

DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

Chuks Cletus Egugbo

Department Of Public Administration, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State

Email: Egugbo@yahoo.Com, 08057421131

&

Owen Abang Sunday

Department Of Political Science, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State

Email: Abangsundayowen@gmail.com, +2348037240836

Abstract

This paper examines the role of democracy in Nigeria's development in the fourth republic. This becomes necessary considering the rigors with which countries of the world fought against authoritarian military regimes. It is believed that democracy as a form of government has what it takes to conduce any country to the desired development. To a very large extent democracy has contributed to the development of the most developed countries of the world and this partly explains why effort was made to ensure it was adopted as a form of government in Nigeria. This paper found out that democracy just as a word and a form of government cannot on its own engender development. The ability, capacity and efficacy of democracy in engendering development is in its practice, that is to say that the nature and pattern of democratic practice and operation to a very large extent determines whether democracy would bring about development or not. It appears many Nigerians are feeling disappointed because since 1999 when Nigeria returned to democracy they have not witnessed tremendous improvement in their lives as well as the country, the reasons why this is so constitute the major thrust of the paper. This paper is qualitative in nature and the theory of participatory democracy is adopted as the theoretical framework. This paper recommends amongst other things that there should be political education to Nigerians to enable them know and play their roles effectively in the democratic project.

Keywords: development, democracy, political education, democratic practice.

Introduction

The centrality of forms of government in a country's development made it imperative to interrogate democracy as a form of government to ascertain whether it has succeeded in engendering development in Nigeria or not. Since 1966 when Nigeria first witnessed the first military rule, the country had been oscillating between military and democratic rule. But for the first time in the history of Nigeria, the country has witnessed about Eighteen (18) years of uninterrupted democratic rule. The insistence on democratic rule in Nigeria stems from the belief and conviction that democracy has the capacity of conducting Nigeria to development. This explains why Egugbo (2016) asserts that "Democracy has been accepted as the best form of government by virtually all countries of the world, hence, its adoption and application as a governance system across the globe. For democracy to be accepted as the best form of government, it means there are inherent ingredients and features that bring about good governance. It is important to state that the ingredients and features of democracy on their own do not guarantee good governance. Good governance is derived by the right application of the ingredient of democracy in the political and governance process. This explains why good governance is not found in all countries that claim to be democratic". This view was corroborated

by Awa cited in Akindele (1998:42) when he said that "few years before the 21st Century, there was some inexplicable concern of many statesmen and important world bodies for all nations to adopt democracy as a form of government. Although, in most countries inequality is entrenched in the socio-political system, yet the spokesmen insist that life of men on earth will be greatly improved morally, physically and mentally if all people came to live under democratic government". It is apt to state that the right practice of democracy has necessitated the development of countries like America and other European countries, Nigerians have been hoping and expecting that democratic practice would bring about the development of themselves and their country.

Nigeria and Nigerians are still struggling to develop despite the fact that there is a democratic rule in place. Democracy just as a form of government on its own cannot bring about development, the nature and pattern of the practice of democracy in any country would determine whether it would bring about development or not. Democratic practice has not been able to conduce Nigeria to meaningful development because of the way and manner democracy is being practiced. On this note, Ake (1996:6) opines that "Nigeria for example, democratizes with no separation of powers, all powers having been vested in an

imperial presidency. There is hardly any rule of law, no plausible system of justice, no transparency. The coercive institutions of the state are above the law, civil society is below it, ordinary people are out of sight, far beyond its protection. The judiciary is dissociated from justice, and the bureaucracy is oppressive and arbitrary. The Nigeria State like the colonial state before it turns on the calculus of strength". In a country where the above scenario prevails, hardly would democracy bring about development. Our task in this paper is to examine the nexus between democracy and development, the factors that constitute obstacle to democracy as well as prospect for democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

Theoretical framework

This paper adopts the theory of participatory democracy as a theoretical framework. Jean- Jacques Rousseau is regarded as the major and pioneer proponent of the participatory democratic theory. The theory of participatory democracy is of the view that people's political participation is the basic principle of democracy. According to Gauba (2003) "political participation denotes the active involvement of individuals and groups in the governmental processes affecting their lives". To him, when citizens themselves play an active role in the process of formulation and implementation of public policies and decisions, their activity is called political participation. Political participation takes the form of voting, standing for office, campaigning for a political party; or the maintenance of a public park etc.

