats contend that Africans see democracy in liberal and procedural terms,

stating that Africans put the protection of civil liberties uppermost in their definition of democracy across time and space (see Bratton, Michael, and Wonbin Cho, 2006).

I strongly disagree with the views above, because African promotion of liberal and procedural understandings of democracy is not as pervasive as some literature on democratization suggest. It must be stated clearly here, that there is currently a dramatic shift from liberal view to substantive view of democracy in Africa. The urgent demand for access to basic needs by Africans, and the quest for participation in governance and decision-making processes cannot be ignored or denied in the discourse of democracy in Africa. For instance, Claude Ake sees democracy as a prerequisite to development in Africa, drawing a closer relationship between democracy and development (1990:2). He further articulates in his essay that:

The process towards democracy must be shaped by the singular reality that those whose democratic participation is at issue are the ordinary people of Africa ...so long as this fact is kept steadily in focus, democracy will evolve in ways that will enhance its meaning ...But it will be quite different from the contemporary version of liberal democracy, indeed, different enough to elicit suspicion and even hostility from the international community that currently support African democratization –(Ake, Claude1993:239-244).

Sharing the same view with Claude, P. A. Nyong'o asserts that:

There is a definite correlation between the lack of democratic practices in African politics and the deteriorating economic condition. If governments are not accountable to the people they govern, then they are very likely to engage in socio-economic practices which are not responsive to people's needs. Questions of development and problems of economic crises cannot therefore be meaningfully discussed without discussing problems regarding the nature of state power, the form of popular participation in the processes of government and the question therefore, of democracy (Nyong'o 1990:360).

Disagreeing with Ake and Nyong'o, Ademola, Kazeem F. (2009:106) argues that "democracy is no guarantee for development," given that when looked at from an aspect of the economy, it would be observed that the economic condition of a state can either be a potential cause or consequence of democracy, rather than as a feature of democracy itself. According to him, "...when governance is sufficiently democratic – that is, infused with the principles of participation, rule of law, transparency and accountability, among others –all things being equal, it could go a long way toward improving the economy of a state."

I think, Ademola quite misunderstood Ake and Nyong'o's points, because he is not too far from their school of thought. By definition, democracy denotes 'a rule by the people' because it promotes the participation of local citizens in building their nation for the benefit of all. When the citizens fail to participate in decisions concerning their national development, who would do it and for whom? Would the people whose future is at stake be satisfied when they are isolated in mapping and executing their national development agenda? Would this decision lead to economic development, among other things? What Ake and Nyong'o propose is quite different from the contemporary version of liberal democracy. They draw a closer relationship between citizens' equal participation in governance and decision-making, and the importance of government accountability. Democracy and development are intertwined. However, results may vary depending on where the democracy is practiced (in developed, developing or underdeveloped country).

Liberal democracy stresses equality, but neglects the relevance of economic justice which is equally paramount for decent livelihood. Adejumobi Said (2000:9)

stresses that “liberal democracy especially as it canvassed for Third World countries weighs high in the claim for civil and political rights, but very silent, if not against socio-economic rights.” The vast majority of Africans do not have access to basic needs –food, shelter, healthcare, and many more. In this state, Africans demand that democracy delivers their basic needs. For example, Awa, Eme (1991) pinpoints that democracy must be made to deliver some economic empowerment and a higher state of living for the people. In other words, if democracy fails to make the basic needs accessible to the people, it loses its credibility.

Based on the above discussion, democracy and development have been observed to be mutually reinforcing (see Igbuzor, Otiye and Edigheji, Omano, 2003; Edigheji, Omano 2005:4-5). According to these scholars, the quest and struggle of the African people for democratic governance does not only focus on ending repressive and autocratic governments, but embodies the improvement of their socio-economic conditions satisfactorily. Following these thoughts, Edigheji writes that:

Citizens are able to exercise real choice after they have overcome poverty, squalor or ignorance, as these constitute constraints on freedom and equality. In other words, social, economic and political empowerments are mutually inclusive. Embedded in such conception is citizens’ active participation as a necessary requirement in the development and governance process – (2005:5).

Contributing to the debate on democracy and development in Africa, Abdi, Ali A. and others (2005:459-460) iterate that rather than party politics and protectionism which exist in the African context, democracy thrives in a nation where political rights and the rule of law are given priority, and the people are allowed to participate in political, social, and economic decisions regardless of their race, gender, ethnicity, and

affiliations. In addition, they observe that most African leaders are hostile to democracy, given that they ‘reject democratic values based on equality and respect of alternative opinion.’

Nyerere J. (1998:27) contends that “democracy means much more than voting on the basis of adult suffrage every few years; it means (among other things), attitudes of toleration and willingness to co-operate with others on terms of equality.” Sharing this view, Adejumobi Said opines that:

The democratic aspirations of the African people is not only confined to the arena of political democracy (of elections, and granting of civil and political rights), but involves the demand for economic empowerment, better living standards, and adequate social welfare (2000:2).

To Adejumobi, democracy is only meaningful when it delivers socio-economic goods. As such, he suggests linking political democracy to socio-economic development for a better outcome.

The economic aspect of democracy cannot be overemphasized. People have to be economically empowered to access their basic needs. To have shelter, attain the highest point of education, care for oneself and the family, require economic empowerment. Zuern, Elke asserts that “social and economic rights are central to democracy’s success” (2009:586). It is very important to map-out the democracy agenda which would create enough space for people to participate concretely in the decisions for national development which would enhance their lives presently and for the future. Thus, democracy has to facilitate people’s empowerment, promote equality and fairness in resource distribution and power.

Employing a substantive definition of democracy which includes social and economic criteria alongside electoral procedures and civil and political rights, Zuern brings the issues of poverty and material inequality to the centre of the analysis, thereby explaining the challenges to the institutionalization of democratic regimes, which the procedural understandings fail to capture. His argument follows that a country must meet the above criteria to be deemed democratic. He engages with a key argument made in a number of Afrobarometer studies which shows the resonance of substantive understanding of democracy in Africa, despite the fact that it is misconstrued with liberal and procedural views. However, he affirms that these substantive expectations have profound implications both for theoretical approaches to questions of democratization, as well as the practical development of new democracies (see Zuern, Elke, 2009:587).

### **4.3 CONCLUSION**

This chapter examined different African perspectives of democracy and development. It highlighted the ideological confusion and frustration among Africans who have made effort to establish their points with regard to what the phenomena represent in the context of Africa. From the ongoing, three points could be drawn: firstly, many African governments tend to imitate the West by adopting liberal democracy, without first identifying and fulfilling the preconditions that led to the successful democracy and societal development it enjoys. The West made earlier effort in the areas of economic development, which was facilitated by industrialization, well

established and functioning social structure, and the quality participation of the local citizens.

Secondly, there is a clash of thought, misunderstanding and misinterpretation among African scholars who have made an attempt to register their perspectives in the discourse of democracy and development. Whereas some have registered impressive points, some are rather, sceptical. Finally, Africans demand for a substantive democracy –the democracy that economically empowers them and delivers their basic needs; the accountable and transparent democracy that gives them access to contribute equally towards the development of their nations, rather than the theoretical and unfulfilling promises of liberal democracy. Although some misconceive the meanings, this is as a result of the ideological confusion spread by some African intellectuals. The point remains that what Africans demand for, is not only a democracy that gives them the opportunity to vote equally, but the one that allows them to participate actively in proffering solutions to the major problems confronting them, thereby developing their nations.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **NIGERIA, DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT**

#### **5.0 INTRODUCTION**

In chapter four, we discussed about African perspectives of democracy and development. We discovered the confusion that exists in Africa in an attempt to understand, absorb and practice democracy and development in the continent. In this chapter, our main focus shall be on Nigeria, which is our case study. We shall take a closer look at democracy and the state of development in Nigeria.

#### **5.1 DEMOCRACY, POLITICS AND ETHNIC DIVIDE IN NIGERIA**

Democracy as a system that guarantees freedom and general well-being, when put in good use, will bring about development. It encourages the citizens to take part in the political process and at different levels through different means. Democracy has been in use in the tradition of western political thought since ancient times. Almost all countries of the world look forward to electing their members to occupy one office or the other and the citizens are encouraged to take part either to stand for election (contesting) or voting for those that are contesting.

Also, democracy encourages the people to take part in electing those that occupy various offices in the country. Election affords the people the opportunity to express themselves by electing their representatives. For fifteen years, Nigeria has witnessed uninterrupted democratic governance which critics say is also bedeviled with



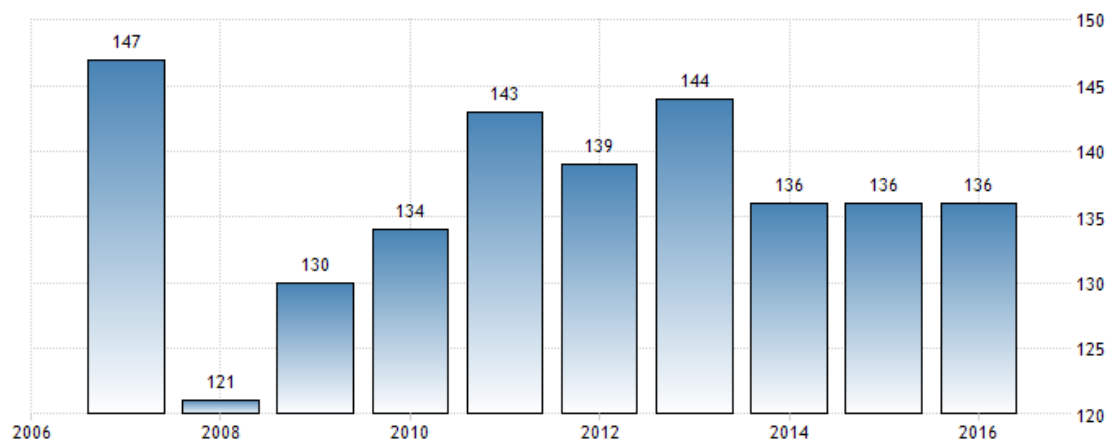
the negative tendencies which crippled earlier attempts to democratize the country. At this stage it might be necessary to examine some of the endemic problems plaguing the democratic process in Nigeria.

### **5.1.1 Corruption**

According to Vito, Tanzi (1998:8), corruption signifies the abuse of public power for private benefit. In Nigeria, bribery is the most common form of corruption. It is a token in form of money or gift intended to influence the recipient's conduct. Bribery is very common in Nigeria, and is practiced mostly, by government officials. In politics, corruption undermines democracy and good governance, given that government officials are prone to flouting routine processes. Corruptly elected representatives distort representation in policy making and this hinders accountability. Corruption erodes the powers of governments to follow laid down procedures, as short-cuts are employed to siphon resources, and public offices are allotted to cronies, thus flouting formal processes.

The discovery of petroleum and natural gas in Nigeria only helped to elevate the level of corruption in the country. In 2016, Nigeria ranked 136<sup>th</sup> on the corruption index.

### Nigeria's Corruption Rank



Source: Tradingeconomics.com, 2016

Corruption is a cancerous problem militating against the development of Nigeria. Politicians and public administrators are always looking for how to fill their pockets at the expense of others. This explains the reason why the tax administration lacks transparency which has either led to high level of tax evasion or tax officials demanding bribes in return for lower tax rates.

The police are not left out. They are perceived to be one of the most corrupt people in Nigeria. Rather than making life easier and more secure for the people, the Police Force abuses its power by using it against the people, thereby making life insecure for the entire population. A police officer who ought to discharge his/her duty on the highway or at the station, stops drivers to collect money or bread and drinks from them without doing the proper thing.

### 5.1.2 Insecurity

Insecurity is a feeling of unprotectedness, vulnerability, unsafe and helplessness. Moreover, the link between insecurity and development is a complex, but indisputable one. In 1995, the Commission on Global Governance (1995: 84-85) proposed that the following be used as norms for security policies in the 'new era':

- All people, no less than states, have a right to a secure existence, and all states have an obligation to protect those rights;
- The primary goals of global security policy should be to prevent conflict and war and to maintain the integrity of the planet's life-support systems by eliminating the economic, social, environmental, political and military conditions that generate threats to the security of the people and the planet, and by anticipating and managing crises before they escalate into armed conflicts;
- Military force is not a legitimate political instrument, except in self-defence or under the auspices of the United Nations;
- The development of military capabilities beyond that required for national defence and support of UN action is a potential threat to the security of the people;
- Weapons of mass destruction are not legitimate instruments of national defence;

- The production of and trade in arms should be controlled by the international community.

The principles advocated by the Commission on Global Governance in 1995 clearly pointed towards changing perceptions of what constitutes security. This coincided with the emergence of human security – a security paradigm that is vested in the belief that the state-centred security thinking of the Cold War era has become insufficient for coping with the challenges of today’s security landscape (Werthes and Bosold, 2004: 1).

Insecurity is one of the major threats to peace and development in Nigeria as a result of weak security system. Its origin is traceable to the birth of Nigeria as a nation. In a country with about 250 different ethnic affiliations, the fear of one ethnic group dominating the other has been a constant cause of uprising in the country. Thus, ethno-religious conflict is paramount, and all leadership tussles in the country tend more towards ethnic outlook instead of who is best suitable for the job.

The 2016 Human Development Report for Nigeria lists that unchecked poverty, persistent hunger, uncontrolled diseases, lack of access to basic services, disregard for human rights, among others, pose serious threat to human development in the country (UNDP, 2016). According to the report, the most secure geopolitical zone in the country is the South-East, while the North-West and the North-East geopolitical zones are the least secured. The North-East has been the most affected by the Boko Haram insurgency. It is also among the least developed parts of the country.

The literacy level is low and unemployment and crime are high. This emphasizes the local slogan that “an idle mind is the devil’s workshop”. The illiteracy rate is very high in the far north where the unemployed, uneducated youths become a veritable tool in the hands of the few rich to cause uprising. These uneducated young minds are easily engaged in election rigging and other illicit activities. Because they are unemployed and uneducated, they are tools in the hands of religious fanatics who even teach them that western education is sin as demonstrated by the Boko Haram Sect.

This trend also replicated itself in the South-South Region of Nigeria where oil and gas abound in large quantity. The oil was drilled and revenue accruing from it was used to build the sky scrapers at Lagos and Abuja. The rich in their region garnered all the revenues that accrued to the people and the majority who were to benefit from the wealth of the region wallowed in abject poverty. The scenario only changed when the youths took to the streets and disrupted the activities of the major oil companies and also crippled the mega-bucks that oil produced for the nation. They called themselves militants and until massive training programs were rolled out for them and a general amnesty granted them, the nation did not have peace.

The political unrest in the north–eastern part of Nigeria is caused by poverty. Hence, the political class often uses this class of people (the poor) to rig elections and on their part, the ruled lose faith in the electoral process because they never benefit from the dividends of democracy. They are only used to oppress the poor and underprivileged people by most members of the ruling class who are simply holding public offices to enrich themselves. Despite a robust economic growth between 2010 and 2014, data

shows that a large proportion of Nigerians still live in abject poverty. An estimated 61% of Nigerians are still classified as poor, with 48.8% of them classified as multi-dimensionally poor (UNDP, 2016).

### **5.1.3 Political Instability**

Larry Diamond (2004:1) asserts that democracy is a means for the people to choose their leaders and to hold their leaders accountable for their policies and their conduct in office. According to him, the people decide who will represent them in parliament, who will head the government at the national and local levels, and they do so by choosing between competing parties in regular, free and fair elections.

For an election to be free and fair, a lot of preparations are made, such as training of political parties, electoral officials and the electoral monitors. Independent observers must be involved at the voting centres as well as the vote collation centres. Different parties are disposed to present their proposals and manifestos to the people both directly and through the local and national news media. Over the years, it has been discovered that most parties present identical proposals to the electorate. This makes it difficult for a voter to distinguish between what party A has to offer as different from that of party B. This is quite misleading and discouraging. What the political parties do is to pressurize and in some cases, intimidate people into voting them to office.

There are about 56 political parties in Nigeria, each struggling to become relevant. Some label the other parties or even political opponents as evil and the activities of the opposing political parties as illegitimate. In 2014, the Governor of

Adamawa State, Murtala Nyako was impeached by the State House of Assembly. Having been sworn in as the new Governor of the State, Governor Al-Makura was also threatened of impeachment. Reacting to this, President Muhammadu Buhari accused the former President, Goodluck Jonathan of waging a war against Nigeria by using “the commonwealth to subvert the system” (Adetayo, O. and Isenyo, G. 2014:3).

In the Nigerian constitution (1999), there are specific clauses detailing impeachment offences as it concerns the executive governors of the states and the presidency. Whenever the excesses of state governors are highlighted and punishments meted by the legislative arms of government, their political parties react as if these governors are sacrificial lambs. The Director of communications and strategy of Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN), Dr. Udentia, suggested that the institutions of democratic governance should be responsive, especially, whenever any process of impeachment was deemed faulty. He went further to warn against the growing culture of political self-help in the form of protests and demonstrations stating that it was capable of retarding the nation’s democratic development (Oloko, F. 2014).

Since the kidnap of Chibok girls on 10th April 2014 in Chibok town, Bornu State, there has been series of dissenting opinions among the ruling class in Nigeria. While some party officials accuse the former President Goodluck Jonathan of indifference to the rescue process of the secondary school girls, others applaud his efforts at winning the sympathies of such countries and international organizations, like the United States of America, United Kingdom, Israel, Germany, China, the United Nations and even the African Union.

Although confronting the Boko Haram sect in the Sambisa Forest hide-out would involve the total elimination of some of the students whom they have kidnapped and used as human shield, these criminals can be apprehended by employing strategic measures. In a meeting with some of the students who escaped from the den of Boko Haram and representatives of the parents of the kidnapped girls in Abuja, on 22nd July 2014, the former President, Goodluck Jonathan assured them that efforts were being intensified to rescue the girls safely and tackle insurgency to a conclusive end (Onuorah, M. and Others, 2014:3).

Before this meeting, there were several accusations and counter accusations among the political parties, pressure groups, civil society organizations; each trying to outsmart the other in the war against terror in Nigeria. Until now, some of the kidnapped girls have not been rescued; political leaders are still blaming each other and the problems confronting the nation still persist.

## **5.2 PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND NIGERIA**

Agu Chinonyelum F. (2015:111) asserts that “democracy is distinguished from other forms of political system by certain principles, characteristics, procedures and institutional arrangements.” Below is an extract from the principles and characteristics of democracy presented by Agu Chinonyelem (2015:111- 112):

### **1. Government by Consent**

Government by consent is one of the principles of democracy presented by Agu. Here, he suggests that rational consent can be obtained by persuasion, although an



atmosphere of free discussion is required to achieve this. He opines that people can participate in decision making and discussions through the representative of the people in the legislature and at the public level where there is direct communication between the leadership and the people

## **2. Public Accountability**

Public accountability is one of the principles of democracy explored by Agu. Given that it is very important in the administration of any country, Agu Chinonyelum urges Nigerians to wake up to their civil responsibility by demanding public accountability from their leaders.

## **3. Majority Rule**

As a principle of democracy, this same source warns that there should not be discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, sex, place of birth, ownership of property and even educational qualifications, given that the principle of majority rule relies on the wisdom of the majority.

## **4. Constitutional Government**

Agu listed constitutional government as one of the principles of democracy. According to him, constitutional government means a 'government by law.' As such, he suggests that it is essential to have a well established law and constitution in order to maintain stability in a democratic government, (see Agu Chinonyeleum F. 2015:112).

