

AN INVESTIGATION INTO FACTORS MILITATING AGAINST THE PRACTICE  
OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA  
(A CASE STUDY OF LOGO LOCAL GOVERNMENT)

BY

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## ABSTRACT

*This study sought to find out the factors that are militating against democratic governance in Nigeria, with Logo Local Government as case study. The aim is to find out a way of evolving democratic governance in the Local Government for better development. This study was conducted among 50 participants from different groups, who were sampled randomly. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collections were used. The documentary review method was also used to provide information on the concept of democratic governance, argument for and against democratic governance, factors militating against democratic governance, effects of nondemocratic governance and how to evolve democratic governance.. Findings from the research reveals factors militating against democratic governance in Logo Local Government as, lack of knowledge, use of thugs, monetary politics, people's interests above that of the society, non independence of the judiciary, lack of true representation, lack of rule of law, female marginalization and political god-fatherism. The research has also revealed the effects of this undemocratic governance of Logo as poor governance; lack of infrastructure; lack of faith in leadership of the Local Government; deprivations of human rights; irregular payment of salaries; increase in criminal activities; political violence; rise in position of god-fatherism; and lack of unity.*

*Recommendation for evolving democratic governance include, citizens' education, eradication of the use of thugs, discouragement of monetary politics elimination of corruption, political violence, and god-fatherism; women empowerment, leadership trainings, enforcement of rule of law and true representation, as well as electoral reforms.*

## **DECLARATION**

This Dissertation is my original work except where sources have been acknowledged.  
The work has never been submitted, nor will it ever be, to another University in the  
awarding of a degree.

STUDENT ..... DATE .....

Signature

SUPERVISOR ..... DATE.....

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## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to my wife, Mrs. Shive, Mernan Priscilla.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AU	African Union
ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
APC	All Progressive Congress
APRW	African Peer Review Mechanism
AUREC	Africa University Research Ethics Committee
AVS	Anambra Vigilante Service
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crime Commission
IYM	Ijaw Youth Movement
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta
NURTO	National Union of Road Transport Owners
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NDPVF	Niger Peoples Volunteer Force
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OPC	Oodua Peoples' Congress
PDP	Peoples' Democratic Party

UN	United Nations
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNTIM	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
YDM	Youth Democratic Movement





## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

Critical observation has shown that the success of any organization depends largely on the choice of governance of that organization. The choice of a particular form of governance will lead to either progress or collapse of that organization. Although there are many forms of governance, democracy is most favoured because it provides essential services and serves as a responsible steward of state resources; government officials are held accountable through political and legal processes; and the population can participate in governance through civil society organizations, an independent media, and political parties. Through democratic governance, basic human needs of the population are largely met, respect for minority rights is assured, conflicts are managed peacefully through inclusive political processes, and competition for power occurs nonviolently. For realization of the above mentioned benefits, the desire for democratic governance to be featured in the choice of leaders of any organization is always high, but the actualization of this desire is not devoid of challenges associated with the correct observation of, and conformity with democratic culture and practice. Russia is a prominent example of this trend, where nationalism, the cold war legacy of irrational fear of and hostility to foreign enemies, reaction to protests against unfair redistribution of property and the growing gap between rich and poor in early post-Communist years, and the use of non-democratic means by democratically elected leaders have all worked to revive autocracy and centralized authority (World Movement for Democracy, 2008).

Nigeria has also faced many of these challenges including political violence, diversion of national resources, unfair distribution of properties, growing gap between the rich and the poor, and the like. In a campaign tour, security personnel, including soldiers and anti-riot policemen averted what was potentially an ugly situation as supporters of the All Progressives Congress (APC) presidential candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd), mostly the youths, pelted the motorcade of President Goodluck Jonathan with stones and sachet water in Bauchi State (Nigerian Camera, 2015).

Logo Local Government, which is one of the Local Governments in Benue State of Nigeria, is also badly affected by this democratic governance challenges. It is in view of these challenges that have prompted the need for a research to be carried in this area.

## **1.2 Background to the Study**

Logo Local Government is one of the 23 Local Governments of Benue state, Nigeria, with its headquarters in Ugba. It has an area of 1,408 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 169,063 at the 2006 census (Nigerian Elites Forum 2013). The inhabitants of Logo are predominantly Tiv people, with a greater population of farmers. There are also few Ibos and Hausas who are mostly business people, and Jukuns who are fishermen and business women.