Democracy can only be a vehicle for the achievement of development if there is the active participation of the people in politics and governance. This is because it is the people that would determine those to occupy government positions through voting and after voting, it is the responsibility of the voters to consistently and constantly engage those they voted for to ensure that policies and programmes that would favor them are not only made but implemented. This is the only way democracy can bring about development.

Issues on democracy and development

Democracy appears to be the reigning form of government because virtually all countries of the world like to be associated with it and this also explains why it has attracted the attention of scholars across the globe. According to Akindele (1998) "today, one can hardly talk of governance of men, its goodness or otherwise anywhere within our world regardless of ideological orientation or partitioning, without reference to the concept of democracy".

Democracy originated from two Greek words, "Demo", meaning the people, and "Kratein", meaning the rule. Simply put therefore, democracy means the rule by the people; it can also be said to be a form of government whereby the people rule. This explains why Abraham Lincoln views "democracy as the government of the people, by the people and for the people". To Appadorai(1974) "Democracy may be described as a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by themselves". He went further to say that a 'state may, in political science, be termed a democracy if it provides institutions for the expression and in this last analysis, the supremacy of the popular will on basic questions of social direction and policy'.

Burns cited in Akindele(1998) in his book "democracy" defined representative democracy as a system whereby "all (i.e people) elected a few to do for them what they could not do together". Akindele(1998), defines democracy as a system of government through which representatives are periodically elected by the qualified adult voters(electorate) into the seat of Government to be responsible for directing and deliberating on the affairs of the state on behalf of the electors. This shows that democracy is a form of government whereby people chose periodically those to govern them. The nature of the governance to a very large extent would determine whether there would be development or not. This explains why North Cited in Afeikhena (2004: 207) opines that "Development is now viewed as an uncertain process and by inference, highly correlated to the quality of governance. According to (UNDP 2002)" Democratic governance can trigger a virtuous cycle of development as political freedom empowers people to press for policies and expand social and economic policies, and as open debates help communities shape their priorities. It is on this note Oyovbaire (1987) opines that "Democracy is more than a political procedure. It is a political framework from which public policies emerge and are administered for society. These policies are propelled (through articulation and aggregation) by members of a political class – a class ideally open to recruitment and exit and assumed to possess the confidence of the entire citizens of the political system". A political system that is truly democratic allows for greater involvement of the citizens in the political and governance process and as such in a better position to agitate and press for their welfare.

The ingredients of democracy such as equality, periodic, free and fair elections, supremacy of the

constitution, universal adult suffrage, rule of law, respect for fundamental human rights, presence of an unbiased electoral umpire etc. differentiate democracy from all other forms of government. According to Parekh (1972) "with all its imperfections, the liberal democratic system, it is argued, is better than any other; and deserves the fullest allegiance and loyalty of its members". When these ingredients of democracy are in place and are strictly adhered to there is high tendency that democratic form of government can conduce a country to development. This view was corroborated by Heater cited in Enemu (2015) when he asserted that "there are, it is suggested, five basic elements without which no community can call itself truly democratic. These elements are equality, sovereignty of the people, respect for human life, the rule of law, and liberty of the individual". According to Jega (2006) "the constitutive elements of the liberal democratic process include the following:

- Representation: "Freedom to choose"; people choosing their representatives, through periodic 'free and fair' elections
- Participation: "getting involved"; people being involved in choosing representatives and in determining their affairs
- Responsive and responsible/ accountable governance: delivery of services that efficiently and effectively satisfy the needs and expectations of the people, and which maximize pleasure and minimize pains to the greatest number of people.
- Equality before the law: rule of law, fairness and justice
- Transparency and accountability in public conduct.

To Nwabueze (2004) "the constitutive elements of constitutional democracy refer to elements constituting its essence; that is to say, elements essential or indispensable, not merely necessary, in its definition. They are institutions, principles and processes integral, not external, to it as pertaining to its essence, and without which it cannot meaningfully exist. The most basic of these institutions and principles include: the institution of popular control of the decision-making processes of government exercised through such devices as free and fair elections at periodic intervals of time, representative government bodies free speech, public assemblies and processions. Others are protection of civil and political rights as legal claims enforceable by the individual against the state, accountability of the rulers to the mass of the people etc. These are the elements that require adherence and application for democracy to be able to bring about development.