### **5.3 THE ROLE OF INEC IN GENERAL ELECTION**

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is a very important government body in Nigeria commissioned to ensure that there is credibility in electoral processes in the country. However, Larry E. Udu (2015:96) observes that empirical evidences show that INEC has not been fully autonomous and non-partisan, given that it is insufficiently empowered to carry out its duties. It would be helpful to understand the mandates of the INEC as stipulated in part one of the third section of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Below are the mandates of INEC as adapted from the work of Larry E. Udu (2015:99-100):

1. To organize, undertake and supervise all the elections to the offices of the President and Vice-president, the Governor and Deputy Governor of a state, and to the membership of the Senate, the House of Representatives and the House of Assembly of each state of the federation;
2. To register political parties in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and an Act of the National Assembly;
3. To monitor the organization and operation of the political parties, including their finances;
4. To arrange for the annual examination and auditing of the funds and accounts for political parties, and publish a report on each examination and audit for public information;

5. To arrange and conduct registration of persons qualified to vote, and prepare, maintain and revise the register of voters for the purpose of any election under this constitution;
6. To monitor political campaigns and provide rules and regulations which shall govern the political parties;
7. To ensure that all Electoral commissioners, Electoral and Returning officers take and subscribe to the oath of office prescribed by law;
8. To delegate any of its powers to any Resident Electoral Commissioners; and
9. To carry out such other functions as may be conferred upon it by an Act of the National Assembly (see INEC, 2015).

The conduct and performance of the INEC during elections is not usually satisfactory. Voting materials usually arrive very late at the voting centres, which makes it difficult for citizens to cast their votes. People usually run out of patience, especially, the senior citizens who cannot stand for a long time. Also, the attitude of the electoral staff who exhibit non-challant behaviours and sluggishness, make people leave the voting centers with anger. The implication, being that the prospective voters would end up not casting their votes. As soon as voters leave the scene, the opportunity to rig the election by electoral thieves becomes high. However, if INEC is truly empowered to discharge its duties with honesty, the results will be better.

## **5.4 DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN NIGERIA**

In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted and made a proclamation on Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The declaration centered on the ontological and inherent dignity, equality of human beings, and inviolable and inalienable rights of all human. Since human beings have moved from state of nature to organized civil society, certain institutions are needed to secure and protect those inviolable and inalienable rights.

Human Rights are inherent and intrinsic to all human beings regardless of nationality, sex, ethnicity, origin, colour or any other status. These rights can be protected in a functional democratic setting that anchors its foundation in the rule of law. In democracy, the rule of law protects the rights of individuals, preserves order, and limits powers of government. In Nigeria's democracy, the reverse seems to be the case. Human rights are not respected. Extra-judicial killing, unlawful detention, and other series of human rights abuses are still prevalent in the country.

For human rights to be respected and upheld, rule of law must be active, practicable and functional. The guarantor of rule of law is democracy. It assures the preservation and protection of the rights of all human beings. The rule of law is one of the major parameters to judge any government in relation to its performance and governance. Hence, the government has to exercise its powers according to the law.

Indeed, adherence to the concepts of human rights and democracy are very important means of achieving peace, stability and development in this present world. Efforts are being made regional and internationally for the promotion of human rights

and democracy with a view to eradicating oppressive regimes, inequality, discrimination, and all that contribute negatively towards the advancement and protection of human dignity.

Democracy is meaningful in free and fair society where every person lives together in harmony and has equal chance and opportunity to take part in the process of governance. The fundamental rights of the citizens must be guaranteed and protected before they are able to invest their resources for effective democratization and development of their nation. In other words, the promotion of human rights is fundamental for a sustainable democracy and national growth and development.

#### **5.4.1 Fundamental Rights in Nigeria's Amended Constitution**

**Right to Life:** The 2011 Amended Constitution, Section 33 (1) states that every person has a right to life and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save in execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria.

**Right to Dignity of Human Person:** Section 34 (1) states that every individual is entitled to respect for the dignity of person, and Paragraph 'A' states that no person shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment. Paragraph 'B,' states that no person shall be held in slavery or servitude while Paragraph 'C,' states that no person shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour.

**Right to Personal Liberty:** Section 35(1) states that every person shall be entitled to his respect to liberty and no person shall be deprived of such liberty save in the following cases and in accordance with a procedure permitted by law.

**Right to Private Life:** Section 35(1) states that in the determination of civil rights and obligations including any question or determination by or against any government or author, a person shall be entitled to a fair hearing within a reasonable time by a court or other tribunal established by law and constituted in such manner as to cure its independence and impartiality.

**Right to Private and Family Life:** Section 37 guarantees and protects the privacy of citizens, their homes, correspondence, telephone conversations and telegraphic communications.

**Right to Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Religion:** Section 38(1) states that every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom (either alone or in community with others, and the public or in private) to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

**Right to Freedom of Expression and the Press:** Section 39(1) every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression, including freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart ideas, information without interference.

**Right to Peaceful Assembly and Association:** Section 40(1) states that every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons. The Place of Human Rights in Nigeria's democracy belongs to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interests.

**Right to Freedom of Movement:** Section 41(1) states that every citizen of Nigeria is entitled to move freely throughout Nigeria and to reside in any part thereof and no citizen of Nigeria shall be expelled from Nigeria or refused entry thereto or exit there from.

### **Right to Acquire and Own Immovable Property Anywhere in Nigeria**

Section 43 states that subject to the provisions of the constitution, every citizen of Nigeria shall have the right to acquire and own immovable property anywhere in Nigeria. All these rights have their restrictions or duties attached to them. In the defense of public interest, some of the rights may be denied.

### **The right to alter some of these rights resides in the court**

To buttress this point, Section 45(1) states that nothing in Sections 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41 of the constitution shall invalidate any law that is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society. Paragraph A added thus: in the interest of defense, public safety, public morality or public health; or for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedom of other persons, these are the conditions under which rights could be denied.

## **5.5 WOMEN AND YOUTHS IN NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT**

Women and youths constitute an important group in national development and peaceful transformation of the society in Nigeria. Their unique roles cannot be overemphasized. My intention in this section is to draw the attention of readers, researchers and the government on the inevitable role played by women and youths in Nigeria, and to encourage their full empowerment and participation in development and peace-related efforts in the country.

### **5.5.1 The Role of Nigerian Youths in National Development**

Without doubt, the development of any country is largely dependent on how productive and creative its youthful population is. Hence, the role of youths on national development cannot be ignored in national development discourse. This group represents the labour force required for production of goods and services. When their needs are met, youths can bring peace and stability in the country. According to Ozohu, S. (2006:97), youths are major determiners of peace and stability of a nation. On the other hand, Adeline, I. and Eme, O. (2015:53), argue that if Nigeria is to be sustained as a viable entity, there must be a very good plan to tap the energy and resourcefulness of the youth population to fast track economic development.

Nigeria has a massive youthful population with great untapped potentials. However, a lot of challenges impede their active involvement in the development of the nation. Some of the challenges include: employment, health and political participation. They have remained on the periphery of the country's affairs and their status has not



been accorded due recognition. The youths are usually excluded from designing, planning and implementing programmes and policies that affect them. Many of the youths who are productive and energetic remain unemployed, continue to suffer from poor health, and lack sufficient support. Some of them have special needs that require attention. These include those living on the streets, those living with HIV/AIDS and those with disabilities.

The National Youths Policy of Nigeria recognizes that the youths are a key resource that can be tapped for the benefit of the whole country (FGN, 2001:1). The place and importance of the Youths in the development process is clearly described by the Nigerian National Youths Policy in this way:

Youths are one of the greatest assets that any nation can have. Not only are they legitimately regarded as the future leaders, they are potentially and actually the greatest investment for a country's development. They serve as a good measure of the extent to which a country can reproduce as well as sustain itself. The extent of their vitality, responsible conduct, and roles in society is positively correlated with the development of their country (FGN, 2001).

The potentially important role of youths in Nigeria's development cannot be overemphasized. Youths could be a source of labor inputs as well as human capital in production, which would improve productivity in a region of the country where capital formation is limited. When employed, youths could be a reliable source of demand for the economy through their consumption activities. In addition, the Nigerian youths are crucial for the development of a new class of entrepreneurs that Nigeria needs to develop.

A nation cannot develop without the active participation of those who are capable of taking the nation to where it should be –the youths. Nation building is a dynamic process which involves including the often-overlooked and undermined youthful population. Youths represent a vast and often untapped resource for immediate and long-term community development and national development efforts. They also provide an invaluable resource for the progress of any society as well as its development and peaceful cohesion. When youths are brought into national issues and programmes and are empowered to lead in the positive change, they can participate actively and contribute to decision-making at multiple levels.

When youths are engaged in more sustained positive relationships with adults and fellow youths, apart from realizing that they are valued citizens of their nations, such collaborations and participation may lead to skill development, enhancement, empowerment and confidence-building, which will help prepare them for active involvement in nation building.

The total population of those between the ages of 15 and 34 in Nigeria was about 30 million in 1991, equivalent to one of every three Nigerians, (National Youth Policy, 2001:3). In 2006, a nation-wide population and housing census was conducted to update the records. It showed that the youth profile in the Nigerian population has tremendously improved to 53 million (NPC, 2006:1). Apart from the issue of numerical strength, global trend is towards emphasizing the primacy of youth in the developmental process, with deliberate efforts by national governments to create conditions that will encourage youth to utilize their energy and resourcefulness for growth and sustainable

development of their nations. It was in the light of this development that the Nigerian Youth Organizations in a memorandum maintained that:

Nigerian Youth must have a voice and must be given a greater say to contribute in the way he is governed and allowed to play greater role in leadership and governance so that at all times, he is properly equipped to assume the mantle of leadership which inevitably must come someday (National Youths Political Reform Conference, 2005:15).

However, the prevailing conditions in Nigeria, have seriously affected the proper harnessing of the potentials of the youths as agents of social change. These challenges range from economic, social to cultural. The poverty, illiteracy and unemployment in which the bulk of Nigerian youths are currently trapped, has severely challenged their sensibility and has in the long run given rise to anti-social behaviours in them, which are detrimental to their health and the development of the nation. The persistence of these social problems has created an environment where youths are cheaply available for manipulation by self-seeking politicians. Poverty, illiteracy and unemployment are interrelated conditions that generate human needs and therefore constitute a state of deprivation.

The government, having given due consideration to the significance of the youths in socio-political, economic and sustainable development, has found it most desirable, necessary and urgent to initiate the National Youths Development Policy so that there will be a purposeful, focused, well-articulated and well-directed effort aimed at tapping the energy and resourcefulness of the youths and harnessing them for growth and development of the country, (National Youths Political Reform Conference, 2005:17).

In the light of the foregoing, the crucial issue of creating an enabling environment for the youths to bring their productive capacity and resourcefulness to bear on the political and developmental process should be accorded priority attention. Given the right climate therefore, Nigerian youths in the political and development process should recognize that they are agents of political socialization. Rather than succumb to the unwholesome desires of selfish politicians to pervert the process of elections, by way of rigging, the youths should exhibit good conscience and insist on due process and fair play. There is an array of youth organizations with diverse and varied interest. They can begin to explore the political space to influence the decision-making process.

Unless young people are consulted and involved in the design of development strategies, they will not be able to contribute actively towards national political and sustainable development process. The participation of youths in decision-making is more than integrating young peoples' issues into existing policy paradigm (Amanda, 2003:6). Active participation in governance at all levels; including local government level is another process through which the youths can make their impact in the political and development process.

Meanwhile, the learning process that is so fundamental to political maturity must start from the grass-root. Grass-root politics will accord the youths the opportunity to identify with the masses, appreciate their problems and master the terrain. Finally, given their vulnerability, the youth has the greater responsibility to promote peace, security, stability and national unity. Through political education and public enlightenment campaign, advocacy, and their active involvement in the electoral process, they can

build bridges of understanding across ethnic groups, across political affiliations and religious divide.

Democracy and good governance can only be nurtured and sustained in an environment of peace, security and stability. Where these are lacking, it is not only democracy and good governance that suffer, but also social progress and the future of the youths is seriously compromised.

As an important component of the civil society, the youths have to be empowered. As they interact with other actors in the social system, the youth express their interest and needs; they relate with relevant political institutions and political processes to articulate their views and promote shared interest. There is an urgent need to educate and re-educate the Nigerian youths on their role. This will help position and provide youths with access to effective engagement in national development which is a way of incorporating them in the decision making process of the nation's governance, nation building activities where they are welcomed, with accurate and comprehensive information which will empower them to make healthy decisions.

The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) is a national programme in Nigeria, whereby youths are deployed to other States other than theirs to serve the nation, having completed a university degree programme. Following a quasi-military orientation period, Corps members are posted to their places of assignment where they are expected not only to work for eleven months in a regular job, but also to initiate community development projects in the areas they serve. Corps members serve in their professional areas. Agricultural graduates advise farmers on crops and pesticides, while English majors teach high school English. The government provides stipends for them.

After service, Corps members are brought together again to discuss their experiences, participate in a parade, and receive Certificates of National Service that entitle them to be employed in Nigeria. Although neither entering members nor their families like postings to distant parts of Nigeria, a study of ex-Corps members posted away from home showed that in retrospect, only one in ten viewed the experience as negative, with the rest judging it positive (Enegwea, G. 1993:13).

From my personal experience, I think the NYSC is a good programme. However, much still has to be done. Instead of ending the programme one year and sending the graduate youths to wallow in search of employment opportunities, which the vast majority of them do not find any, I suggest they should be retained by their employers in their various areas of specialization or deployment for the national assignment. This could reduce the number of unemployed youths.

### **5.5.2 The Role of Nigerian Women in National Development**

Over the years, Nigerian women have been relegated to the background in issues concerning development, especially in the development of the nation. However, historical evidences are available to prove that the Nigerian women have for long, been playing crucial role in political history of the country, as well as in the economic development of the nation. They are also vibrant peace makers and peace builders. Despite the difficulties faced by Nigerian women in politics, they continue with their political ambition, contributing enormously to the political and national development in their own way, regardless of the challenges militating against them.

One of the essential principles of successful development is the involvement and commitment of all the members of the society. Every group, irrespective of creed, class or sex, must have a part to play. The degree of cooperation and the extent of participation of members depend upon the general level of the people's awareness of their needs. Moreover, for any society to survive, both men and women have roles to play as members of the society. Men and women are created to live and work together for their betterment, and for the entire society. Normally, the development of any society demands the effort and commitment of every member. Put differently, every member of the society, including women, must be equipped with the knowledge, skills, and habits to be able to make his/her contribution towards the development of the society.

In Nigeria, women have played very important role in peacebuilding and in the development of the nation. Women over the years could be said to have recorded some measure of appreciable political achievement in other political fields of endeavors, meeting their political objectives with limited support and resources at their disposal. For example, during the pre-independence era of Nigeria in 1957, a couple of women political activists such as, Margaret Ekpo, Janet Mokelu and Ms. Young were members of the Eastern House of Assembly. The late Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, though not a full-fledged politician, was a very strong force to reckon with in the politics of the Western Region.

Also, Hajia Gambo Sawaba waged a fierce battle for the political and cultural emancipation of women in the North. In addition, evidence shows that notable women, such as Dr. Ngozi Okonjo Iweala, Late Professor Dora Akunyili, former Minister of

Information and Director of NAFDAC, Dr. Ndi Okereke Onyiuke, among others, remarkable impact in Nigeria, (See Ovute, A.O and others 2015:4).

Despite the difficulties faced by Nigerian women in politics, they continue with their political ambition, contributing enormously to the political and national development in their own way, regardless of the challenges militating against them. Women over the years could be said to have recorded some measure of appreciable political achievement in other political fields of endeavors, meeting their political objectives with limited support and resources at their disposal.

Presently, women are participating more actively in political issues than ever before as a result of political re-awakening and awareness. More often than not, they are confronted with challenges of discrimination. However, the General Babangida era marked a turning point in the history of women struggle in Nigeria, when Maryam Babangida institutionalized the office of the first lady in 1987. She became the first working First Lady and launched the “Better Life for Rural Women” program. According to Ovute, A.O. and others (2015:7), “women had tangible records of economic activities, largely in peasant societies where women made large contributions to community and national development.” The following areas have been identified by Ovute A. O. and others, 2015:7) as notable areas where women have contributed to national development:

**i.Grassroots solidarity:** According to the above authors, women’s grassroots initiative, groups and organizations are highly functional and supportive to communities and nations. They maintain that women organize themselves for wide-ranging purposes,



including mutual savings and loan systems, house construction and improvement, cooperative farming and marketing, as well as mobilizing funds for scholarship.

**ii. Food production:** Ovute and others observe that women have contributed to food production in Nigeria.

**iii. Food preservation and storage:** Apart from other roles played by women in Agriculture, the above authors assert that they participate in the cultivation of crops and livestock domestication, as well as in the preservation and storage of food crops, such as, African bread fruit, cassava, palm oil, and cocoyam.

Just like women across Burundi, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo have made significant impact in peacebuilding across Africa (El-Bushra, 2003: 12-29), Nigerian women have also played significant role in peacebuilding and other areas of conflict management, though, not too much compared to the role played by other women across Africa as aforementioned. It is important to note at this juncture that their role varies across the region, although there may be similarities. Their role could be grouped into these various categories:

### **1. Advocacy**

Building strategic alliance for the promotion of human rights;

Documentation of human rights abuses and dissemination of information

Promoting political participation of women

Working with the media

## **2. Community Outreach**

Peace education/training

Awareness creation

Mediation of conflict and resolution

## **3. Socio-cultural**

Group praying and fasting for positive results; use drama, songs and dance to inspire people and to prepare the atmosphere for peace, reconciliation and dialogue

## **4. Civil Disobedience/Nonviolent Protests**

One of Nigerian women's political consciousness and their ability to collectively champion their course was clearly manifested in the 1929 Aba women's riot, often described as the first Women's Liberation Movement in Africa (Leith-Ross, 1939: 20). The Aba women protested peacefully in 1929 against tax policies, high prices of imported goods, low prices of locally made goods, and the British appointed warrant chiefs and native courts. Their uprising ended the warrant chief system, and brought about change in the State (Mba, 1982: 29). Also, women of Abiriba town succeeded in bringing a two-year violent political crisis to an end in the 1990s when they organised themselves, deserting the town en masse until the protagonists of the crisis agreed to cease hostilities (International Alert, 2002: 17).

Chimaroke Otutubuike's narration of the vital role played by women in Abia State during an inter-communal conflict in the area in 1999 gives a clear picture of what

women can do when they are fully involved in any conflict resolution and peacebuilding (Chimaroke Otutubuike I. 2002: 61-63). The same author narrated the actions taken by the women thus:

March 1999, a regional health NGO, People against AIDS (PAAIDS) commissioned a study of local knowledge of AIDS amongst rural communities in Abia State, Nigeria. One of the sites for the survey was Ntighauzor Amairi (NA), a rural community of ten patrilineal villages. While the research team was at the study site, a conflict broke out between NA and a neighbouring community, Abala. Abala and NA are Igbo-speaking communities with two different, but mutually comprehensible dialects.

On several occasions, men from the two communities met to find a way of stopping this trend with very little success. On 7 April, a vigilante group from NA killed an Abala youth. They had caught him harvesting oil palms in NA land. This resulted in a bloody clash between the two Villages. After waiting for four days for peace to return, the overall head of NA arranged a meeting between the NGO and the heads of the component villages in his domain to discuss the crisis, its cause, and ways to initiate peace. Individual and group interviews involving guided dialogue techniques were used to probe the cause(s) of the clash, and local people's views on how peace could be achieved. Interviews were conducted with elderly men and women, women leaders, village heads, warriors, young men, and medicine men.

When the techniques adopted by the NGO could no longer work, the members decided to seek for the help of the women, because they had learnt that women could bring a war to an end by staging their famous *ogubie* (war end) march. Women stage the *ogubie* march naked and may well continue until their men lay down their arms. However, before the naked march is staged, the women carry out a pre-*ogubie* march to warn their husbands to stop fighting. The warning march comes seven days before the real *ogubie* parade begins. The women discussed the situation together and very soon realised how urgent it had become for peace to return. They decided to return home to convince other women of the need to stage the traditional pre-*ogubie* protest march.

Two days after this meeting, Abala women staged their pre-*ogubie* march and a day after, NA women followed suit. Knowing what naturally follows such protest marches, men from the two communities were forced to meet to finally resolve the crisis and agreeing that each community should: bear the full cost of burying her

dead person, and a monthly stipend of 2000 Naira (about US\$20) was given to the direct families of each of the dead persons. In addition, it was resolved that any oil palm thief caught should be fined with ten live goats, seven baskets of kolanuts, five bottles of dry gin, and 30 big tubers of yam, otherwise, the person would face ostracism in his/her community, (Chimaroke Otutubuike I. 2002:61-63).

Prior to the advent of civilian rule in the early 1990s, some women from Umuahia North Local Government Area marched to the Government House in protest against bad governance in the state, and the leadership of the state ordered the police force to attack the women with tear gas. This led to some of the women sustaining injuries. However, this violence against them did not discourage them from protesting peacefully whenever things go wrong in the state. On several occasions, female traders have locked up their shops, and have refused to buy or sell in the market to draw the attention of the government to issues such as inflation of the price of goods and services.

Also, a group of married daughters known as the *umuada* in Igboland play important role in traditional conflict prevention, management, and conflict resolution within the Igbo traditional setting. In Igbo communities, women have meetings or assemblies of their own, and such congregations have been rightly emphasized as the base of women's political power in traditional Igbo societies. It is a union of daughters married away to other villages and States, but still retains their ties with their communities of birth. They are well respected in Abia State, and often times, their decision stands as the final decision in any conflict or dispute resolution they are ever involved in.

Both as individuals and as a group, women in traditional Igbo society aired their views in the general village assembly meetings. They acted as a judicial body for settling disputes between the women and other members of the society. They intervened in marital disputes and effectively mobilized action against defaulting husbands, either by ridiculing them or by 'sitting on them.' Igbo women 'sit on' a man when they sit outside his compound, singing abusive songs, and refusing to quit until he agreed to their demands (Mba, 1982: 29). She also observed that they often resorted to threats to leave their husbands, or refused to cook for them and threatened to leave their village en masse when act of injustice was perceived to have been committed by the men.

Mba (1982: 29) opines that Igbo women's threats were often taken seriously by the men, and concerted efforts were made to prevent them from carrying out their threats. By virtue of their exogamous marriage (marriage outside ones immediate community), women maintained peace and order between their family of orientation (natal family) and family of procreation (marital family). As observed by Green (1947: 157), exogamous marriage among the Igbos was not only "the great factor mitigating the centrifugal force of Ibo [Igbo] separatism," but also the link through which village groups (men and women) could trade with one another, and in so doing, "enabled women to play the role of peacemakers in dispute between their natal and marital homes." This group of women mobilize themselves whenever there is problem in their paternal homes, and ensure that the problem is resolved amicably between the parties involved in the conflict.

A vivid summary of the role of Igbo women in the socio-political administration of the society was stated by Njaka (1974):

The *umuada* (women) are considered the custodians of the Constitutions. Any female born in a polity is the *ada* (daughter) of that unit. Although in general, women do not take part openly in most public affairs, they must not sit quietly when the constitution is violated and the land goes ablaze. At such times, the *umuada* do intrude in the affairs of the state and can impose sanctions-which may include heavy fines, sit-ins, and other measures. Certainly, the elders [male] will go to great lengths to avoid a confrontation with the *umuada*, and in this way, the women do indirectly exert a strong influence on the affairs of the State (123).

In addition, some women-based NGOs have registered credible contributions through their advocacy campaigns. Notably, the Girl Child Art Foundation (GCAF), Anambra State promotes the development of girls and women through a focus on girls and the arts. Through the NGO, girl children are empowered by facilitating their participation in arts-related skills trainings, talent hunts, conferences, workshops, poetry competitions, art festivals, concerts, and art exhibitions. All the events and activities organized by the organization aims at addressing issues of discrimination, and raising awareness around girls' education, rights of the girl child, child abuse, health, and HIV/AIDS.

Having been established in 2000, GCAF collaborates with local and international agencies and partners in executing its programmes with the primary objectives:

- To promote the health of the girl-child by using all forms of art as a medium of transferring information and raising awareness, with a focus on HIV/AIDS.
- To enhance the creative and imaginative abilities of the Nigerian youth, especially the girl child.

- To provide girls with education and basic skills by enhancing their talent through all forms of art literary, performing arts, and visual arts.
- To advocate for women and girls by providing and equipping them with the skills and knowledge to enhance their social rights.
- To work to prevent social ills against girls – for example , prostitution, child abuse, rape, early marriage, drug addiction, female genital mutilation, and all forms of discrimination;
- To organise training classes, workshops, seminars, conferences, and competitions towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs);
- To work with other non-governmental organisations (NGOs) having similar objectives, both within and outside the country; and
- To ensure that the initiative of the Foundation conforms with the provision of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria by pursuing at all times its stated educational, economic, social, and other objectives.

Also, the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), located in Anambra State has been promoting and defending the rights of women and children. In 2008, the NGO, embarked on an advocacy campaign to inform the community leaders, local authorities, and women constituents about the 2003 Child Rights Act, which aims at protecting children from trafficking, exploitation, and abuse, and to ensure its effective implementation. The women conducted educational programs in ten communities, hosted radio programs, printed posters and stickers, produced five thousand pamphlets with simplified versions of the law. FIDA still promotes the rights

of women and children, renders legal services to women and children, organizes enlightenment programmes for the entire populace, and offers legal advice and counselling services.

In 2002, the Nigerian Association of Women Journalists (NAWAOJ) Anambra State, in collaboration with Women's Aid Collective (WACOL) Enugu, organized series of workshops for women and youths through the help of the Democracy and Governance Program of the United States Embassy in Nigeria. The workshops with the theme, "Constitutional and Legislative Advocacy," were organized at the three Senatorial Zones of the State, to enlighten women and youths on the provisions of the constitution to enable them contribute to the ongoing review process in the country, and as well, to enforce their fundamental human rights (WACOL, 2008).

Consequently, the *umuada* in Anambra State play important role in the resolution of family or community disputes. They intervene whenever a husband maltreats his wife, or whenever couples experience marital crisis. They do this by counselling the couples, and by giving them good advices to strengthen their relationships. And because they are well respected in Igbo society, couples accept their instructions, and reconcile their differences.

Despite the role women have played in the development of Nigeria and in building peace in the country, there still exist barriers to their advancement. Women building peace in Nigeria face a number of constraints, including social factors, and organisational weaknesses. One of such social factors that challenge women's peacebuilding initiatives is the patriarchal cultures, including religion and gender ideologies which undermine women's rights and impede their activism for peace. The



Nigerian culture, just like other African cultures, places the woman under the man; hence she has to obey him, and must seek for his authorisation before embarking on any peace activism.

Some Christians misinterpret the Bible and dominate their wives in such a manner that the women find it difficult to get fully involved in any issues that affect their lives and the society at large. The traditional reconciliation mechanisms of the women seem to be part of the patriarchal society, and do not always offer alternative approaches to resolve all conflicts based on nonviolent methods.

Another factor challenging women's participation in community peace activism is threat from perpetrators of violence. The fears of uncertainties arising from community peace activism impede women's total engagement in it. This is because; some women have been beaten or threatened by sponsored gangs for participating in peace activism. As a result, most women dodge whenever there is a call for peace rally or the like.

Furthermore, lack of education and knowledge prevent some of the women from exploring advanced methods of conflict resolution. Most of the elderly women who head the women groups at the village or community level are illiterates, and are not humble enough to receive advices or better suggestions from the educated ones. Women often lack knowledge of their legal rights, both locally and in terms of international laws. For example, many women in Nigeria, especially those in the rural areas do not know their rights as women, and as Nigerian citizens. They do not have the knowledge of women's rights as spelt out in the Nigerian Constitution; neither do they know about

the regional provision of rights for women. As a result, they are abused, and their rights violated without them taking any legal action.

Moreover, they are often unfamiliar with the theory and practice of peace and non-violence, and have little experience of working in the public and political arena. The vast majority of them are farmers, traders, and are not bold in delivering public speeches or campaigning for their rights, or for peace; because, they are not used to having a public voice. For this reason, women often lack confidence in their political abilities and may be inhibited from participating in politics as a result of the fear of violence (including both domestic, public violence and threats). Women's unequal position in Igbo society in particular, and in Nigeria in general, places them as subordinate members of the society.

In addition, women's peacebuilding initiatives are constrained by other factors such as, lack of unity, united set of goals and strategies among the women. This can be seen whenever the women gather to explore possible ways to resolve conflicts, or to contribute to development. For example, women from some parts of the country often have different interests and goals whenever they want to execute any project. Often times, they argue right from the beginning of their meeting, until they end up achieving nothing at all from the meeting.

On the other hand, most women-focused NGOs in the country do not work directly with the rural women who have similar goals or vision with them. They do not support the rural women's peace initiatives; neither do the organizations liaise with each other for maximum impact. The NGOs only claim that they collaborate with grassroots women groups; but in reality, they do not collaborate with those women who share the

same goals with them. If they had been collaborating with the grassroots women organizations, probably, the results would have been better. For instance, some peacebuilding projects of women have been abandoned as a result of inadequate funding and support from individuals, local government, State, as well as NGOs for the maintenance of the projects- as was the case of Afugiri Women's United Project for Development, in Abia State.

## **5.6 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, we discussed about democracy, human rights, and ethnic divide in Nigeria. Many issues were highlighted, including the role of women and youths in Nigeria's development and peacebuilding; the role of the Independent National Electoral Commission in general election; political instability, corruption and insecurity in Nigeria. It is observed that human rights are grossly abused and the large population of the country is neglected when it comes to participating and taking charge of the development process. As a result, the whole population suffers from the impact.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **GOVERNANCE, DEVELOPMENT PLANS, REFORMS AND CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA**

#### **6.0 INTRODUCTION**

In chapter five, we examined Nigeria's democracy and several other issues. We observed that Nigeria is yet to be recognized as a democratic nation due to human rights abuse, corruption, and other social mishap. In this chapter, we examine governance, development plans, reforms and challenges in Nigeria.

Democracy and good governance are the most successful political ideas of the 21st century. Democracy allows the people to speak their minds and shape their own future and their children's future. Many people in different parts of the world are prepared to risk so much for these ideas, which is a testimony to their enduring global appeal. The idea of democracy became popular in Nigeria following the rise of nationalist movements to demand for the country's independence from British colonial rule. This paved way for the introduction of political parties to enable Nigerians contest for elective positions. For instance, in 1922, Governor Clifford introduced elective principle in respect of the three legislative seats in Lagos State and one in Calabar State. This was followed by the formation of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) by Herbert Macaulay in 1923.

This development continued with more political parties coming on board and in 1960, Nigeria gained independence under a democratically elected government. Democracy in Nigeria has come a long way in the past two and half decades with five transitional elections with more than 10 million registered voters (Aremu, 2014:6). On May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1999, the country restored civil democratic rule after a protracted military rule that lasted for more than three decades. Since then, the democratic system including the structures meant to consolidate it have experienced some stress mainly due to the effects of the prolonged military rule which was characterized by lack of democracy, accountability and good governance.

Thus, after two and half decades of a return to democratic rule in Nigeria, the country is not anywhere near the realization of the ideals of good governance, which is the natural accomplishment of democratic rule. In Nigeria, the exhilaration generated by widespread dehumanizing poverty and under-development; insecurity; corruption; mass illiteracy; unemployment, among others, has created mixed feelings about the desirability of democracy. This chapter reflects on governance and democracy in Nigeria, as well as the worrisome conflict which tends to tear the nation apart.

Democracy in Nigeria is going through difficult times as viable democratic institutions such as credible electoral system; independent judiciary, rule of law, etc are yet to take root in the country in the face of such flaws like massive corruption in every facet of the nation's public life. These flaws in the system have become worryingly visible giving rise to political disarray. The ability of the democratic system to transform the lives of the people is dependent on its provision of adequate mechanisms for the smooth conduct of elections that culminate in the transfer of power from one

regime to another. This is an area which Nigeria is still not performing to expectations. The lack of credible election has resulted in the erosion of political legitimacy on the part of public office holders. For instance, the 2003, 2007 and 2015 elections in the country were marred by electoral frauds and violence which claimed the lives of people, especially, the impoverished political party supporters.

Where democracy is devoid of credible elections, good governance is negated and the sovereignty of the people is relegated to the background, if not completely denied. Even with the noticeable improvement in the freedom of speech and respect for the rule of law, the effort of the government in establishing a peaceful democratic society has been overshadowed with problems. Some of these problems are systemic and therefore, have much to do with the way the institutions of democracy are used for expediency. Others are attitudinal and hence, the result of the failure of the Nigerian state and the political elite to change their attitude of business-as-usual with zero impact, and cultivate a new mindset that conforms with democratic principles.

In a true democracy, the will of the people is the basis of the authority of the government. Nigeria operates a nominal democracy in which it maintained the outward appearance of democracy through elections but without the rights and institutions that are equally important aspects of a functioning democratic system. Indeed, democracy and good governance are the bases for legitimacy, social mobilization and development because of their responsiveness to the yearnings and aspirations of the poor majority of the population.

Good governance translates into the provision of basic infrastructures, access to medical and health-care services, educational, industrial, and agricultural development

of the society, and above all, the institutionalization of the rule of law. The quest for democracy and good governance has been a major pre-occupation of the Nigerian state since her independence in 1960. This aspiration has remained elusive due to many challenges which have continued to undermine the democratization process in the country. These challenges include failure of leadership; corruption; Boko Haram insurgency; insincerity of purpose; lack of political will; lack of proper vision by the political leadership; lack of accountability in governance, among others.

## **6.1 FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP**

Since Nigeria's political independence in 1960, the country has not had the opportunity of being governed by a willing and ready leader, but those that are not suitable to lead the country. These are leaders whom the mantle of leadership fell on them through dubious means, not minding their capacity, experience and in most cases they were neither prepared nor expectant of such huge responsibility. This has been one of the reasons for the country's failures resulting from visionless policies.

## **6.2 CORRUPTION**

Another serious challenge to democracy and good governance in Nigeria is the entrenched corruption in all facets of national life. In view of the deleterious effect of endemic corruption on governance, various governments in the country have embarked on anti-corruption campaigns. For instance, the Obasanjo administration established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to champion the war against

corruption. However, an overview of democracy and good governance in Nigeria with regards to transparency, inclusiveness, and the fight against corruption tend to paint a faint picture of some improvement. While the EFCC, especially, under the Obasanjo administration received much commendation from within and outside Nigeria, it has been selective in focus and alleged to have been occasionally used as an instrument of silencing political opponents.

### **6.3 ELECTORAL SYSTEM**

Although elections are gradually becoming part of the political culture in Nigeria, they are typically manipulated by incumbent leaders, who deploy all state apparatus of power and resources to ensure their re-election. Thus, elections in Nigeria are largely rigged. Free and fair elections confer legitimacy on the electoral process. The wide spread electoral malpractices, which often characterize elections in Nigeria are inimical to the consolidation of democracy and good governance. In 2011, the outcome of the general elections in the country was followed by the eruption of violence and destruction of lives and property for alleged election fraud. If people are to have faith in democracy, the most cardinal point is that they must be assured that their votes will count in determining who will govern; and in getting rid of a government that has failed them.



## 6.4 RISE OF INSURGENCY

Boko Haram is an Islamist terrorist group that focuses its attacks on government officials, Christians, and fellow Muslims who speak out against their actions or are taught to aid the government. Attacks are primarily focused in northeast Nigeria. Their violent actions are anchored on corruption committed by the national government as well as increased Western influence. In July 2009, there were five days of extreme violence from Boko Haram. From 26th to 31<sup>st</sup> of July 2009, the group killed 37 Christian men and burned 29 churches. After a brief calm, the group resurfaced in the summer of 2011 with church attacks. In October 2013, Amnesty International recommended that the Nigerian government investigate the deaths of more than 950 suspected Boko Haram members that died under military custody in the first six months of the year.

In 2014, Boko Haram drew international attention from its 14th April kidnapping of approximately 230 female students from a secondary school in the northern town Chibok, of Nigeria. Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau claims the girls have converted to Islam and has threatened to sell them as wives or slaves to Boko Haram members at a price of \$12.50 each. Boko Haram has also attacked schools in Yobe State, Nigeria and forced hundreds of young men to join their forces, killing those who refused. Persistent violence in northeast Nigeria in 2014 has caused the deaths of over 2,500 civilians and the displacement of more than 700,000. From 3<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> of January, 2015, Boko Haram militants seized and razed the towns of Baga and Doron-

Baga and reportedly killed at least 150 people in the Baga Massacre. This insurgent group has consistently disrupted peace in Nigeria.

## **6.5 CONFLICT AND PEACEBUILDING ORGANISATIONS IN NIGERIA**

The prevalence of conflict in the country has become a major concern for most Nigerians considering the impact on the peace, security, as well as the economy of the nation. Destruction of lives and properties has almost become an everyday affair. These happenings have created a fearful atmosphere that discourages investors both domestic and foreign. By and large, the economy of the nation is threatened. There are undoubtedly, serious security issues challenging the peace and national security of Nigeria. Security is crucial to a nation's sustainable development. Production and industrial activities can only thrive in an enabling environment. Challenging issues currently facing the country include: Political Violence, Extremism (Boko Haram) or insurgency, communal violence, kidnapping, the Niger Delta maritime insecurity among others. If these issues are considered critically, irreconcilable differences and struggle between individuals and groups over access to power, opportunities and privileges that go with it are not farfetched.

Peacebuilding is fundamental to ensuring that a peaceful atmosphere for sustainable development is maintained, especially in fragile states. Nigeria, as a country has witnessed an ever growing number of civil society organizations working in the area of peacebuilding and advocacy. Below are some of such organizations:

### **African Centre for Peace Research, Empowerment and Documentation, Nigeria**

The African Centre for Peace Research, Empowerment and Documentation was established in 2000 to promote peaceful coexistence by providing peace and empowerment training to Nigerians. The activities of the centre include peace and empowerment training, dispute resolution, election monitoring, organising conferences and publishing research.

### **African Youths International Development Foundation (AFYIDEF), Nigeria**

The African Youths International Development Foundation (AFYIDEF) works to improve the socio-economic development of young people in Africa through collaborative efforts with experts, international bodies and all levels of governments. AFYIDEF is based in Nigeria, and focuses its programmes on young people and the promotion of peace and co-existence.

### **Afro Centre for Development Peace and Justice (AFRODEP) Nigeria**

Afro Centre for Development, Peace and Justice (AFRODEP) is a Nigerian organization that was established in November, 2001 to work for conflict resolution and peace across different sectors in the country. AFRODEP carries out research, training, capacity building and advocacy work on peace and conflict in Nigeria.