Development as a concept is multi-dimensional and as such different scholars and development agencies have defined it from different perspectives. The dimensions of development include but not limited to economic, social, political, environmental and cultural. According to Sen Cited in Afeikhana (2004) "while economic and social progress and the elimination of poverty are key objectives of development, the development well being also encompasses freedom from fear and arbitrary arrest, free speech, free association, and the right to run for and hold political office". To Stiglitz cited in Afeikhana (2004) "Development is now seen as a transformation of the society, a move from the old ways of thinking, and old forms of social and economic organization to new ones". According to Rodney (1972) "Development in human society is a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing. He went further to assert that development means that an economy must register advances which in turn will promote further progress. Rodney viewed Development principally from the perspective of economic growth and development which to him will bring about the development of other spheres of human endeavor. This position is in line with that of Karl Marx when he said that "economic substructure is the real foundation that raises the political, religious, social and legal superstructure". To Rodney and Marx, the development of other spheres of the society is dependent on the development of the economy. But our argument in this paper is that democracy has the capacity of bringing about development in all ramifications and this is dependent on the nature and pattern of democratic practice.

According to Abraham (2010) "conceptualization of development has been dynamic as the development indicators and indices change with time, environment, society, knowledge, cross cultural contacts and ideological perspectives". He went further to say that in the context of the contemporary millennium development goals issued by the united nations, development may be conceptualized as an increasing reduction or elimination of poverty and hunger, educating all children, ensuring gender equality, control or eradication of infant and maternal mortality and disease; using environment wisely and implementation of the ideals of global links or working together for development globally. The millennium development goal which is central to a country's development can only be achieved with the proper practice of democracy.

The nexus between democracy and development in Nigeria

A symbiotic relationship exists between democracy and development in Nigeria's fourth republic to the extent that they influence each other. The nature and pattern of democratic practice to a very extent determines the level of development just as the level of development of the society also determines the nature and pattern of democratic practice. This made Enemuo (2015) to assert that "even as the authoritarian regimes were being replaced, doubts were expressed concerning the sustainability of democracy in Africa. Some analysts also questioned the focus on democratic reform given the parlous state of African economies. However, it is the view of Peter Anyang Nyongo, one of the earliest contributors to the debate, that there exists a definite correlation between the lack of democracy in Africa politics and the deterioration in socio-economic conditions on the continent". Anyang cited in Enemuo (2015) posits that "Africa needs democracy not only because democracy is desirable but because it will greatly facilitate development. According to Ake, there are four ways in which political authoritarianism undermined development in Africa. First he says political repression has turned politics into "warfare", thereby infecting leaders with a "siege mentality" and effectively relegating development issues to very low priorities.

Second, the reliance on repression by leader has 'disconnected' them from their people and 'completely dissociated' public policy from social needs. Third, constant coercion of the people has alienated them from the state which is therefore seen as a force to be 'feared, evaded, cheated and defeated as circumstances permit'. The fourth way in which political repression contributed to Africa's underdevelopment is occasioning an "enormous waste of human resources, the very engine of development".

This made Enemuo (2015) to say that "democracy has potential to accelerate the pace of development by promoting popular participation and ensuring accountability in governance. Besides, if the people are given a say in government, in the choice of their leaders and policy directions, it becomes more likely that their concerns and aspirations will be incorporated into development plans and that their commitment will be better assured thereby". This view was corroborated by Fawole (2005) when he asserted that "democracy fundamentally involves healthy competition for all governmental positions of power, mass participation by the adult population in the processes and procedures for choosing leaders and

governments, and enjoyment of certain fundamental freedoms that are sine qua non to the exercise of the right to participate in the choice of leaders and policies".

Viewing democracy from the above perspectives, it becomes very glaring to see how democracy can bring about development. This is because when citizens have unfettered freedom to participate not only in the political process but also governance process they have the necessary opportunities and avenues to initiate and ensure policies that would be beneficial to them are not only made but also implemented and as a result there would be meaningful and reasonable improvement in their lives. According to Roger Leroy (1999), "Good school system, safe communities and adequate health standards are the results of political decisions. These decisions are influenced by who participates, who is prevented from participating, and who chooses not to participate in government and politics". This made Egugbo (2015) to opine that "the higher the level of popular participation in politics, the higher the quality of governance in any given polity, when those in government are accountable to the people there is every likelihood they take the interest of the people seriously and this in turn positively affect national development". Development to a very large extent is a product of the activities of those in leadership positions as well as the led.