## **Major achievements of AFRODEP**

**Monthly conflict situation assessment and reports:** In 2007, AFRODEP conducted monthly reports on the conflict in Delta State in collaboration with the Ogoni Development Foundation and supported by DFID.

**Conflict mapping:** The organization conducted conflict mapping exercises in Delta State, supported by Niger Delta Peace and Security Secretariat (PaSS).

**Community peacebuilding and conflict resolution:** It conducted peacebuilding and resolution of intra-communal conflict activities in Delta State. AFRODEP successfully analysed the conflict between a community youth group and the community elders. The resolution of the conflict led to the reconstruction of buildings destroyed during the conflict.

**Skills training for peace:** UN Women funded a year-long skills training programme for women from two ethnic tribes to engender peace. The project brought women from the two tribes together and they formed cooperatives with revolving loans.

**Peace talks and walks:** AFRODEP also conducted a peace talk and peace walk with members of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in commemoration of World Peace Day, 2008. This was in collaboration with Netherlands based United Network of Young Peace Builders (UNOY).

**Peace education:** The organization conducted peace education training workshops in selected secondary schools in collaboration with the Culture of Peace Initiative and UNOY.

**Capacity building:** In addition, AFRODEP conducted capacity building on peacebuilding and conflict management for community leaders in five communities, supported with funds from the European Commission Micro Projects Programme.

### **Alexander Initiative for Children and Youth, Nigeria**

Alexander Initiative for Children & Youths is a Non- governmental, Non- Political, Non- profit making, child centered Organization formed in 2013 to respond to the current need of communities in order to sustain, strengthen and promote human rights culture, especially the rights of the child and young persons, peace building, good governance, social justice through alliances and partnerships with the children, concerned line agencies, civil society, their families and communities. The organization is managed by independent non-partisan indigenous personnel who have been experiencing practically & technically on various fields of capacity buildings of the various sectors and community development projects as they have had special trainings to the sectors of humanitarian interventions, Human rights, child protection and capacity building programs.

### **Association of Youth for Peace and Development Nigeria**

The Association of Youth for Peace and Development (AYOPAD) is an advocacy NGO registered in Yobe State. AYOPAD's major focus is fostering in young people an understanding of concepts surrounding peacebuilding issues. The organisation organises training programmes for young people to promote participation in the prevention of conflict and in the democratisation process in Nigeria. AYOPAD's main objectives include:

- To organise and facilitate projects that develop the potential of young people.
- To develop and promote peaceful co-existence through humanitarian work that promotes peace building and democratisation through civil society.
- To equip young people with 21<sup>st</sup> century leadership and life skills for a purposeful and productive life.

### **Bayelsa Non-Governmental Organizations Forum (BANGOF) Nigeria**

The Bayelsa Non-Governmental Organizations Forum (BANGOF) is an umbrella body of over 40 NGOs that are active in Bayelsa State, Nigeria. Through BANGOF, organisations work together to promote social justice, conflict resolution, good governance and participatory sustainable development. BANGOF has been actively positioned to engage leaders, the government and its agencies on issues of accountability and good governance in Bayelsa state. The network has carried out activities to enhance a transparent and accountable system of government. To achieve this, the citizenry must be sensitized and mobilised to be involved in seeking answers from political leaders on how their commonwealth is being run to their benefit.

BANGOF is also focused on ensuring the most professional practice of civil society organisations in the state in order to promote rapid growth and good partnership with donor agencies coming into the state. The organisation also works with a number of international organisations and institutions to improve peace and development in the

Niger Delta, such as Revenue Watch Institute, United Nations Office on Drug and Crime, and the Netherlands Government.

### **Centre for Human Development and Social Transformation (CHDST) Nigeria**

The Centre for Human Development and Social Transformation (CHDST) aims to coordinate and support a programme of social transformation and human development in Nigeria. The Centre organises training for stakeholders on various aspects of human development and social transformation, including conflict resolution, peace education, democracy, the environment and human rights. The Centre exists to develop the human capacity for change in Nigeria. In cooperation with like-minded organisations, it seeks to transform conflict situations by training and engaging young people, teachers, and community leaders on peaceful conflict management, democracy and good governance. It believes that only by creating a culture of peace and democratically minded individuals can communities fully realize the potential of their physical and human resources.

### **Centre for Peace Across Borders (CePAB) Nigeria**

Based in Imo State, Southeast Nigeria, the Centre for Peace Across Borders (CePAB) facilitates peace and development across ethnic, religious and cultural boundaries. It achieves this by advocating and promoting coexistence, good governance and respect for human rights through research, documentation, training and advocacy. The organisation's activities include capacity building for civil society and communities, research on important issues related to peace and development, and building networks with other groups.

### **Centre for Peace Advancement in Nigeria (CEPAN)**

The Centre for Peace Advancement in Nigeria (CEPAN) works to create peaceful communities in Nigeria by promoting peacebuilding and development through dialogue, conciliation services, training, research and disseminating accurate and reliable information on peace and development. The goals of the organisation include:

- Strengthening local capacities for sustainable peace and development in communities.
- The promotion of peaceful coexistence and harmony among people of diverse ethnic and religious affiliations in communities.
- Promoting peace education among children and young people in school and out of school.
- Empowerment of women and youth for effective negotiation, dialogue and mediation,
- Producing research and documentation.
- Reducing poverty through the promotion of good governance.

### **Children & Young People Living for Peace Nigeria**

Children and Young People Living for Peace is a youth-driven organization working in disadvantaged areas and areas prone to violence in Nigeria. They work to enable young



people to become active citizens to tackle the root causes of violence, and to build community cohesion.

### **Christian Foundation for Social Justice and Equity Nigeria**

The Christian Foundation for Social Justice and Equity is working to build a stable and democratic society in Nigeria. It was established in 2000, and it works in collaboration with many local and international partners. Its programmes and activities are focused on social development, human rights, peacebuilding, conflict transformation, democracy and good governance, HIV/AIDS, women empowerment and civic education. The organisation aims at empowering the less privileged members of society so that they can participate in the decision-making processes that affect their livelihood and well-being.

### **Community Advocate for Sustainable Development, Nigeria**

Community Advocate for Sustainable Development works for peaceful coexistence, stability, development and sustainability in Nigerian communities. The mission of the organisation is to promote and sustain people oriented development programmes and projects in communities, especially in the area of health, gender mainstreaming and peacebuilding into policy framework. The organisation undertakes focused advocacy directed at policy-makers to ensure the sustainability of projects and programmes by government and communities. They work as peacebuilders, supported by the Nigeria Security and Reconciliation Programme and the British Council, to counter violence and extremism in Nigeria through non-violent means.

## **Community Policing Partners for Justice, Security and Democratic Reforms (COMPPART) Nigeria**

The Community Policing Partners for Justice, Security and Democratic Reforms (COMPPART) is a nongovernmental, not-for-profit rights based peacebuilding organisation working to reduce, and ultimately eradicate all forms of antagonism between civil society and law enforcement agencies in the lawful discharge of their functions to the communities they serve in Nigeria. COMPPART was established in 2002 by the Centre for Law Enforcement Education in Nigeria with efforts to advocate for the adoption and implementation of community policing in Nigeria.

Since its inception, COMPPART has been carrying out activities that have led to it becoming a reference point for the justice, safety, security and democratic needs of communities in Nigeria. The organisation has a cordial and sustainable working relationship with different levels of government and agencies such as the Nigeria Police, the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corp, Nigeria Immigration Service, State House of Assemblies, Ministry of Justice and National Orientation Agency.

## **Conflict Prevention and Peace Building Initiative, Nigeria**

Initiated in 2010, Conflict Prevention and Peace Building Initiative is a Nigerian-based non-governmental, non-profit, non-political and humanitarian organization that is committed to the prevention of violent conflicts in Africa. The organisation was founded by Mr. Obuseh Jude, a renowned peace scholar and practitioner, who has been in the forefront of conflict prevention, peacebuilding and other multi-track initiatives that are geared towards the prevention of violent conflicts and the construction of enduring structures of positive peace.

### **Conflict Resolution Trainers Network**

The Conflict Resolution Trainers Network works in the areas of peace education, democracy, development, environmental conflict, research and public enlightenment to build a strong and informed voice on public policy issues in Nigeria. It was established in 1997 as a coalition of NGOs in order to work towards peaceful coexistence and good governance in the southern region of Nigeria. This organisation is skilled in conflict management and non-violence training. The organisation participated as a facilitator and co-trainer in the Federal Government Amnesty Programme for ex-militants in the Niger Delta.

### **Democratic Action Group (DAG) Dispute Resolution and Development Initiative, Nigeria**

Based in Kano state, Nigeria, the Democratic Action Group (DAG) Dispute Resolution and Development Initiative is promoting the use of non-violent means for resolving conflict, and the importance of strong democracy and human rights. DAG works with young people, women, and marginalized groups, raising awareness of democracy, and political and human rights.

## **6.6 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIA**

One of the greatest challenges facing the Nigerian society is participating actively in politics. This is because of the nature of political socialization and orientation which was given to Nigeria by her colonial masters during the colonial era. Also, since the post colonial era, no effective maximum or devoted effort has been made

to put a check or improve political culture of Nigerian society. This is because the political culture of a state to a large extent, determines the level of political participation as well as the democratic culture of the state. Through political culture, political socialization and more importantly, political participation and developmental culture is dependent in the existence of a modern state that can protect the right to its citizen and extract duties from them.

Political participation refers to the activities engaged by citizens during a political process. It is the direct or indirect involvement of citizens in politics in order to influence governance. According to Ikelegbe, (1995), the activities are usually for selecting rules influencing the decisions of government and the ways government governs. Ikelegbe further argues that political participation is classified into election related and non-election related. According to this source, election-related political participation involves the electoral processes or activities which provide enormous opportunities for political participation to great number of the citizens. Non-election related participatory activities include contacting political leaders, expressing politics, opinions and demands, as well as community development activities (Ikelegbe 1995).

In a political society, some individual involvement in political matters is autonomous while in others, it could be induced. Politics in many developing nations, including Nigeria, is usually mobilized or induced. In other societies, it might be autonomous. Autonomous participation refers to those action or activities that are generated by the actors themselves, which are primarily to influence governmental action and authoritative allocation of values. Induced or mobilized participation are those activities or actions that are initiated by a different person or group of persons

than the actors, with the intention to influence government decisions either positively or negatively.

Political participation in Nigeria is one that stimulates grievances and fear of isolation, hence, the struggle for central power by different ethnic groups. This struggle negatively affects electoral activities. There is usually, electoral malpractice, rigging and other political electoral violence which is replete in party politics in the country. Because of the nature of political system in the country, only a few proportion of the population give attention to or show interest in politics, while majority are indifferent, none-opining and not interested. Some only participate in election filled with unbelief as a result of improper education of the people politically, and lack of crucial sensitization on political issues. As a result of these lapses, only few people are reached; only few proportion gives attention, while the majority are apathy to political participation. Thus, majority of the citizens are not effectively represented in terms of the contribution of their aspirations, demands and preferences.

A democratic political culture of any country to a large extent, determines their political participation. It must reflect the norms and values that place a premium on the freedom of individuals from state abuse and infringement of right by the law, as well as provide opportunity for all citizens to have equal access to the resources that guarantee their basic livelihood. The essence of democracy is to enable the citizens to show their views through unrestrained debates from the lower level to the highest level. In other words, there should be active citizen participation in politics and governance.

## **6.7 NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT PLANS, REFORMS AND CHALLENGES**

Nigeria has had several development plans before independence and after her independence in 1960. However, the country's development plans have witnessed several setbacks. This section sheds light on these development plans and challenges in actualizing the vision of development in the country.

Iheanacho E.N. (2014:49) highlights Nigeria's historic development plans thus: "First National Development Plan (1962), the Second National Development Plan (1970-74), Third National Development Plan (1975-80), and Fourth National Development Plan (1981-85)." Despite all these development plans with big packages, it is strange that encouraging success has not been recorded in Nigeria. Had continuous effort been made in pursuing and meeting the objectives set in these plans, perhaps, Nigeria would have been enlisted among the developed countries.

Quoting Obikeze and Obi (2004) as saying that "a review of the various plans clearly shows that the country is still very far from where it was envisaged it will be today...as a result of either faulty implementation of the plan, distortions or even non-implementation," Iheanacho examines the various development plans and observes the challenges hindering the success of development plans in the country. These challenges include: corruption, lack of discipline; lack of commitment; absence of relevant data; over-ambitious development plans; lack of continuity of government programmes; public service inefficiency, and poor collaboration of the public and private sectors (see Iheanacho E. N. (2014:54-59).

Consequently, the Nigerian government launched the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1986. Examining the Structural Adjustment Programme, Moses Akpobasah (2004:2) opines that “the emphasis of SAP was on deregulation, market liberalization, demand management through appropriate pricing, floating of the exchange rate and the promotion of agriculture and other rural based export oriented economic activities.” According to the same source, SAP was expected “to promote the growth of resource based industrialization in place of the then prevailing import substitution strategy which had become unsustainable due to foreign exchange scarcity and the consequent inability to import needed raw materials, spare parts, skilled labour, etc,” (2004:2). However, SAP failed to achieve its objectives. Infact, it was used by children and adults to sing humorous songs, given that it was perceived to be one of those big empty promises made by successive governments of Nigeria.

Contributing towards the discussion, Oye Adeniyi J. (2014:54), examines other attempts made earlier by the government of Nigeria to effect rural and national development. These efforts include the Agricultural Development Project, the Green Revolution and Operation Feed the Nation. However, he states that “the various aforementioned strategies for development have all been the same. It is just a change of a nomenclature, their objectives and medium for achieving the various goals have not been different from one another,” (2014:54).

Moreover, Nigeria has had notable economic reforms to end poverty and stagnated development in the country. Although some of the reform plans look quite promising, actualizing them seem to be elusive. One of the famous economic reforms of Nigeria is the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS).

NEEDS is a poverty eradication programme. Although there have been some achievements under NEEDS, such as citizens becoming self-reliant and becoming entrepreneurs, much success has not been recorded. In reality, significant challenges exist, particularly in improving the welfare of citizens and in creating employment opportunities.

Consequently, social vices are on the increase as a result of joblessness and poverty. It has been observed that the acclaimed achievements of the government through NEEDS have been done through manipulation and propagation of economic indices which are questionable (Ikeanyibe, Okey M. 2009:205). Ikeanyibe iterates that: “The truth remains that the government has not achieved much of the professed objectives of NEEDS which are employment generation, poverty eradication, wealth creation and value reorientation in any significant measure in the medium term,”(Ikeanyibe, Okey M. 2009:205).

Highlighting Nigeria’s economic policies from 1960 when Nigeria gained independence, Zainab Usman (2016:7) argues that,

...successive regimes have sought to diversify the economy by catalysing industrialisation, notably since the first oil boom cycle from 1973 and especially since the transition to democracy in 1999. Economic diversification has thus been equated with economic development, evolving parallel to Nigeria’s revenue sources and development priorities. It means the transformation of the economy from dependence on all forms of primary production especially crude oil extraction, but also agriculture and mining, as key revenue and foreign exchange earners, to high value productive activities such as manufacturing, resource-based industry and agro-industry.



Zainab also highlights the Nigeria Vision 20:2020, which has two primary objectives to optimize human and natural resources in order to achieve rapid economic growth, and to translate the growth into equitable social development for all citizens, (See Zainab Usman 2016:7; NPC 2009:9). The Nigeria Vision 20:2020 articulates Nigeria's economic growth and development strategies for the eleven-year period between 2009 and 2020, and the National Planning Commission defines the aspirations of achieving this vision across the four dimensions outlined below:

**Social Dimension:** A peaceful, equitable, harmonious and just society, where every citizen has a strong sense of national identity and citizens are supported by an educational and healthcare system that caters for all, and sustains a life expectancy of not less than 70 years.

**Economic Dimension:** A globally competitive economy that is resilient and diversified with a globally competitive manufacturing sector that is tightly integrated and contributes no less than 25% to Gross Domestic product.

**Institutional Dimension:** A stable and functional democracy where the rights of the citizens to determine their leaders are guaranteed, and adequate infrastructure exists to support a market-friendly and globally competitive business environment.

**Environmental Dimension:** A level of environmental consciousness that enables and supports sustainable management of the nation's God-given natural endowments to ensure their preservation for the benefit of present and future generations, (NPC, 2009:9).

Other economic reform measures were those identified by Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Philip Osafo-Kwaako. These include Privatization of some state-owned enterprises such as the Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL); the Power Holding Company of Nigeria, as well as deregulation of some economic sectors, to encourage private sector participation, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Philip Osafo-Kwaako (March,

2007:13). The privatization of the telecommunication sector was in deed, successful, because, before this period, the means of communication was very poor as people would have to write and post letters to their families, friends and business partners, which usually take a long time to reach its destination. Nowadays, Nigerians can communicate effectively and do business with the help of mobile technologies.

However, it must be noted the objectives set to be achieved through these economic reforms, are far from being actualized. Since the advent of these reform measures, there has been a growing tension in the country. Crime has increased in the form of kidnap for ransom and ritual killings, armed robbery attacks, Islamic religious extremists (Boko Haram) massacre innocent people, and the national separatist group, such as the Biafrans from South-eastern Nigeria is agitating to separate from Nigeria. On the other hand, the South-western geopolitical zone of Nigeria is agitating for regional government.

Starvation and malnutrition have increased drastically, given that the majority of poor and low income families can no longer provide for their families as a result of inflation of food prices and non-payment of workers' salaries. Child labour has increased, given that poor families cannot cope with the heartbreaking situation in the country. Unlike the existence of social security measures and family benefits in the developed countries, Nigeria does not provide any family benefits for its citizens. In a bid to survive, poor parents, in particular, are forced to look for alternatives, such as petty trading or street hawking. Some of these parents train their children to hawk on the street or to become servants or house helps in order to support their families. Workers are owed salaries by the government without being paid. They are always

protesting because their demands are not met by the government, and they are underpaid. Some of the working environments are not conducive for the workers.

## **6.8 NIGERIA'S CIVIL SERVICE REFORM**

Some of the purposes of embarking on civil service reform are to improve service delivery and the lives of people (including the lives of those who work there). The Nigerian scenario is totally different. The Nigerian civil service is where you can find ghost workers who are on the payroll without ever showing up in the office. Some of the staff members are usually the least paid in the country, except the senior officials. Some civil servants, especially those with families, borrow before their salaries are paid. When their salaries are paid, they use them to settle pending debts. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Philip Osafo-Kwaako (March, 2007:14), observe that the civil service was oversized and poorly remunerated, which resulted in poor service delivery. These authors reveal that:

Rapid public sector recruitment under military administrations had resulted in an oversized and under-skilled work force in which employees often did not have the appropriate technical skills needed for their assignments... about 70 percent of workers in the Ministry of Finance were low-level staff clerks, cleaners and administrative staff with a secondary school education or equivalent, 13 percent were university graduates, and only 8 percent had degrees related to economics, finance or accounting. More broadly, the government estimated that about 70 percent of federal civil servants had a high school diploma or lower, with less than 5 percent possessing modern computer skills, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Philip Osafo-Kwaako (March, 2007:14).

Several reforms embarked by the government of Nigeria to change the embarrassing situation of the Civil Service have not yielded any remarkable result. Lamenting on the ineffective Nigerian Civil Service Reforms, John, Olushola Magbadelo (2016:76), remarks that “the problems of the civil service keep renewing itself from one administration to another under the democratic system of government regardless of the numerous reforms that had been introduced.” According to Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala and Philip Osafo-Kwaako (March, 2007:14),

The civil service reform began with five pilot ministries and subsequently, was extended to nine ministries, departments and agencies. In each category, internal consultations were performed while verification exercises were conducted to update personnel records and payroll data. Organizational structures for the reforming ministries were reviewed and rationalized, while the appropriate professional skills needed were identified. Redundancy packages and retraining programs were offered to severed staff. A total of 35,700 officials have been severed from the civil service at an estimated cost of about N26 billion (US\$ 203 million), while 1,000 high flying university graduates are being recruited. In the process of restructuring, an estimated 8,000 ghost workers were removed from the government payroll.

The data often presented in data by government loyalists do not always represent the reality on ground. The recruitment of only 1,000 graduates by the civil service does not show encouraging result. Nigeria has produced millions of graduates who are still unemployed. The challenges of achieving the objectives of the civil service reforms are not far from corruption and maladministration. They are all a reflection of the greed for power to steal from the government and the people. As long as the civil service governing body remains unchanged, there will continue to be drawbacks in establishing a well reformed civil service that delivers satisfactory service to the people of Nigeria.

### **6.9.1 Economic Recession in Nigeria and Causes**

An average Nigerian will attest to the fact that he/she was born into recession due to the family such person was born into, especially those from poor backgrounds. As a result, some Nigerians are not moved by the waves of economic recession. However, many Nigerians were shocked when the recent economic recession hit the country. The recession came as a result of a significant decline of GDP in the first and second quarters of 2016. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2016:4), the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined by -2.06% in the second quarter of 2016. This was lower by 1.70% points from the growth rate of -0.36% recorded in the preceding quarter, and lower by 4.41% points from the growth rate of 2.35% recorded in the corresponding quarter of 2015.

There are many causes to the recent economic recession witnessed by Nigeria. Noko, Joseph E. (2016) lists some of the causes to include: poor economic planning; high inflation, high interest rate; high taxation, and policy conflict. Expanding his points above, Noko argues that there is “no concrete implementation of economic planning connected with exchange rate policy and economic delay in Nigeria.” However, he highlights the government plans which include: to encourage foreign investments; to raise agricultural output; to improve the manufacturing sector; to improve the mining sector, and to diversify the economy, (Noko, Joseph E. 2016).

Moreover, high inflation of the prices of commodities has always been one of the major challenges of Nigeria. Notably, high inflation of prices affects many Nigerian

entrepreneurs and consumers. Thus, there is no stable price for goods. Marketers increase the prices of their goods at will. Often times, they hoard their goods intentionally to create false scarcity of goods and to increase their prices. On the other hand, the high interest rate and high taxation discourage doing business or investing in the country. For Nigeria to completely come out of economic recession, there is an urgent need for the government to control high inflation, reduce high taxation and other factors that can lead to economic recession in the country. In addition, the government has to create an enabling environment for business, manufacturing and food production. This means that the government has to ensure that the energy sector is reformed and constant electricity supplied to encourage local production of goods.

### **6.9.2 Millennium Development Goals (MDGS) Result in Nigeria**

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were eight goals adopted during the United Nation's summit in 2000. These goals were targeted to be achieved by year 2015. UN (2010) presents list of the goals thus:

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education;

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women;

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality;

Goal 5: Improve maternal health;

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and other diseases;

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability,

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development.

The MDGs was adopted by many nations of the world, including Nigeria. However, Nigeria was unable to meet up the 2015 target to actualize these goals. The situation in the country has not changed much, despite the agreement to pursue these goals. Kolawole, Taiwo O. and others (2014:45) attest to this fact. According to them, more than 70 percent of Nigerian citizens live below poverty line despite the economic wealth of the country. The cost of living in the country has skyrocketed exorbitantly. Between 2014 and 2015, 25 kilos of rice was within the price range of 8000-8500 Naira. Within a short period of one year, this price was inflated to 20,000 Naira, making it quite difficult for poor Nigerians to afford. The prices of other goods increased dramatically as well.

In his critical assessment of the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria, Sam, Ajiye (2014:31-34), attributed hindrances to the achievement of these goals to inadequate and unreliable data system, huge funding gaps, weak governance and accountability, inadequate human capacity, poor coordination between the tiers of government, corruption and cultural diversity, lack of local participation and empowerment, loss of focus on sustainability, as well as lack of measurement of some of the goals. In this section, we examine a brief result of the MDGs in Nigeria:

**Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger**

The targets of goal number one of the Millennium Development Goals include to halve between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar per day, and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger; to achieve productive and decent employment for women and young people. In Nigeria, the reality of reaching this target proved abortive. Instead, poverty has increased, and the gap between the rich and the poor in the country has widened. Most families are experiencing the worst hunger crises as a result of lack of employment opportunities and the inflation of food prices.

**Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education**

The target of goal two of the MDGs is to ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete primary education. So far, little progress has been made in this area in Nigeria, although inequality in girl-child education still exists, particularly in northern Nigeria. Results from the 2013 Demographic and Health Survey organised by the National Population Commission show that about one in five females and males have completed primary education (19 percent and 21 percent, respectively). Six percent of females and 9 percent of males have more than a secondary education. However, large percentages of both females (40 percent) and males (30 percent) have no education (NPC, 2014:23).

According to the NPC, 2014 study, households in rural areas are far below their urban counterparts in educational attainment; 54 percent of females in rural areas and 22 percent in urban areas have no education, and the corresponding figures for males are



40 percent and 14 percent. Across the geopolitical zones, the North-East and North-West lag behind others in educational attainment, with more than 60 percent of females and about half of males having no education. The study further, shows that only 8 percent of females in the wealthiest households have no education, as compared with 81 percent in the poorest households. Among males, 5 percent of those in the wealthiest households have no education, compared with 71 percent in the poorest households (NPC, 2014:23). Overall, it is necessary to encourage equal enrolment of girls and boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education, regardless of their geopolitical zones. In addition, there is an urgent need to develop the educational sector and to embrace the latest technology for educational development.

### **Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women**

The target of goal three focuses on eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005, and in all levels of education by 2015. Like stated in goal two above, some progress has been made in reducing gender inequality in education. Most parents have recognized the need to give education to their children, male and female alike. However, the northern part of Nigeria still practices early child marriage which hinders some girls in this part of the country, especially those from illiterate parents, from completing their education. In addition to the little progress made, some brave Nigerian women and girls are showing interest in the science field, like medicine and surgery, engineering and information technology. Also, they are encouraging one another. However, there is still need to sensitize those living in the most remote areas of the country where internet access is not available, and to provide the necessary

education infrastructure for them, in order to benefit like their counterparts living in urban areas.

#### **Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality**

The target of goal four was to reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate. Report shows that child mortality rate has decreased in Nigeria. However, much effort has to be made by the government to truly reduce child mortality in the country. According to Sam, Ajiye (2014:29) there was a decline of child mortality rate in 2007 to 138 per 1000 live births as opposed to 201 per 1000 live births in 2003. However, these figures rose to 157 per 1000 live births in 2008. Moreover, he highlights the existing regional disparity, lamenting that in 2008, the North Eastern Nigeria had a disproportionate high rate of under-five mortality, which was 222 per 1000 live births.

When children receive adequate health care attention, live in safe environments, and are well fed with nutritious meals, there is a possibility of them living healthy. But, when they lack any of these, they become easily exposed to diseases and may die if not treated. In Nigeria, a lot of children die as a result of malnutrition, dirty or polluted environments, and inadequate or lack of health care. Given that healthcare is not free in Nigeria, parents who cannot afford hospital bills indulge in self medication rather than visiting the hospital with their sick children. The government owned hospitals are usually unequipped with qualified doctors and nurses.

Based on personal observation in 2015, it is obvious that the Nigerian government has not shown much interest in reducing child mortality rate in the country, given that the health sector is neglected. Most of the resident doctors in the public hospitals have their own private hospitals and clinics because they are not well paid, and are always owed by the government. As a result, they neglect patients in the care of interns in the government hospitals where they have been hired by the government to work, to attend to patients who are willing to pay them higher in their private hospitals.

There is always power shortage in government hospitals. Torchlight is used to administer medications on sick children at night, and a patient cannot be attended to by doctors or nurses without prior payment of half of the treatment cost. When treatment is completed and the patient confirmed fit to go home, such patient cannot be released without balancing the treatment cost. Parents who are unable to settle their children's medical bills after they are confirmed fit to go home, are forced to remain in the same room where other sick children are, until someone comes to bail them by settling their debts. This problem has led to the loss of the lives of innocent children.

### **Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health**

The targets of goal five were to reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio, and to achieve, by 2015, universal access to reproductive health. Little effort has been made so far. Results from questionnaires distributed during the Demographic and Health Survey organized by the National Population Commission (NPC) of Nigeria in 2013 to determine whether expectant mothers receive antenatal care, show that 61 percent of women had received antenatal

care from a skilled provider, as compared with 58 percent in 2008 (NPC, 2014:128). The NPC, 2014 survey further shows that forty-six percent (46%) of mothers younger than age 20 did not receive antenatal care, which is an improvement from 2008, when 50 percent of women in this age group did not receive antenatal care. However, the report shows that urban women are more likely to receive antenatal care from a skilled provider than their rural counterparts (86 percent and 47 percent, respectively).

Consequently, NPC (2014:128) reveals the disparity in antenatal care. The survey shows that forty-seven percent of rural women age 15-49 did not receive antenatal care, as compared with only 11 percent of urban women. By zone, 9 in 10 women in the South-East and South-South received antenatal care from a skilled provider, compared with two in five women in the North-West (41 percent), and women in Sokoto State were the least likely to receive antenatal care from a skilled provider (17 percent), (NPC, 2014:128).

Indeed, these findings show that educating the girl child is very important and is one of the measures to reduce future mortality rate as a result of illiteracy in Nigeria. Educating the Nigerian woman will enable her know her reproductive rights and her responsibilities to ensure that she maintains a healthy lifestyle. It is however, imperative for the government to ensure that antenatal healthcare sensitization reaches the grassroots level. All Nigerian women have the right to healthcare, including those that live in rural areas. Hence, antenatal care should be accessible to those who need it on an equal basis, regardless of where they live, without discrimination.

**Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and other Diseases**

Goal six had targets to halt by 2015, the spread of HIV/AIDS for those who need it, and to halt, by 2015, the incidence of malaria and other major diseases. In Nigeria, HIV/AIDS prevalence grew intensely in the late 1990s and early 2000. It became problematic and was used as a weapon of revenge by those who got infected by this disease. The victims would keep their status secret until the point of death, given the stigma attached to it and the discrimination they suffered, until the advent of the MDGs. Results show that HIV prevalence, particularly amongst pregnant women aged 15 to 24, has declined and the spread halted nationally (see Sam, Ajiye 2014:29).

Malaria prevalence continues to be one of the major concerns of families in Nigeria. However, the distribution of the treated mosquito nets to families by the government of Nigeria has been very helpful to families, given that it prevents mosquitoes from entering the window or bedroom where it is hung. Nevertheless, it must be stated clearly that only one mosquito net given to a family by the government, cannot stop the prevalence of malaria. One net can only cover one window or one door. In other words, mosquitoes can still find their ways into the house to bite people and to make them sick. Other diseases such as typhoid fever, stroke, cancer and diabetes are still prevalent. Introducing free healthcare will go a long way to saving lives and halting the spread of these diseases.

**Goal 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability**

The targets of goal seven of the MDGs include to integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; to reduce biodiversity loss by 2010; to halve by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to

safe drinking water and basic sanitation, and to achieve significant improvement in the lives of at least, 100 million slum dwellers by 2020.

In reality, a large number of Nigerians do not have access to safe drinking water and sanitation. A lot of communities still fetch unclean water from the seasonal streams, holes and the rivers to drink, cook and shower. The fabrication of sachet water behind closed doors is on the increase. Some of the sachet waters usually have bad taste, and don't seem to be safe for drinking. Consequently, significant effort has not been made to improve the lives of slum dwellers in the country. There are a lot of slum dwellers in Lagos State, and environmental challenges such as erosion and flooding are still prevalent in the country. Devastating gully erosions are prevalent in Abia State and Anambra State, and Benue State is particularly the worst hit by flooding. The government has to make effort in fighting all environmental challenges in order to prevent the loss of biodiversity. In addition, it is advisable for the government to work towards improving the lives of the slum dwellers.

### **Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development**

Goal number eight is quite broad. Its targets focus on developing a non-discriminatory trading and financial system; good governance; to deal with debt problems of developing countries; to provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries in cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, and to make available, the benefits of new technologies in cooperation with the private sector.

This goal was not fully achieved as a result of bad governance and mismanagement of public fund. Moreover, essential life-saving drugs are not affordable, and the trading and financial system is not encouraging.

## **6.10 CONCLUSION**

This chapter discussed the governance and democracy experience of Nigeria saddled with corruption, unprepared and failed leadership, as well as disorganized and unprogressive national development plans. Also, it highlighted insecurity and instability existing in the country and peace efforts made by civil society organizations present in the country. In addition, this chapter reviews the impact of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on Nigeria, achievements and drawbacks, as well as government reforms to trigger development in the country. Undoubtedly, for a country to be well developed, good governance must be cherished and promoted; democratic principles that enhance national development must be adhered to for maximum national progress and sustainable peace.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATORY NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

#### **7.0 INTRODUCTION**

In the previous chapter, we discussed about governance, democracy, peacebuilding and reforms in Nigeria. It was observed that democracy is not properly practiced in Nigeria and that the country has not yet got a prepared and committed leader to pilot the development of the country. As a result, grievances are evident. This chapter focuses on the field research. Data was collected via questionnaire and analysed to help solve the identified problems. The results were presented and framework to promote participatory national development recommended

#### **7.1 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUE**

Questionnaires were drafted by the researcher and used to collect the necessary data from the respondents. The questionnaire used for the study was made up of 12 questions. It was mainly designed in such a way that alternative answers were generated by respondents. Random method was used for the distribution of the questionnaires to the respondents. The sample size of the study was three hundred and sixty (360) respondents evenly distributed among the thirty six states of Nigeria.



## 7.2 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The data presented and analyzed was done in tables. This was carried out with the actual number of respondents that returned their questionnaires. Meanwhile, 300 out of 360 copies of questionnaires distributed were returned by the respondents, while the remaining 60 were not returned. That is 83.3% of questionnaires were returned while 16.7% were not returned as shown in table 1.1

Table 1.1

### Questionnaire Distribution and Collection

No. of questionnaires distributed	No. of questionnaires returned		No. of questionnaires not returned	
	No.	%	No.	%
360	300	83.3	60	16.7

That is 83.3% of questionnaires were returned while 16.7% were not returned as shown in table 1.1. All the questions were presented and analyzed.

## QUESTION NO. 1

Do you understand the term democracy?

Table 1.2

OPTION	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	299	99.7
No	1	0.03
Total	300	100

Almost all the respondents who returned their questionnaires understood the meaning of democracy as shown in table 1.2. 299 respondents representing 99.7% understood the concept of democracy which is the core concept of this study and this made the information reliable. Only one respondent does not understand the concept of democracy.

## QUESTION N0. 2

If you answered yes to the first question, what does democracy mean to you?

Answers received from the respondents indicated that they understood the concept of democracy very well.

## QUESTION N0.3

Is Nigeria a democratic nation?

Table 1.2

OPTION	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	230	76.7
No	70	23.3
Total	300	100

Two hundred and thirty respondents representing 76.7% of the total respondents agreed that Nigeria is a democratic nation, while seventy respondents representing 23.3% of the total respondents said that Nigeria is not a democratic nation as shown in table 1.2 above. The reason for the response of the 70 respondents is not farfetched –it indicates that some Nigerians are not satisfied with the democracy practiced in the country.

## QUESTION N0.4

Do you think that democracy and development are interrelated?

Table 1.3

OPTIONS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	290	96.7
No	7	2.3
Decline	3	1
Total	300	100

Out of 300 respondents that returned their questionnaires, two hundred and ninety (290) respondents representing 96.7% of the total respondents said that democracy and development are interrelated. Seven (7) respondents representing 2.3% of the total respondents said that development and democracy are not interrelated. However, three (3) respondents declined to answer the question. This shows that democracy and development work together. When citizens are empowered and allowed to participate in decision-making concerning the development of their nation and in charting the kind of peaceful environment they desire, the results are usually better.

## QUESTION No.5

Which of these do you think are necessary in a democratic regime?

TABLE 1.4

OPTIONS	NO.OF RESPONDENTS
People's empowerment and participation	280
The rule of law	285
Freedom of party	250
Choice control	200
Freedom of election	290
Freedom of expression and choice	285

From table 1.5 above, the respondents said that all the options listed to be chosen from are all necessary in a democratic regime. Two hundred and eighty (280) out of the 300 respondents said that people's empowerment and participation is necessary in a democratic regime. Two hundred and eighty five (285) respondents said that the rule of law is a necessary ingredient of a democratic regime.

Also, two hundred and fifty (250) respondents said that freedom to belong to a political party of one's choice is very necessary in a democratic regime. Moreover, two

hundred (200) respondents said that choice control is very important in a democratic regime. Two hundred and ninety (290) respondents said that freedom of election is very important in a democracy, while two hundred and eighty five respondents said that freedom of expression and choice are necessary in a democratic regime.

#### QUESTION No.6

How would you describe the state of development in Nigeria?

TABLE 1.5

OPTIONS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Good	20	6.7
Fair	100	33.3
Poor	180	60
Total	300	100

From research question six, one hundred and eighty (180) respondents, representing 60% of the total respondents said that the level of development in Nigeria is poor. One hundred (100) respondents representing 33.3% said that the level of development in Nigeria is fair. However, twenty (20) respondents said that the level of development in the country is good. This shows that Nigeria still lags behind in development.

## QUESTION No.7

Are Nigerian leaders democratically elected?

TABLE 1.6

OPTION	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	278	92.7
No	22	7.3
Total	300	100

From research question No.7, two hundred and seventy eight (278) respondents representing 92.7% of the total respondents said that Nigerian leaders are democratically elected while 22 respondents representing 7.3% of the total respondents said that Nigerian leaders are not democratically elected. In reality, people are paid, and in some cases, forced to vote for candidates they do not intend to vote for. One practical example was the 2015 general elections which I witnessed. Party organizers went from village to village, sharing money (100 Naira or 200 Naira) and exercise books to village dwellers to come out en mass to vote for their candidates.

## QUESTION NO. 8

Do you think women have been contributing towards the development of Nigeria?

TABLE 1.7

OPTION	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	249	83%
No	51	17%
Total	300	100

Research question No. 8 reveals that women have been contributing to the development of Nigeria. Two hundred and forty nine representing 83% of the respondents agreed that women have been contributing to the development of the nation, while 51 respondents representing 17% of the respondents said that women have not been contributing to the development of Nigeria. Apparently, women play remarkable role in Nigeria. They form the backbone of rural development and represent a major force to rural change. The study reveals among other things, that women in the country make significant contribution to socio-economic development, especially in agricultural development, rural development, educational, and health projects.

Nigerian women would have made more significant contributions, had it not been for some militating factors. These factors include lack of access to needed resources and gender-based discrimination against the women. In some cases, development projects initiated by women do not last as a result of poor maintenance and



discouragement from their communities, and their husbands, who may not like their wives to be overexposed in the society. However, they could do better than what they have done, if the government can wake up to the call of the women to support them and the militating factors among other things addressed for the advancement of women.

#### QUESTION NO.9

Is it important for youths to participate in the leadership of Nigeria?