As we have noted, democracy has the capacity of engendering development in Nigeria if it is properly practiced but experience has shown that democracy is far from being effectively and properly practiced in Nigeria hence the difficulty in achieving development through democracy. According to Fawole (2005) "Political competition has been a charade, while the requisite civil and political freedoms for participation in the political process have been treated as mere privileges to be dispensed at the whim of the rulers of the state. Thus, the development of an enduring democratic culture has eluded Nigerians,, and the various civilian governments since independence have been vulnerable to assault and disruption by the military". This made Nwolise cited in Tribune (2014) to aver that "we are in a civil rule and not yet in a democracy; we are still transiting to a democracy. We will have democracy in Nigeria when we get to the level where the masses truly choose their leaders and their verdict stands. We will have democracy when we do away with godfatherism, political thuggery and political assassination. Democracy is about the people determining who rules them. They also determine the policies of government". Just as democracy in terms of its practice determines the level of development of a

given country, development also can influence democratic practice. The meaningfulness of democracy is in its practice and the level of sophistication and development of the society would determine how it would be practiced. There are institutions of democracy as well as its elements, these institutions and elements needs to be fully understood by the citizens because if they are ignorant of their duties and responsibilities as citizens they would not be able to fully participate in the democratic process and hence development would be at bay. That is why Almond et al., (2008) opine that “the more citizens are involved and the more influential their choices, the more democratic the system”. It takes well enlightened citizens to effectively participate in the democratic process.

As stated earlier, Economic development is an aspect of development and as Marx and Rodney posited economic development is a precursor to other aspect of development, democracy inclusive. According to Sklar cited in Osaghae (2010) development and democracy are concomitant and mutually – reinforcing processes, socio-economic underdevelopment continues to be regarded as the greatest obstacle to democracy in the developing world”. This scenario captures the situation of Nigeria succinctly. The level of youth unemployment and poverty is very high, politicians capitalize on this condition to recruit some as thugs during elections as well as buy votes. This condition poses grave danger to the country’s democracy. This explains why Fawole (2015) said “everywhere you look in the country, democracy is under a concentrated assault, so-called democratic are gang-raping (more like gang-banging actually) the electorate, leaving the generality of the people always holding the short end of stick. In many states of the Federation, democracy has been so crudely panel-beaten and deformed to the point it is hardly recognizable anymore. Governors rule their states as iron-fisted emperors rather than as democratically elected leaders, they maintain an imperial and authoritarian vice-grip on their respective political party structures; they pocket state houses of assembly by using a combination of threats, intimidation and pecuniary inducements to suborn elected legislators into antidemocratic conduct, and thus operate imperiously with hardly any resistance from any quarter. Democracy is the worst for it, and the Nigerian electorates are terribly short changed as their politicians conspire to manipulate the instruments of governance to rape the hard-won democracy with impunity and reckless abandon”.

From the above assertion, it becomes very clear why there has not been meaningful development in Nigeria despite the return of democracy since 1999. According to the Economist Magazine, cited in Nation (2014: 5 “the country may be a giant, but it is still poor: Nigeria ranks 153rd out of 187 countries in the UN’s Human Development Index. Despite the rapid growth of recent years, unemployment remains high and the number of people poverty has actually increased”. This is an exemplification of the fact that democracy has not been able to engender the needed development in Nigeria.

Obstacles to democracy in Nigeria

Since the inception of the Nigerian state in 1960, Nigeria has had a chequered history of democratic practice and this explains why there has been intermittent military intervention in politics in the country. Our task in this section of the paper is to x-ray the factors that constitute major obstacles to democracy and democratic governance in Nigeria’s fourth republic and they are as follows:

1. Electoral malpractice: Election provides platform for the electorate to choose those to govern them and it is expected that for this to be done the process has to be transparent, free, fair and credible but unfortunately it is far from being so in Nigeria particularly in the fourth republic. According to Human Right Watch cited in Eniola Toluwani (2015) “Despite the abysmal record of the 1999 and 2003 elections, the government did not correct the problems in the next elections. Observers from the European Union described the 2007 elections, which brought Umaru Yar’adua, a muslim from Northern Nigeria, to power, as among the worst they had witnessed anywhere in the world”. This shows that rigging of elections has been the order of the day in Nigeria and this does not allow the electorate to freely choose those to govern them and as such would have little or no say in governance.