TABLE 1.8

OPTION	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	204	68%
No	96	32%
Total	300	100

The question was asked to ascertain how relevant youths are in the leadership and development of the country. Two hundred and four (204) respondents representing 68% of the total respondents said that it is important for youths to assume leadership positions in Nigeria and to participate in the development of the country, while ninety six (96) respondents representing 32% of the total respondents said that youths should not assume leadership positions in Nigeria as shown in table 1.9 above. This shows that

Nigeria needs the participation and efforts of its vibrant youths to develop in this present age of modernization and industrialization.

#### QUESTION NO. 10

In the event of election, who would you prefer to vote for?

TABLE 1.9

OPTION	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Man	180	60%
Woman	107	35.7%
neutral	13	4.3%
Total	300	100

Table 1.9: This question was asked to generate people's response in terms of gender relations and governance in Nigeria. The table reveals that one hundred and eighty (180) respondents representing 60% of the total respondents said that they will vote for a man in the event of election while one hundred and seven (107) respondents representing 35.7% of the total respondents said that they will vote for a woman. However, thirteen (13) respondents representing 4.3% of the total respondents were neutral on the issue. Although women have really contributed immensely towards the

development of Nigeria, and are capable of leading the country, their participation in politics and governance has not improved much.

Ugwu, Joy U. (2015:272-273) observes that in 1999, out of 978 contestable seats in the 36 Houses of Assembly, men occupied 966 leaving only 12 seats for women, a percentage of 1.2%. An improvement came in 2003 with women having 39 seats out of 951 seats representing 4%. In year 2007, women occupied 54 seats out of a total of 990 with a percentage of 5.5%. In the House of Representatives, in 1999, out of a total 360 seats, women won 13 representing 3.6%. In 2003, men occupied 318 out of 339 leaving women with only 21 seats, a percentage of 3.6%. The number increased in 2007 as women occupied a total of 25 seats, a percentage of 7%. In 2011, there was a significant drop in the number of successful women candidates into the House of Representatives. Out of 360 available seats, women won only 19 (5.27%).

In the Senate of 1999, women occupied 3 seats out of total of 109 (2.8%). In 2003, the number of women increased to 4 (3.7%) as men occupied 105 out of 109 seats. In 2007 women occupied 9 out of 109 seats, a percentage of 8.3%. In the year 2011, out of the 109 senators who emerged winners at the polls, only 7 (6.4%) were women. Despite of the increased number of female registered voters during the 2015 general elections, there is still minimal women participation in elective positions. For example, the Senate has 101 men elected into the House, while women were only 8. In the House of Representatives, 346 men were elected, while 14 women were elected into the House, Ugwu, Joy U. (2015:274).

Reasons for the low participation of women are cultural, psychological and economical. In Nigeria, some women are not really confident in themselves given the

gender orientation they have received from their parents and families. Hence, they do not consider themselves qualified to lead or govern their nation. Some consider politics as a dirty game for the male folks. As such, they do not support fellow women venturing into politics.

Also, there is the assumption amongst some Nigerians that female politicians flirt a lot with their male counterparts. In addition, women are not financially buoyant to organize a successful campaign like their male counterparts who usually receive financial support from their friends, families and supporters.

In order to encourage more women in elective positions, there is need to re-orientate women to support fellow female political aspirants. In addition, it is very important to introduce gender-sensitive curriculum into the education system of Nigeria from primary to tertiary levels. This is very important because it will enable citizens (male and female) to learn the importance of political participation from an early age without discriminating the opposite gender.

## QUESTION NO. 11

Elections conducted in Nigeria are they free and fair?

Table 1.10

OPTION	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	205	68.3%
No	95	31.7%
Total	300	100

From research question No.11, two hundred and five (205) respondents representing 68.3% of the total respondents said that elections in Nigeria are not free and fair. However, 95 respondents representing 31.7% of the total respondents said that elections are conducted under free and fair atmosphere in the country. This, in part, is as a result of electoral fraud and imposition of candidates on the people (people are paid a token and are forced to vote for a candidate who is not their original choice).

## QUESTION NO.12

How could you rate the Independent National Electoral Commission during the last 2015 General Elections?

Table 1.11

OPTION	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	%
Good	25	8.33%
Fair	120	40%
Poor	155	51.7%
total	300	100

Table 1.11 Although some Nigerians, especially the incumbent majority party leaders and their supporters presume that the elections were free and fair, result shows that one hundred and fifty five respondents (155) representing 51.7% of the total respondents said that the conduct of 2015 general election by INEC was poor. One hundred and twenty (120) respondents representing 40% of the total respondents said that the conduct of the 2015 General Election by INEC was fair. However, twenty five (25) respondents representing 8.3% of the total respondents said that the conduct of the election by INEC was good.

### 7.3 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Four research questions were raised at the beginning of this study in chapter one to ascertain whether Nigerian leaders are democratically elected; the state of development in the country; how politically informed and active Nigerian citizens are, and whether political participation is affected by socio-cultural factors. Result shows that most Nigerian leaders are not democratically elected. Consequently, the state of development in the country is pitiable. Currently, the health care sector is not properly maintained, and this has caused a lot of loss of lives; the roads are in poor condition; the energy sector is yet to be upgraded. There is always power failure, and businesses suffer. The education sector and other sectors suffer as a result of poor leadership and misappropriation of public fund which ought to be utilized in developing the country.

In addition, the majority of the population are not well informed politically. As a result, they feel less concerned to participate during elections. Without doubt, there are socio-cultural factors hindering the political participation of people in the country, such as tribalism, religious inclination and gender disparity. A Hausa indigene finds it difficult to cast his/her vote for a non-Hausa indigene, and vice versa. Some religious people see politics as a 'dirty game.' Hence, they do not participate in politics or any electoral process.

Democracy encourages the citizens to participate in deciding who should hold what office at regular intervals. It also ensures that the leader does so with the consent of the governed. Since the return of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, there has been a steady decline in electoral participation due largely to non-democratic processes and the

imposition of candidates on the people at various elective positions; election rigging; corruption; violence during and after elections, and politics of exclusion.

The irregularities and the level of violence discourage an average Nigerian from taking part in politics, including voting during elections. There are weak political institutions in the country and these contribute to the problem, as well as ideological confusion. There is high level of inequality, poverty and massive youth unemployment. If democratization and development must be genuinely nurtured and sustained, there is an urgent need for a reversal of the trend. The prospects of maintaining democratic practice in Nigeria are bleak as long as abject poverty, illiteracy and disregard for fundamental human rights hold sway.

Based on results of findings, the hypothesis of this thesis which states that ‘the democratic practice which encourages and promotes active participation of local citizens in development plans, decision-making, and in the implementation of the overall development agenda, can offer better alternatives to national development, thereby reducing the incidence of recurrent public agitation and violence’ is true and acceptable for this study. For example, a study of the European Union funded micro-projects programme in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria shows that part of the projects were abandoned because in most of the communities, the disadvantaged groups which comprised women, youths and the very poor people did not know about the existence of such projects in their communities (Ime, Okon, U. 2014:33-35). From the design, planning and to implementation, they hardly had any idea about the project. Thus, those who were to benefit more from the project were not carried along. Ime Okon U. (2014:34) states that the expectations from the sources of funds were not realized; there



was escalating tension and conflict in the various communities that benefitted from the E.U intervention; the members of the project management committee were accusing the civil society organizations and the community based organizations of not carrying them along in the implementation of the projects.

One good example and a successful project, is the Cross River State Rural Access Mobility Project sponsored by the African Development Bank (AfDB). According to the African Development Bank (2013), the project was successful because the community took ownership of the project. They were directly involved in the project, right from the inception of the project to the completion. Through this project, mobility became easier, shorter and cheaper for them. The farmers now get value for their produce as they convey it easily to the cities where they are sold at good prices.

For any development project to be sustainable, the people who are directly affected ought to be involved in designing the future they desire. Moreover, elimination of poverty through well articulated poverty alleviation program will go a long way in making citizens more self-reliant, independent minded and rational. There is a need for the development of a new approach that aims at self-determination for individuals and communities, at the economic, social and political level. Such approach should be based on the formation of new political, economic and social structure that cares for the citizens. Hence, there is the need to develop a new inclusive democracy which could determine collectively, the basic need of the population and find ways to meet them.

The process of consolidating democracy in the country must guarantee a synergy between the government and the governed. Thus, there is an urgent need to re-awaken and reposition the wheel of democracy in the country. The trend in the world is

towards sustainable democracy and development. Nigeria's democratic agenda has to guarantee and sustain an enduring democracy. For democracy to make sense in the country, the government must be accountable to the people; not only for the resources they receive and spend; but for the very policies they formulate and execute. In this respect, if there is so much faith in democracy, it is because of the belief that democratic political processes will make the state perform better, curb corruption, rationally allocate resources and secure for the individuals a dignified place in the society.

Developing a system spearheaded by civil society for measuring government performance from the local government level to the national level provides the best context for checking government's corruption and abuse of power. If civil society is to help develop and consolidate democracy, its mission cannot simply be to check, criticize, and resist the state. It must also complement and improve the state and enhance its democratic legitimacy and effectiveness. Limiting state power via decentralization is key to successful governance. Over-centralization of power encourages tyranny. Decentralization of state power to the grass root level also brings the government closer to the people. In addition, it encourages experimentation and promotes unity.

Central to the resolution of the challenges of democratization in Nigeria is the mobilization of the citizenry. The starting point would be the empowerment of the masses in terms of qualitative basic needs (food, shelter and clothing), education and secured access to health care. Its central focus must be to decolonize the mind of Nigerians, both the elites in power and the ruled alike. The mass media, civil society organizations, and indeed all and sundry have a responsibility in this challenge.

## **7.4 PARTICIPATORY NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK FOR NIGERIA**

Like stated earlier, this research purports to propose a participatory approach to national development in Nigeria. National development is a huge task which requires huge effort from its people. It encompasses a collective political, socio-economic advancement of a country achievable through mapped out plans by the government and other stakeholders. In this section, I present a participatory national development framework for Nigeria, drawing from workable examples.

Participatory development refers to the process through which stakeholders can influence and share control over development initiatives, and over the decisions and resources that affect themselves, (Asian Development Bank, 1996:1). For any national development plan to work efficiently, it must be developed and implemented through the collaborative effort of the local citizens. Participatory approaches can be employed in each stage of programme and project cycles: during planning, while monitoring progress, and after a programme has come to an end.

In participatory national development planning, monitoring and evaluation, the process of engagement is as important as the overall outcome. This aims to shift power from development professionals to the intended beneficiaries of the intervention. By this approach, it is the people involved who set the direction for change, plan their priorities, and decide whether the intervention has made progress and delivered relevant results or not. At this juncture, it would be necessary to know who the stakeholders that participate in development are. These stakeholders include:

**The General public:** those who are directly or indirectly affected by the programme or project (individuals and families, women's groups, indigenous groups, and religious groups);

**The Government:** this includes civil servants in ministries, cabinets, etc.

**Private Sector:** umbrella groups representing groups within the private sector, professional associations, chambers of commerce;

**Representative Assemblies:** elected government bodies (parliament, national and local assemblies, district and municipal assemblies and elected community leaders);

**Donor and international financial institutions:** resource providers and development partners, and

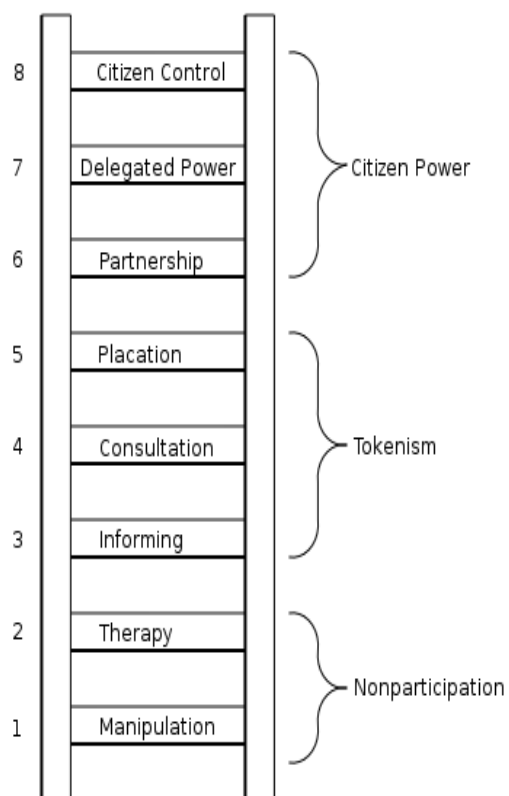
**Civil Society Organizations:** These include networks, national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), grassroots organizations, trade unions, policy development and research institutes, community based organizations and the media.

### **Levels of Participation**

A number of scholars have formulated and outlined different levels of participation. Two of such scholars are Sherry Arnstein and Sarah White.

#### **The Ladder of Citizen Participation**

In her famous ladder of citizen participation (shown below), Sherry, Arnstein (1969) outlines eight steps, each representing a different level of participation. From bottom to top, the steps explain the extent of citizen participation and how much power citizens have to determine the process and outcomes.



Source: Arnstein, S. (1969:216) 'A ladder of citizen participation'

Arnstein's ladder is a useful tool for interpreting what is meant when programmes and policies refer to 'participation'. Arnstein uses terms such as 'the powerful' and 'citizens' interchangeably, but emphasizes that neither are homogenous entities; and that each grouping contains actors with more or less power.

At the lowest end of the ladder, forms of non-participation are used by powerful actors to impose their agendas on the less powerful. Participation as tokenism occurs when participants hear about interventions and may say something about them, which power holders denote as 'input'. However, the voices of participants will not have any effect on the intervention; hence, their participation does not lead to change.

At the higher end of the ladder, participation is about citizens having more power to negotiate and change the status quo. Their voices are heard and respected. However, what the ladder does not show are the actions and barriers to move from one level to the next.

### **Forms and Functions of Participation**

Sarah White (1996:6) distinguishes four forms of participation: nominal, instrumental, representative and transformative. She emphasizes that each form has different functions, and argues actors 'at the top' (more powerful) and 'at the grass roots' (less powerful) have different perceptions of and interests in each form.

**Nominal Participation:** According to White, nominal participation is often used by more powerful actors to give legitimacy to development plans, even when they are not legitimate. Less powerful people become involved in it in a quest for inclusion. However, this does not result in any change.

**Instrumental Participation:** Here, community participation is used as a means towards a stated end – often the efficient use of the skills and knowledge of community members in project implementation.

**Representative Participation:** This involves giving community members a voice in the decision-making and implementation process of projects or policies that affect them. For the more powerful, representative participation increases the chances of their intervention being sustainable. For the less powerful, it may offer a chance for leverage.

**Transformative Participation:** Transformative participation results in the empowerment of those involved, and as a result, this alters the structures and institutions that lead to marginalization and exclusion.

White's work helps us to look into the hidden agendas and the dynamic relationships between more and less powerful actors in national development. Discussing the differences or compatibilities between bottom-up and top-down interests can lead to a clearer understanding of the politics of participation. The actors at the top may talk about participation, but intend to maintain the status quo. It is only in 'transformative participation' that the power holders are in solidarity with the less powerful to take actions and shape decisions that affect them. This framework shows the dynamics of interventions. Hence, a single intervention may include more than one form of participation.

### **The FAO People's Participation Programme (PPP)**

FAO is an acronym for Food and Agriculture Organization (a United Nations body). This framework is adapted from lessons learnt from FAO's People's Participation Programme (PPP). It is in deed, a recommendable framework to adapt from in national development planning, monitoring and implementation. Basically, I will adapt this framework to Nigeria, especially now that the agricultural sector is being promoted by the government.

The FAO People's Participation Programme observes the basic fault in the conventional approach to national development, where the rural poor are rarely consulted in development planning and usually have no active role in development

activities as is the case of Nigeria. This is because the vast majority of the poor have no organizational structure to represent their interests. This group lacks the means to win greater access to resources and markets, and is usually isolated, undereducated and often dependent on rural elites. In PPP, it is observed that unless the rural poor are given the means to participate fully in development, they will continue to be excluded from its benefits.

FAO has found through PPP that true participation is possible only when the rural poor are able to pool their efforts and resources in pursuit of objectives they set for themselves. They share with governments and development agencies that people's participation through small groups offers distinct advantages such as:

**Economies of scale:** The high cost of providing development services to scattered, small scale producers is a major constraint on poverty-oriented programmes. Thus, participatory groups which constitute the grassroots, allow development agencies to reduce the unit delivery or transaction costs of their services, thus broadening their impact.

**Higher productivity:** Given access to resources and a guarantee that they will share fully in the benefits of their efforts, the poor become more receptive to new technologies and services, and achieve higher levels of production and income. This helps to build net cash surpluses that strengthen the groups' economic base and contribute to rural capital formation. In Nigeria, the resources usually fall into the hands of greedy elites who siphon the resources without making them accessible to the poor. If the resources can reach the poor hardworking citizens with a guarantee that they will



benefit from the success, this will encourage them to make greater effort, thereby yielding additional cash surpluses to strengthen their activities.

**Reduced costs and increased efficiency:** The poor's contribution to project planning and implementation represent savings that reduce project costs. The poor also contribute their knowledge of local conditions, facilitating the diagnosis of environmental, social and institutional constraints, as well as the search for solutions.

**Building of democratic organizations:** The limited size and informality of small groups is suited to the poor's scarce organizational experience and low literacy levels. Moreover, the small group environment is ideal for the diffusion of collective decision-making and leadership skills, which can be used in the subsequent development of inter-group federations.

**Sustainability:** Participatory development leads to increased self-reliance among the poor and the establishment of a network of self-sustaining rural organizations. This carries important benefits because the greater efficiency of development services stimulates economic growth in rural areas and broadens domestic markets, thus favouring balanced national development. Politically, participatory approaches provide opportunities for the poor to contribute constructively to development.

The pivotal role of people's participation in development is re-emerging in economic and social development thinking. This is because it enables the citizens, especially the poor to take control of the development process. Nigeria is known for a chequered history of imbalanced planning. To avoid repeating mistakes made in the

past, these areas should be considered before selecting and posting development programme participants to where they will work:

### **Selecting project areas and participants**

Participatory national development projects seek to improve the economic, social and political conditions and capacities of the entire populace, especially the poor. In selecting project areas and participants, the first tasks to be undertaken by the project planner are:

- To identify, especially, rural areas in the country where the majority of the population is poor,
- To select project action areas, and
- To identify, especially, poor inhabitants who may wish to participate in the programme, and
- To identify their development needs.

### **Selecting Project Action Areas and Communities**

In Nigeria, areas with a high concentration of poor people are characterized by very limited natural resources and basic infrastructure, a lack of basic development services, inequitable land tenure, marginal agricultural production and a shortage of farm employment opportunities. Where there are farm employment opportunities, the farmers are unable to pay their labourers. Here, national development planners can make a fairly accurate delineation of impoverished areas through discussions with rural administrators, youth leaders and rural or community women group leaders and a rapid

analysis of existing data sources made, including population censuses, household surveys and production statistics for different geographic areas.

As soon as the poor and often marginalized areas have been identified, planners need to select from among them areas suitable for participatory development projects. Preference should be given to poor areas where there is relatively greater potential for development of viable economic activities, availability of at least, some development services that could be channeled to the poor, and market outlets for goods and services.

### **Selecting Project Participants**

In Nigeria, like most developing countries, the rural population can be divided into three broad socio-economic categories: the rich, who usually control most of the means of production (land) and have greatest access to development services; the middle class, with secure and sufficient access to income and assets; and the disadvantaged or poor, who live at or below subsistence level.