2. Do-or-die attitude to politics by the political class: According to Ake(1996) in Nigeria, “there is a form of political competition in which people seek political power by all means, legal or not, with the result that politics is debased to warfare and the political system tends to breakdown”. The political class in Nigeria wants to win elections by all means and as such every means is employed including assassination of political opponents. Politicians such as Chief Bola Ige, Dr. Harry Marshall, Alfred Rewane, Funsho Williams, Dr. Ayo Daramola, Chief Ogbonnaya Uche, Alhaji Ahmed Pategi, Chief Aminasoari Dikibo, Chief Andrew Agom, Alhaji Isyaku Muhammed etc were assassinated in the fourth republic. The volatile nature of the Nigerian

politics has discouraged those who are not violent and have a lot to offer in terms of good governance from engaging in politics.

3. Non adherence to the principle of rule of Law: According to Akingbogun cited in Alonge (2005) "The rule of law means respect for the general order of law, it is an appeal for obedience to Law, just as custom and traditions are observed in a community. In essence, the rule of law is based on the philosophy of legality and impartiality". Democracy is a form of government that is driven by Law and it is expected to be obeyed and adhered to. But experience has shown that there has been flagrant disobedience to the laws governing democracy in Nigeria. According to Egugbo(2014) "in Nigeria, experience shown that the rule of law is more honored in the breach and this has adversely affected the country's democracy".

4. Illiteracy and poverty: According to Osaghae(2010) "The subject of how democracy can be institutionalized as a way of life has engaged the attention of the citizenship participation and accountability group based at the institute of Development Studies (IDS), university of Sussex, whose works have focused on how citizens in the global south mobilize in self-determined ways using 'autonomous'(bottom-up) rather than 'invited' (top-down) spaces in a globalized world of cross-pressures to claim rights, participate in the policy process and demand accountability". This can be done when the citizens are well educated, and financially okay. But the high level of illiteracy and poverty of some Nigerians have made them not to be able to perform their roles and responsibilities effectively. This explains why some electorates in Nigeria sell their votes for peanuts.

5. Undue interference by Godfathers: Ibrahim cited in Ebohon and Obakhedo (2010) conceptualized Godfathers as men who have the power personally to determine both who gets nominated to contest elections and who wins in a state. Some Godfathers mastermind the formation of political parties and as such determine who is nominated for elections without following due process. This, automatically deny members of such political parties of their right to vote in primary elections to nominate candidates for elections. This constitutes a great challenge to democracy in Nigeria. And this explains why some political officers holders tend to protect the interest of the Godfathers rather than the electorates.

6. Abuse of office by political office holders in Nigeria: Some political office holders in Nigeria have the penchant of abuse of office. Some political office

holders in Nigeria act as if they were not put there by the citizens. This explains why some political leaders use state power to harass and intimidate the citizens and political opponents. Experience shows that the citizens to a very large extent are not allowed most times to carry out protest when they feel aggrieved. A typical example was when 2face Idibia was intimidated by the Nigerian police and this led to his backing out of a protest rally he was billed to lead sometime in February, 2017.

Prospect for democratic consolidation in Nigeria

Nigeria's democracy is still not yet consolidated and this is partly as a result of the fact that over the years, the country witnessed long period of military rule and culture of military rule still pervades the country's political firmament. Closely related to this is the fact that since the return of democratic rule in 1999, the political landscape has been dominated by the retired military Generals. For there to be democratic consolidation in Nigeria a lot of work needs to be done. The following can go a long way in bringing about democratic consolidation in Nigeria:

1. Strict adherence to the principle of rule of Law: "According to Egugbo (2015), the rule of law is the bastion of democracy and democratic governance and as such for the political process to be meaningful and peaceful there must be the adherence to the principle of rule of law". Democracy as a form of government is meaningless without the existence and adherence to the principle of rule of law. Therefore, for there to be democratic consolidation in Nigeria, there must be adherence to the principle of rule of Law.

2. Free, fair and credible election: This is one of the cardinal ingredients of democracy and also one of the factors that differentiates democracy from other forms of government. Active participation of the citizens in the democratic process can only be possible in an environment of free, fair and credible elections.

3. Political Education and Awareness: Democracy has been seen as the government of the people, by the people and for the people. It simply means people's government. It therefore means that there must be enough political awareness for the people to be able to perform their responsibilities efficiently and effectively.

4. Respect for fundamental human rights: Government officials should understand what constitutes fundamental human rights and ensure they are respected. When citizens' rights are respected, it gives them unfettered power to actively participate in politics

with a bid to strengthening and consolidating Nigeria democracy.

5. Harassment of opposition elements should be discouraged: In Nigeria, there is the tendency of the government to harass opposition elements. This scenario is not healthy for democratic consolidation and development. Constructive criticism is an essential ingredient of democracy and it is meant to keep government on its toes which if adhered to can only make government to perform better and the people would be better off for it.

Conclusion

The tendency and capacity of democracy to bring about development explains why virtually all countries of the world have at one time or the other adopted it as a preferred form of government. But democracy on its own, as a form of government alone cannot engender development. The way and manner democracy is practiced determines whether development would be achieved or not. Democracy has essential features and ingredients, when these features and ingredients are judiciously and effectively adhered to; there would be high tendency for democracy to bring about development but the reverse would be the case when there is neglect of the features and ingredients of democracy.

References

Abraham, N. T. (2010) Education for Development: Examining the Education-Development Nexus in Nigeria. *The Nigerian Journal of Politics and Public Policy*. Vol. 6 Nos 1 & 2 June/December.

Afeikhena, J. (2004). Governance and the Development Crisis. In Adigun, A. B. et al., (eds). *Nigeria's struggle for Democracy and Good Governance*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Ake, C. (1996) *Is Africa Democratising?* Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd.

Ake C. (1996) The Political Question in Oyeleye Oyediran (ed) *Governance and Development in Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Professor Billy J. Dudley*. Ibadan: Agbo Areo Publishers.

Akindele, S. T. (1998) Concept of Democracy and Governance: A Theoretical and Empirical Examination. *Nnamdi Azikwe Journal of Political Science* vol 1, No 1.

Almond, G. et al., (2008) *Comparative Politics Today: A world view*. New York: Longman.

Alonge F.K (2005) *Principles and Practice of Governing of Men: Nigeria and the world in Perspective*. Ibadan University Press Plc.

Appadorai, A. (1968). *The Substance of Politics* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Ebohon S.I and Obakhedo N (2010) Godfatherism and Democratic Reconstruction in Nigeria. *The Nigeria Journal of Politics and Public Policy* vol. 6 1&2

Egugbo C.C. (2014) The Rule of Law and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. *Uniuoyo Journal of Politics and Administration* vol.1 no. 1

Egugbo, C. (2015). Political Process and National Development in Nigeria: *Osun Sociological Review* vol, 2. No. 1. September.

Egugbo C.C. (2016) Democracy and the Politics of Impeachment in Nigeria's fourth Republic. *British Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 4, No 2

Enemuo, F (2015). Democracy, Human Rights and the Rule of Law. In Anifowose and Enemuo, F(eds) *Elements of Politics*. Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications.

Fawole A (2005) Voting without choosing: Interrogating the crises of electoral democracy in Nigeria in Kasongo T (ed). *Liberal Democracy and its critics in Africa: Political dysfunction and the struggle for social progress*. London : Zed Books

Gaubo O.P (2003) *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Fourth Edition. New Delhi. Macmillan Ltd.

Jega, A. (2006). *Democratisation in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects*. Port Harcourt: Centre for Advanced Social Science.

Nwabueze, B. (2004) *Constitutional Democracy in Africa*. Vol 3. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.

Osaghae, E. (2010) *Making Democracy A way of Life*. Lagos: Concept Publishers.

Oyovbaire, S. (1987). The Context of democracy in Nigeria in Oyovbaire, S(ed), *Democratic Experiment in Nigeria: Interpretive Essays*. Benin City: Omega Publishers Ltd.

Parekh Bhikhue (1972) Liberal Rationality and Political Violence in Robert Benewick and Trevor Smith (eds). *Direct Action and Democratic Politics*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Abuja: Panaf Publishing.