The rural poor in the country depend on full or part-time agriculture, forestry, fisheries, handicrafts and related occupations. They include small and marginal landowner-farmers, tenants, landless labourers and small fishermen, as well as forestry workers, rural artisans, nomadic pastoralists and refugees. Some of the land owners inherited lands from their antecedents, but sold them to the affluent members of their communities as a result of poverty.

To identify potential participants, project staff should gather existing information on the rural population in the selected project action areas, including data on population, land tenure, economic activities and income distribution. From this

information, the staff can assess directly the numbers, proportion and main characteristics of the poor and non-poor. Wisdom should be applied here, because some affluent ones mix in the crowd with the poor members in pretence, just to get their own share of what is distributed to the poor.

For a more accurate assessment, it may be necessary to develop poverty criteria specific to the area. Possible criteria include level of access to productive resources, level of skills available in the family, on- and off-farm family income, the extent of family indebtedness, housing conditions, nutrition status, level of education and family health, and extent of participation in rural people's organizations and in local decision-making.

Typically, project participants will be people whose main source of income is agriculture, fishing or related activities, whose principal source of labour is their family, and whose income is below the average in the area concerned. They will have little or no access to inputs, credit, markets, training, extension and other services.

### **Identifying Participants' Needs**

As the participatory project will form groups of the poor to help them satisfy their priority needs, these needs must be clearly identified. The poor's needs, which are directly related to group and family-level poverty, may have physiological, psychological, economic or socio-cultural dimensions. Moreover, among the poor, these needs have rankings of importance that may not be perceived by untrained observers. To make a preliminary assessment of the rural poor's needs and aspirations, project staff should consult with the intended participants. For this reason, an applied sociologist or

more experts in agronomy or other fields depending upon the type of project and its action areas, should be included in either the project identification mission.

Project identification teams should carry out relatively rapid, but practical social and economic studies, consulting a representative cross-section of local people - in particular, the poor, as well as key members of local people's organizations and traditional leaders. The team's inquiries should cover such topics as existing development efforts, felt needs, aspirations and constraints. The information collected - although sufficient to devise a flexible project framework, should be regarded as preliminary. More reliable in-depth data will be gathered by field staff as they gradually gain the people's confidence while working with them during project implementation. However, needs identification and the search for ways to satisfy needs should be considered as a continuous process, as groups and organizations involved in the project assert their felt needs and delivery staff endeavour to meet them.

### **Forming Groups of the Rural Poor**

In participatory national development, the formation of self-help groups of the rural poor is the first step in a long-term institution building process. Groups are formed around activities designed to satisfy the priority needs of the intended participants. Group membership offers the poor a number of advantages:

**Groups are starting bases for development activities.** By pooling their capital, labour and other resources, members are able to carry out profitable self-help activities which, if undertaken by individuals, would involve greater risk and effort.

**Groups are efficient receiving mechanisms.** Well trained and motivated groups offer government and development agencies cost savings in the delivery of inputs, services and facilities.

**Groups are learning laboratories.** Members learn from their group promoter, and from each other, such skills as managing group enterprises, articulating, discussing and solving problems, and keeping accounts.

**Groups help empower the rural poor.** Groups provide the poor with an effective instrument for participation in local decision-making, helping them to cooperate more fully in the development of their communities and to exert pressure, where necessary, to improve their conditions.

If the inventory indicates that participatory groups are lacking, the project should promote their formation among project participants. Here, the guidelines below should be followed:

**Groups should be small.** The optimum number of members is between eight and 15, in order to facilitate dialogue between members; to promote greater economic flexibility.

**Groups should be homogeneous.** Members should live under similar economic conditions and have close social affinity. Homogeneity reduces conflict at group level: members with similar backgrounds are more likely to trust each other and accept joint liability for their activities.

**Groups should be formed around viable starter income-raising activities.**

Income-raising activities are crucial to group development because they generate assets that help build financial self-reliance.

**Groups should be voluntary and self-governing.** Participants should decide who will join the groups, who will lead them, what rules they will follow, and what activities they will undertake. Decisions should be taken by consensus or majority vote.

Prior to beginning group formation, project staff should conduct a household survey with the local population to identify homogeneity factors, poverty levels, priority needs and criteria for group membership. The objectives of the project and its focus on the poor should be openly discussed and the community members involved in selection of criteria for participation in the groups.

Once the participants have identified viable income-raising activities, those interested in a particular activity should decide on criteria for group membership: for example, whether members should belong to a specific category (such as small-holders, tenants or landless) or whether the group should be male-only, female-only or mixed. They should also assess their productive resources, including capital, skills and experience. However, capital should not be the primary criteria, given that most of the participants may not have the capital.

By consensus or formal voting, the group members should then elect a chairperson, secretary and treasurer. Project staff should encourage rotation of leadership positions among group members in order to give all members leadership experience, thus minimizing the risk of domination by a few. Finally, the group should

formulate its own constitution and procedures, setting out rules on such matters as the frequency of group meetings and the use of savings and loans. Formation of viable and stable groups requires patience and, in most cases, a period of two to six months.

To accelerate development, the project staff can help participants by winning the support of traditional, administrative and other leaders. They may need to call meetings to sensitize leaders to the objectives of the participatory project and, above all, to illustrate the benefits of its activities to the area as a whole. These benefits include improvements in community living standards, an increased flow of government services to the community and, consequently, greater prestige for the community and its leaders.

### **Inter-Group Federations**

Once groups have established a sound economic base, they should be consolidated into local-level inter-group federations. Inter-group federations promote solidarity and economies of scale, both in group activities and delivery of development services, and enable members to develop a broad base for action. In addition, development of local - and, eventually, regional and national - structures can stimulate the formation of more groups.

An inter-group federation represents its constituent groups and is not an executive body- it must be accountable to all group members. It should have a facilitating, coordinating and educational role and become a source of technical assistance, economies of scale and guidance. For instance, a federation can offer training to new groups and even help finance their activities from accumulated savings.



Moreover, it can serve as a reference point for formation of new inter-group federations and eventually perform at least some of the functions of group promoters.

Inter-group federations may be legalized as pre-cooperatives or federations in order to obtain more recognition, legal status, services and facilities. They may also link themselves to participatory, rural poor-oriented cooperatives or other people's organizations. It should be noted, however, that the groups do not replace cooperatives and other community institutions. They remain autonomous interest groups that may operate within, and help to strengthen existing traditional or informal organizations, thus broadening the network of institutions serving the rural poor.

Linking federations to existing organizations not only facilitates delivery of development services and facilities, but also, the consolidation of group plans into multi-group or federation plans that can be matched with area and regional development plans through local coordination committees. Hence, a two-way planning process can be developed.

Through inter-group activities and federations of groups, the poor become increasingly self-confident and recognized by their wider community. They obtain organizational power and may eventually be represented in local government bodies.

### **Group Activities**

Participatory groups are formed around activities that meet the identified priority needs and aspirations of those who wish to become members. The purpose of these activities is primarily economic and developmental: to increase members' production and income, reduce costs, promote financial self-reliance and contribute to community

welfare. The nature of group activities will depend on the needs, desires and capabilities of each group, local economic, social and institutional potentials, and the project's design, objectives, staff and resources.

### **Project Implementing Agencies**

Participatory national development projects have to be implemented with the active involvement of supporting government institutions such as banks, training and research centres and women and youth councils, NGOs, including church-related development agencies, national NGO federations and small development-oriented organizations.

### **Choosing the Implementing Agency**

A local NGO or a government agency, or a partnership of both, can implement the project. Where the political climate is favourable, government agencies are preferable. In other cases, NGOs with experience at the grassroot level might be more suitable, given that NGOs usually have closer ties with grassroots rural people. The selection of an implementing agency will also depend on the type of project concerned and the capabilities and willingness of agencies to provide the participatory groups with the services and facilities they need.

Also, project planners should consider whether prospective implementing agencies are prepared to send field workers, such as social workers, to serve as project group promoters. In the case of training or socio-economic research centres, the project should ascertain whether these institutions have genuine concern for the rural poor and whether they can provide the expertise needed for participatory training, action

research and evaluation. Regardless of which agency is eventually chosen to implement the project, overall government support should be guaranteed from the beginning.

### **Project Coordination**

For a favourable project ending, there should be coordination. There is a need for a project coordinator. The project coordinator is employed by the implementing agency and is specifically charged with supporting, coordinating and supervising all operations concerned with the rural poor's participation. In line with these duties, he or she should be a member of the coordination committee at project level, should brief committee members on project activities and progress and should assist in the selection, training and guidance of group promoters.

The essential qualifications of a project coordinator include close acquaintance with the problems of the rural poor and the motivation to assist them, experience in working with field agents and social workers, familiarity with government and international development bodies at various levels, and experience in organizing training activities. The coordinator should also have an academic degree or equivalent in economics, social or agricultural science, and a good knowledge of the local language in the project area.

### **Coordination of Project Support**

The success of a participatory project depends on firm political backing and the allocation of sufficient development resources to meet participants' needs. The project should, therefore, establish coordination mechanisms that guide agencies involved in project implementation and support, monitor progress, avoid duplication of efforts and

disseminate information about project activities. These coordination mechanisms are of two types:

**Local Coordination Committee in the Project Area:** This committee should be composed of group delegates, project staff, representatives of local delivery agencies and, where opportune, local leaders. The committee's task is to provide local-level support for the project by promoting people's participation and solving implementation problems, especially in the delivery of services and facilities to the groups. It does this by helping to recruit and train project staff, especially group promoters, providing project staff with guidelines for the planning, implementation and evaluation of the rural poor's participation, and promoting effective two-way communication between low-income groups in the project areas and government and NGO officials at various levels.

The committee should also work to secure training for the groups from government and NGO bodies, promote the consolidation of the project's activities and their multiplication in other areas of the country, and perform any other function that will enhance the success of the project. In areas where a task force for a larger project already exists, the coordinating committee could be constituted as a participation sub-committee of the task force. Within this body, small technical committees could also be created for training, approval of group loans and monitoring and evaluation.

**National Coordinating Committee:** While coordination of project support services should be undertaken mainly at local level, encouragement and support from national level is essential. In the case of large projects, support might be organized through a special national coordinating committee or task force, or an existing national

committee established for similar development programmes. National committees might also appoint a sub-committee or special task force to deal with general policies, personnel, finance and other matters affecting participatory development.

Although the coordination mechanisms described above are desirable, flexibility is also needed. Arrangements will vary according to local conditions and the type of coordination bodies already existing in a country or project area. In addition, a project involving mainly government agencies may require a coordination mechanism different to that needed for a project implemented by an NGO. For the latter type of project, it may be appropriate to set up one or more small task forces at national and state levels that include representatives of the NGOs concerned and possibly of the supporting government agencies.

### **Finance**

Financial institutions such as banks, credit unions and informal savings societies, have an important role to play in participatory national development programmes. They provide a secure place for group members' savings, facilitate financial transactions and supply credit for investment in group projects. In Nigeria, however, the rural poor have little access to financial institutions. This is partly because the rural poor lack the physical collateral normally required for bank loans. Also, poor road maintenance makes it difficult for those living in rural areas to travel to the urban areas where most financial institutions are located.

Given these constraints, it will be helpful to improve the rural poor's access to essential financial services and promote their financial self-reliance. This could be done

by reducing the cost to the banks of delivering savings and credit services to small farmers and by lowering the cost to project participants of gaining access to these services (for example: constructing and maintaining good roads for easy transportation of farmers; bringing banks and other credit service institutions to the rural areas where majority of poor people reside).

### **Financial Arrangements**

The success of a participatory national development programme or project may depend, to a large extent, on the support of financial institutions. Selecting an appropriate institution during project formulation is, therefore, of the utmost importance. There are several selection criteria. First, the institution should have a widespread network of branches in rural areas, and particularly, in the project action areas. Its management should be willing to introduce and test group approaches to delivering financial services to small farmers, creative and innovative people, and should accept the concept of group-based social collateral.

The institution should be prepared to provide group-based or individual savings facilities for project participants and to introduce mechanisms to stimulate saving. Once an appropriate banking institution has been selected, the next step is to negotiate the Credit Guarantee Fund agreement. Nevertheless, the proposed agreement with the selected institution should be made a part of the project document.

### **Participatory Training**

To be successful, participatory national development projects need to adopt a participatory approach to training. Conventional training methods are didactic and often

paternalistic: the trainer views the trainee as a near-empty vessel to be filled with knowledge. Participatory training is based on an active dialogue between trainer and trainee that constitutes a learning experience for both.

In participatory projects, the main objectives of training are:

- to improve the economic and social conditions of the poor,
- to help participants to become active and productive group members and leaders,
- to encourage and supporting staff to adapt conventional training methods to meet the real needs of the poor, and
- to stimulate all those involved in the project to develop more appropriate training methods and materials.

The target groups for training are group members, project staff, supporting government and NGO staff, and local leaders and other influential people. Training should be pragmatic and based on solving immediate and recognized problems. In other words, it must be on-going training, a continuous process implemented within the context of any project action to improve the production, income and social conditions of the participants. In addition, trainers must have practical experience. They should include other project staff, technical officers of delivery agencies, experienced small scale producers, as well as successful groups that train and motivate others.

## **Training of Participants**

Training topics for project participants should include:

General participatory techniques that enhance member participation in decision making through efficient group formation and action: Subjects include group dynamics, leadership, planning of group activities, savings and credit, accounting, enterprise management, monitoring and evaluation, and negotiating and bargaining. Training might also centre on eliminating social problems such as alcohol abuse and gambling.

**Specialized training tailored to the type of project as well as to specific needs identified by the groups:** This includes skills acquisition, training in crop production, small livestock development, soil and water conservation, small-scale aquaculture, forestry and group marketing, and non-farm activities such as crop processing, weaving, tailoring, pottery, and production of house-building materials or handicrafts and the use of technology.

**Training in home and community development, especially for women:** Subjects include health, sanitation, first aid, nutrition and child care, as well as management leadership and community development.

Other recommended training topics include legal matters (such as tenancy rights), mortgaging, wages, and banking and administrative procedures. Useful information on these topics is frequently not communicated to the poor. Group literacy classes for adult women and men help them to analyse their problems and plan actions, and reduce their dependency upon literate community or group members.



### **Training for Project Staff**

Training of the project coordinator and project staff is training the trainer and this aims at introducing them to participatory approaches and procedures, and fostering motivation and team spirit. It should teach basic technical skills needed for group development, and experiment with innovative ways of poverty eradication.

The implementing agency should train the project coordinator in these topics as early as possible. Project staff needs, in particular, management training in production planning and implementation, transfer of appropriate technology, marketing, communication techniques, leadership, team-building, recordkeeping and writing of reports. An inception training workshop of at least three weeks should be given in or near the project area for project staff and key officials of the delivery system. It is advisable to invite twice as many candidates as needed initially in the project in order to secure a reserve pool of these field workers. The curriculum should be pragmatic and include work experience presentations by participants.

### **Training of Government and NGO Staff**

Government and NGO support staff also need training to familiarize themselves with participatory approaches and procedures to national development, the difficulties encountered by the rural poor in gaining access to delivery agencies, and the role these agencies should play in helping solve the problems of the poor. In many instances, these officials may need to be re-trained through an on-going exchange of experiences and views.

## **Participatory Research, Monitoring and Evaluation**

Research, monitoring and evaluation are essential functions of any development project. Properly performed, they help donors, governments and implementation agencies to identify project constraints and beneficiary needs, to monitor progress toward project objectives and to evaluate results. Since one of the main aims of participatory projects is to develop the rural poor's own capacity to identify and solve their problems, they must be involved directly in all phases of this process.

### **Participatory Research**

In planning and implementing participatory national projects, field investigators should involve the rural poor in collecting and analysing information on social and economic conditions, on constraints affecting the poor and their organizations, and on the community as a whole. Only through participatory action research of this kind can the project leaders learn about the problems of the poor and help them to find solutions.

Initially, the main research objectives are to select the project area and - within these community clusters, to identify the rural poor and to determine whether they are involved in development efforts, especially through existing local organizations. Research is then conducted to assess potentials for group formation, to plan and implement group activities and to develop appropriate training programmes.

During project implementation, ongoing participatory research aims at solving concrete problems and providing data for field workshops, developing and sustaining a workable participatory monitoring and evaluation system, carrying out case studies of rural poor groups and developing appropriate technologies for project participants.

Tools for participatory research are simple household and community surveys conducted periodically, mainly in collaboration with participants. These surveys will help to establish economic and social benchmarks, which highlight the status of the beneficiaries in the initial phase of the project and allow progress to be evaluated. Also, group discussions with community members are useful in familiarizing project staff with the local people and their situation, and in enhancing awareness of the community's problems.

### **Participatory Monitoring**

Participatory monitoring is a process of collecting, processing and sharing data to assist project participants in decision making and learning. The purpose is to provide all concerned with information as to whether group objectives are being achieved. Implementing agencies and donors also require data on progress toward overall project objectives. A workable participatory monitoring system should, therefore, be based on a multi-level approach that harmonizes the different - and often competing - information needs of those involved in the project and provides for regular meetings at each level to make use of the data generated.

The information gathered should indicate pitfalls in project performance and discrepancies between objectives planned and those achieved. This information will be used in modifying project objectives and rectifying project deficiencies. Participatory monitoring should be conceived from the beginning as part of the group learning and action process. This means that baseline and benchmark data, as well as data on inputs, outputs, work plans and progress made in group development, should be recorded, discussed and kept for later use.

Project leaders should keep record of their meetings and of major problems discussed, decisions made and actions undertaken, using elementary standardized forms contained in simple log-books. Each participant group should also learn a minimum of bookkeeping in order to record their loans and savings. The systematic collection of data on loans and repayment, in conjunction with simple cost-benefit analyses, gives essential insights into the capacity of groups to manage their affairs and improve their conditions.

### **Participatory Evaluation**

On-going evaluation is the systematic analysis by beneficiaries and project staff of monitored information, with a view to enabling them to adjust or redefine project objectives, policies, institutional arrangements, resources and activities, where necessary. Evaluation should include not only tangible and measurable results of group activities but, as much as possible, spill-over benefits that facilitate the group members' economic, social and human development. It should consider, for example, progress in acquiring verbal and writing skills, in presenting ideas logically and clearly, in overcoming timidity when dealing with officials and in overcoming anti-social habits, such as excessive drinking and gambling.

## **7.5 VITAL CONDITIONS FOR REBUILDING THE NATION**

Nations torn by war require rebuilding to consolidate sustainable peace and development. However, certain conditions have to be met in order to get to that level. In nations formerly at war, hostility, bitterness, discontentment and distrust abound.

Citizens will begin to mistrust their leaders. They will literally lose confidence in their government. In this section, I present some vital conditions for rebuilding the nation.

### **Setting Priorities**

Every successful development ever experienced, has its own secrets. Setting priorities is one of the conditions for rebuilding a nation. Just like successful business men/women, set their daily priorities, it is very important for leaders in government to set priorities. They should be determined to focus on the development challenge of their country, which is the primary reason why they have been elected or appointed. Failure to prioritize this and to work towards achieving it will lead to undesirable outcome.

### **Relationship Building**

Relationship building is another vital condition for rebuilding the nation. A leader's relationship with the governed, determines how responsive the citizens will be. Here, relationship signifies how people relate with others. Hence, leaders of countries emerging from war must first begin by building strong relationship with the citizens. A leader of any organisation or nation cannot achieve maximum success without the loyal support of the members of that organization or nation. A good relationship with citizens can facilitate the recovery of peace, which in turn, creates the atmosphere conducive for developing the nation.

## **Love and Commitment**

Rebuilding the nation for development is full of responsibilities which require love and total commitment. Commitment means being dedicated to a cause. It also entails mandating oneself to do the right things, and at the right time in the family, in the society or nation (even when it is not convenient for you to do them). Commitment is an obligatory responsibility for both national leaders and citizens.

Nonchalant attitudes exhibited by many leaders in their various countries, have, in one way or the other, distorted development and peace in such countries. Nigeria is a good example. Leaders have to understand that the welfare of the citizens is more important than any other selfish interest they may have. Hence, it is very important for leaders to devote more time to tackle issues that may lead to grievance amongst citizens and other members of the society.

Love is the ultimate sacrifice to pay in order to win the support of the citizens. When a leader loves his/her nation, such leader will ensure that he/she fulfils the promise made to the citizens before such leader was voted into office. In countries still struggling to develop, such leader will work hard to ensure that popular demands of the people are met which include creating employment opportunities, improving the health sector, creating an enabling environment for business, constant electricity supply, among others.

## **The Wisdom Factor**

Wisdom is crucial for rebuilding the nation and developing the country. It signifies the ability to make good and reasonable judgments. It uplifts an individual, and makes him/her outstanding. Wisdom is also the ability to make right plans. Before people will begin to vie for public posts such as the office of the presidency and other sensitive positions in the country, it is advisable for such people to seek for wisdom and knowledge first, because. Such positions are not for the unwise who just want to fill these positions without any plans to work for the nation, or to effect positive changes in the country.

## **Humility and Patience**

Humility and patience are among the vital conditions for rebuilding the nation. Humility means, not being arrogant or rude, irrespective of your age, qualification, status, or possession. It means, being modest, meek, respectful, or polite. The type of people who make up the government in most developing countries, are arrogant people who do not care about the citizens, but only use them to achieve their ambitious aim of assuming power and stealing from the government.

A good leader is humble, patient and responsible. Such leader humbles himself or herself to communicate effectively with the people led. Also, such leader is able to exercise patience, even when the pressure is much on him/her. This will enable the leader to give ample attention to the citizens or their representatives, to know their concerns, and to proffer solutions to their problems based on mutual agreement. The

citizens, on the other hand, will feel heard, honoured, cared for, and this will in turn, help build their confidence and give them a sense of belonging.

### **Honesty and Prudence**

Honesty is being truthful. A nation cannot enjoy peace when the leaders are liars. It is not good to lie to the people placed in your care. Leaders ought to be honest so that their citizens will be able to stand with them always, in good or tough times. Consequently, it is very important for people in leadership positions or those entrusted with social responsibilities to be prudent. Prudence has to do with careful management; adequate planning; the application of wisdom, and the ability to make adequate savings. It simply means being accountable.

When those in leadership positions fail to be transparent by giving account to the citizens, they begin to protest. When this protest is prolonged without any feedback from the government, it could lead to violent conflicts. A prudent leader is an accountable leader who makes adequate planning, and keeps adequate records for the present, and for the future.

### **Unity and Agreement**

Unity and agreement are very crucial to rebuilding the nation and stabilizing peace. Unity signifies a state of oneness, harmony, or being in mutual agreement with one another. Unity gives strength. When a nation or family is united, they are able to



achieve better results. Moreover, it is profitable for nations to dwell in unity. By doing this, they mobilize effort to rebuild their nations.

## **7.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter presented the field research of this investigation and a participatory national development framework for Nigeria. Findings from the field research show that Nigeria's state of underdevelopment is as a result of lack of credible and committed leadership, corruption, inequality, selfishness, and lack of unified and participatory national development agenda. The vibrant group of the society such as youths and women are often marginalized or underrepresented in decision-making that relates to national development. When they are included in decision-making, their opinions do not make any change to what has already been concluded by those in national authority.

In addition, vital conditions for rebuilding the nation were examined. For national development to be sustainable in Nigeria, I recommend a participatory approach to be considered. An inclusive and participatory national development planning can address the perceived needs of the citizens. Plans developed through this approach will have resilience and integrity over the medium term.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **GENERAL CONCLUSION**

#### **8.0 CONCLUSION**

Briefly, chapter one of this dissertation provided a general introduction to the investigation. It presented the theoretical framework for the study and reviewed some literary works on the conceptual underpinnings of democracy and development. From the ongoing, it is clear that there are no generally accepted definitions or meanings of these terminologies.

Chapter two examined the relevance of peacebuilding and development in fragile or war torn states or countries. Power-sharing as it relates to Africa's flawed elections was also examined, and chapter three discussed and drew a linkage between democratization, good governance, human rights and national development.

Chapter four examined striking African perspectives of democracy and development and chapter five presented the historical overview of democracy and development in Nigeria. In addition, this chapter presented the vital roles played by women and youths in the development of the country.

Chapter six examined governance, development plans, reforms and challenges in meeting the MDGs in the country, and chapter seven presented the field research with data presentation, analysis and research findings. Also, a participatory national

development framework was proposed for Nigeria in this chapter in addition to vital conditions for rebuilding the nation.

Finally, chapter eight drew the conclusion of the study and provided further recommendations to promote peace and sustainable development in Nigeria.

## **8.1 RECOMMENDATION**

Nigeria is too big to be held ransom by a few people all in the name of leadership. For development to take shape and peace enjoyed by all, a participatory national development agenda should be adopted by the Nigerian government, and democratic principles should be imbibed by the Nigerian leaders and people.

There is widespread support for the inclusion of the members of the civil society in peacebuilding and development process. This finds expression in the unreserved support for participation, given that it serves as a catalyst in any development and peace effort. Therefore, the involvement and participation of all members of the society (men, women and youths alike) in the management of conflicts and in development plans have to be prioritised in policies and institutional frameworks governing the affairs of Nigeria.

Democracy allows popular participation of the citizens in the electoral process. In politics, the expression of the will of the people through vote should be respected by the political class. Politics is governed by rules and regulations. These rules and regulations should be respected by the political actors in the country. Also, there is a

need to develop a clear political ideology which strengthens democracy as this will enable the citizens develop interest in politics and to choose candidates during elections.

Without doubt, it is imperative to address the problems hindering Nigerian development plans in order to accelerate development in the country. The political leaders and top bureaucrats should be disciplined to ensure that the objectives of national plans are realized, and this should be inclusive of all stakeholders involved in national development planning. Moreover, the development plans will be worthless if the political executives and senior administrators are not committed to implementing them sincerely. Many development plans in Nigeria have suffered in this respect. As such, corrective measures should be taken into consideration.

Although INEC is portrayed to be autonomous, it is in reality a quasi autonomous body. Its dependent nature on the executives as encapsulated in the constitution clearly underscores this as evidenced in section 154(1) of the 1999 constitution. This section expressly confers the power to appoint INEC chairman, members of the commission and Resident Electoral Commissioners from the states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) on the president. The implications of this on autonomy and the critical issue of funding are enormous. On this note, it is recommended that the power to appoint the Chairman and commission members should be constitutionally vested on the Council of states considering its composition and reflection of federal character. In this way, INEC would be truly independent and better positioned to conduct free and fair elections in the country.

On the issue of funding, INEC should be granted fiscal autonomy. Rather than channeling its funding through the presidency, it should be charged to the consolidated revenue fund. Hence, the annual financial allocation to the commission should be

reflected in the appropriation bill, while its approved budgetary allocations should be disbursed directly to INEC by the Federation Account Allocation Committee via the first charge line under the consolidated Revenue Funds of the Federal Government. Alternatively, a National Election Fund could be established and the approved budgetary allocations of the commission, disbursed directly to INEC. This will, undoubtedly, further assure INEC's financial autonomy and prevent it from undue manipulation by the executive.

Furthermore, efforts should be made to prevent electoral malpractices in whatever its manifestations. Culprits found guilty of electoral offences should be punished accordingly and where an incumbent rises to power through established cases of electoral misconduct, the relevant legal statutes should be invoked to address the anomaly. Also, there is a need for the political leadership and public officials to be exposed to continuous training which will enhance their efficiency.

The electoral administrators should be men and women of proven integrity as this can assure the citizens that their votes will count and they will be willing to participate in all elections. Importantly, there should be serious punishment for those who violate the electoral laws of the land. Also, citizens should be educated on the basic tenets of democracy.

Equally commendable in addition to the introduction of the Card Readers is the use of Permanent Voters Cards (PVCs) at the 2015 election. However, the distribution of this was adjudged to be poor in many places particularly in the South-Eastern parts of the country; a situation, many perceived to be a calculated strategy to disenfranchise voters in these areas. To ensure adequate and even distribution of the PVCs in future

elections, sufficient time for this exercise is expedient and its collection/distributions should be efficient and time-saving to avoid a repeat of what happened during previous elections.

The deplorable roles played by some judges and men of the police force leave much to be desired by strategic institutions that were established to sustain the course of democracy in the country. It is important to note that the conditions of service among public officers should be enhanced to reduce the temptations of pervert justice. Respect for human dignity should be treated as a serious matter. Hence, strengthening of government institutions and agencies responsible for safeguarding and promoting human rights should be established.

Land disputes in Nigeria remain a serious threat to national and State security. The resilience of these disputes calls for a comprehensive national security formulation. This should also take into consideration structural violence arising from poverty, exploitation and inequality. State interventions have only served as temporary, rather than lasting solutions. Indeed, in many cases, these strategies have only deepened and intensified the conflicts.

A meaningful intervention in the conflict in Nigeria requires an in-depth, integrated and comprehensive conflict transformation strategy by a third party NGO with the people involved. This will be aimed at building the capacity of the people in the community towards reconciliation and rebuilding of torn relationships. This could be achieved by bringing together all parties involved in the conflict to a problem-solving workshop which will create the necessary atmosphere for them to dialogue and make known their interests, needs and fears, thereby rebuilding themselves. This will

also empower them to take their fate in their own hands and to take control of the peace process.

Because of the Nigerian government's power over all aspects of the people's lives, and the NGOs lack of capacity to effect structural changes, it is necessary to have a synergic peace-making effort involving the government and the NGOs. It is here that the religious organizations can play a vital role, since the Nigerian people are quite religious. It is also necessary to create a mechanism owned by the people for managing subsequent disputes in the affected areas.

Women play complex and important roles in the country as bridge-builders, peacemakers and rural development partners. These contributions often go unrecognized, especially at the formal level. They are vibrant in the agricultural sector, and it is noteworthy that various attempts by the Nigerian government and agricultural development institutions to address gender inequality in agricultural development seem to have failed as a result of male biases and patriarchal ideologies which characterize development policies.

Also, the prevalence of notions such as "men as head of household and breadwinners," give men far greater advantages over the women with respect to access to land, credit, farm inputs, technologies, extension services, and so on, especially in the rural areas. Consequently, women have been disadvantaged and thus hindered from increasing their productivity. Unless the government and agricultural development institutions demystify and break through male bias and patriarchal ideologies which literally fail to recognize women as active contributors to national development, the

allocation of resources and training in development policies will continue to be channelled to men.

The demystification of patriarchal ideology has to begin by dispelling the erroneous notion that women are not active participants in national development, and that they cannot be beneficiaries of development initiatives and packages. It is only when this notion is dispelled and women recognized as food producers, nation builders and equally active members of the society that their marginalized social and economic status will be addressed. This implies a redefinition of notions of work, labour force, and economic activity to include the informal work performed by women.

Moreover, there is a need to make maximum use of the genuine potential of women's groups and networks in peacebuilding and development activities. Given that they are very active and strategic in peacemaking in their various regions, the national and state governments have to promote their involvement at the decision-making levels of peace processes. Most importantly, women must participate in all aspects of designing, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of peacebuilding, and development processes in the country. Ensuring that women are actively involved in conflict prevention, post-conflict resolution and reconstruction is necessary for preventing the recurrence of conflict in the country.

The incorporation of a gender perspective in general national development policy documents and guidelines and the incorporation of a gendered approach in peacebuilding and development policies have to be promoted in the whole system. If gender equality is to be promoted, it is essential that women's different and unequal



needs, and the responsibilities and opportunities created by the unequal division of labour are addressed.

In addition, a gender-sensitive approach has to be promoted in Nigeria. This approach requires not only the incorporation of gender planning in programmes, but also the development of appropriate methodologies for planning and monitoring projects for their impact on gender relations. Only by understanding the effect of projects and policies on women and men, is it possible to know whether their various needs are met. Focus should not only be on meeting women's practical needs, but also their strategic needs. In this way, women will be empowered and emancipated, thereby promoting the development of a secure society.

Decentralization can improve access to decision making for local communities by bringing planning closer to the grassroots level. When the local communities are empowered to get involved in making plans that affect their lives, this gives them the opportunity to ensure that their demands are met; increases their control over the decision-making and resource allocation process, and enhances transparency and accountability. Here, decentralization has to ensure that there is plurality of community involvement in project/programme design and implementation through the strengthening of the relationship between the State and local communities.

Decentralization takes place gradually and is expected to enhance the opportunities for participation by placing more power and resources at a closer, familiar, and more easily influenced level of government. In environment with poor tradition of citizen participation therefore, decentralization can be an important step in creating regular, predictable opportunities for citizen-state interaction. It could be a solution, not

only for the enhancement of the State's capacity to accelerate local development, but also serve as a way to enhance the poor's voice and power in eradicating poverty and injustice.

Good and transparent governance is associated with decentralization. Although people are the means and the end of development, they have different amounts of power and resources, and different interests. All hands are not equal in Nigeria; yet democracy and decentralization, in particular, must accommodate the interests of the majority and minority, the poor and the rich, the privileged and the disadvantaged. A government that ignores the needs of large section of the population in setting and implementing policy is not perceived to be a capable government. The processes of strengthening institutions in the country, particularly institutions that promote good governance and participatory democracy, must be pursued to enhance citizens' engagement with the government.

There is a need to create a stable macroeconomic environment in Nigeria that will contribute to sustainable growth, and equitable distribution of the benefits of the economic growth. In this case, there is an urgent need to rebuild all major roads in the country. Evidence shows that almost all major roads in Nigeria are in a very bad state. It is not possible to experience economic growth in such environment.

Factors such as building an educated and healthy population and promoting a productive and vibrant labour force will constitute the driver of the economy. However, nobody must be left out. Both educated women, men, youths are crucial in the development of any nation. To support the institutions that create a vibrant labour force through adequate training, resources, and technical and infrastructural support will facilitate economic growth. Also, it will be a better opportunity to promote those who

are into large scale agricultural and food production in this time of economic recessions and hunger.

It is worrisome that many Nigerians are very hardworking, full of initiatives and resourcefulness. In other words, it is imperative to maximize the proven productive capacities of the teeming population of Nigeria by improving their skills, self-reliance and self-confidence and according them equal opportunities with their counterparts. Economically empowered people are vibrant in decision-making and are capable of meeting their basic needs and the needs of their immediate families. They can contribute toward the development of the nation. Therefore, efforts should be made in supporting grassroots women, men, and youths, as well as in promoting income generation for them. Entrepreneurial education seems to be the major key policy to promote entrepreneurship development. Therefore, entrepreneurship education should be inculcated into school curriculum at all levels.

Considering the overwhelming influence of ethnic organisations in the socio-cultural and political life of city dwellers and the extant policy of public and private partnership in the process of development and nation-building, ethnic vigilante organisations should be involved in the management of insecurity as well as governance of the mega-cities. However, caution must be taken to ensure that such organisations are not hijacked by ethnic entrepreneurs to promote ethnic tension or serve the selfish interests of politicians and ethnic chieftains. One way city planners and managers can achieve this is by integrating the associations in the formal administrative structures of the city. In this connection, the associations must be orientated and trained to subsume their ethnic interests under the larger national interests. When this is done, the pitfalls

observed in previous attempts to involve ethnic vigilante associations in fighting crime in the mega-cities will be avoided

Legal reform does not always guarantee equal treatment. Therefore, further action is required to ensure that gender-neutral laws are enforced at the national and local levels. Also, adopting targeted interventions that correct gender inequalities at the local and national levels is very necessary.

The funding of primary health care should be increased, so that quality health services at national and community levels will be provided. Maternal mortality should be declared a crisis and a Maternal Mortality Reduction Agency should be set up and given the mandate to reduce the rate of maternal deaths within a given time period.

Family planning education should be improved so that it can be utilised to prevent pregnancies in adolescents, to limit number of pregnancies and to space child births. Private sector provision of health care services should be standardized and regulated along the public sector provision.

Budget transparency is a democratic practice and an attribute of good governance. In this context, it denotes openness of government's financial plans and expenditure, and accords the indigenous citizens, civil society organisations (CSOs) and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) the right to access information about the allocation and use of public resources. This facilitates citizens' assessment of government officials and the use of public funds. It is also a precondition for accountability and a core democratic value for national development.

Peace and sustained stability are pre-conditions for any significant growth and development. But, these do not happen magically. They are sought for and worked for to become real and effective. Thus, a widely accepted participatory national development plan will help mobilize foreign and domestic resources, both human and material, from the private sector, NGOs, local governments and communities. Moreover, the integrity of the planning process will allow development partners to support the national plans, thus reducing the transaction costs of development assistance without the need for donors to develop their own plans and strategies for the country.

Participatory methods can be used by government planners and development institutions for data collection, consultation, collaboration, joint decision making, or for empowerment through shared control. The methods can be employed at different stages, from initial conceptualization through implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Participatory information-gathering exercises are useful for identifying the perspectives of affected citizens and for supplementing quantitative and other qualitative (non-participatory) data.

Consultation processes where themes or problems and proposed solutions are predetermined by outsiders are unlikely to generate commitment and produce desirable results in the country. Therefore, consultation should be understood as a limited modality for engaging stakeholders. Collaborative processes invite stakeholders to become partners in the decision-making process so that citizens, constituents, and institutional stakeholders develop a sense of ownership which enhances the likelihood of attaining effective and sustainable results. Finally, shared control or empowerment allows affected stakeholders to be actors in their own development, with government

and development partners helping communities plan together and build local networks thereby developing the nation.

Without doubt, the national budget lacks transparency, given that it does not conform to the standards set by the IMF. It is neither clear nor open to the public. Lack of transparency creates room for corrupt practices, such as mismanagement of public funds, and this in turn, inhibits the analysis and monitoring of the implementation of budgetary allocations. Transparency can facilitate citizens' participation in budgetary plans by promoting their inputs in the budget processes; in monitoring progress and assessing whether the government executed plans conform to the budgetary allocations. Transparency and participation of local citizens and CSOs in budget plans in the country could bring about better budgetary outcomes by reducing manipulations of budget and misappropriation of resources.

Charting the way forward for inclusive and participatory growth, will require the Nigeria's Budget Office and the Ministry of Finance to consider consulting the inputs of all stakeholders openly in preparing Federal Budgets, and making the information available to the public on the office's websites, television, radio, and on print media. For Nigeria to develop and peace stabilize in the country, transparency has to be nurtured and practiced by every citizen of Nigeria, especially government officials. To this end, I recommend the Budget Office and the Ministry of Finance of Nigeria, as well as members of the Executive Council to promote participatory and transparent budgeting.

## FUTURE RESEARCH

Given that this doctoral dissertation does not represent a final proposed solution to the problems of Nigeria, nor is it a new investigation in this very field of study, it does not end here. As human beings, we always strive to improve what we have developed or proposed continuously in order to achieve the desired change for a better future. In other words, this dissertation serves as a beginning of a future research which I plan to pursue. In the future, I plan to investigate how to discover, maximize and harness the creative potentials of women and youths for a sustainable national development.

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