Logo Local Government was created in the year 1996. This creation was as a result of Nigeria's democratic governance plan for grassroots development. For effective

grassroots development, the constitution of Nigeria has given autonomy to all Local Governments so that they can develop their areas well, as reflected in the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria. The functions of Local Governments are indicated by the constitution include: economic recommendations to the State; collection of taxes and fees; establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds and homes for the destitute or infirm; licensing of bicycles, trucks, canoes, wheel barrows and carts. Others include: establishment, maintenance and regulation of markets, motor parks and public conveniences; construction and maintenance of roads, streets, drains and other public highways, parks, and open spaces. Naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses; provision and maintenance of public transportation and refuse disposal; registration of births, deaths and marriages; Assessment of privately owned houses or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of the State; and, control and regulation of out-door advertising, movement and keeping of pets of all descriptions, shops and kiosks, restaurants and other places for sale of food to the public, and laundries. Since Logo was newly created, there was no pronounced democratic governance developmental issues to talk about at her early stage, as much effort were geared towards consolidation of her independent existence. However, Logo witnessed the practice of democratic governance from 1999-2001, during the reign of Hon Sylvester Waakaa Kane. This period witnessed much development in provision of infrastructures like roads, renovation and building of schools. Bridges were built across rivers that no one taught they could have bridges. There was building and renovation of health facilities; digging of boreholes; grading of streets and construction of drainages in many towns

in the Local Government, and a host of others. All these were done from the Local Government's funds. Although there were some cases of political conflicts, most of these conflicts were handled non-violently. There were cases of political violence and rigging of elections before and after this period, but they were not so much pronounced during this period. However, the situation of Logo Local Government in terms of the practice of democratic governance from 2002 to date is so pathetic.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

As earlier mentioned, democracy is a global maiden which every nation woos. Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa has not just chosen democratic governance but has proudly made it to reflect in her name as 'Republic of Nigeria.' This adoption, as far back as 1963 is a clear indication of Nigeria's preference for democratic system of governance. It is expected that the decentralized nature of Nigeria's federal system, and well spelt responsibility of the Local Government should produce significant development in communities, since local governments function to ensure public service delivery at the local level.

In realization of this fact and democratic structure for grassroots development, Logo has been divided into ten wards: Mbadyul, Mbater, Mbayam, Nenzev, Yonov, Mbavuur, Tswarev/Ukemberegya, Turan, Tombo and Mbagber, with expectation that development will reach all corners of Logo Local Government. However, Logo Local Government has not been so lucky to enjoy true democracy, in spite of her autonomy and her well structure for grassroots development. She has had a long tortuous history of trying to practice true democracy especially after 2001, but has never gotten it right. The people of Logo Local Government are caged in untold hardship, because the

Local Government struggles through the absence of major basic infrastructures. Those that were in existence have been degenerated over the years due to poor maintenance. The absence of good roads; healthcare, for instance, is a challenge that poses great risks to lives of the people of the area; villagers in some areas have to travel many kilometers to find health care facilities. Some even when they are able to reach these health centers end up not being able to pay their bills, as a result of poverty. Deaths have occurred in some instances as a result of these problems. Economic activities, including agricultural and other sectors are also adversely affected due to high transport, power and other costs. Political violence has become part of life of the Local Government as almost every election experiences one form of political violence or the other. Many have lost interest in political participation as result of non-democratic activities in the Local Government, which are usually characterized by violent conflicts that claim many lives and properties worth millions of naira. There has never been total adherence to the rule of law, no clear separation of power or adherence to the ideals of federalism, including at the fiscal level.

If Logo Local Government is democratically structured for development; successfully practiced democratic governance in some years back and had enjoyed the benefits of democratic governance during that time, why then is she not been able to effectively practice this democracy as in her past days, for the benefit of her people? What are the factors militating against the practice of democratic governance in Logo Local Government?

#### **1.4 Purpose of Study**

The purpose of this study is to explore the factors militating against the effective practice of democratic governance in Logo Local Government.

#### **1.5. Significance of the study**

The findings will help reveal the existing factors militating against the practice of democratic governance in Logo Local Government, and strategies to address these challenges could then be developed. It will help create awareness of the need of involving true democratic governance in all facets of leadership in Logo Local Government. The findings will help encourage its practice for better development, rather than destruction that is mostly experienced through its non-practice. Lastly, the findings will help identify issues for further research. There is therefore every justification to carry out this study.

#### **1.6. Research objectives**

1. To identify factors responsible for non-practice of democratic governance in Logo Local Government.
2. To examine the effects of non-practice of democratic governance on Logo Local Government.
3. To discuss possible ways of entrenching true democratic governance in Logo Local Government.
4. To make appropriate recommendations from the findings of the study

### **1. 7. Research questions**

1. What are the factors militating against the practice of democratic governance in Logo Local Government?
2. What are the effects of non-practice of democratic governance on Logo Local Government?
3. How can democratic governance be fully entrenched in Logo Local Government?

What measures can be applied to involve democratic governance in Logo Local Government

### **1.8. Delimitation of the study**

The research focuses on Logo Local Government, located in Nigeria, since the entire country cannot be covered within the stipulated time. Again the research will focus on selected parts of Logo Local Government, like Ugba, Anyiin, Abeda, Ayilamo, Gondoza, Iorza and Abeda-Mbadyul that can be covered within the stipulated time, but will still give the required information for the research.

### **1.9. Limitations**

There were time and cost challenges to administering the questionnaires in all the different areas covered by the study. Although the time was short, the researcher did everything possible to administer all the questionnaires and conduct the interview himself so that he could explain the purpose of the research and all other things that concerned the participants as stated in the Informed Consent Form. Participants were



also asked to sign the form before filling the questionnaire. Assistants were then recruited to collect the completed forms.

Contacts of the researcher were on all the questionnaires to enable participants to contact the researcher, where they needed more clarifications. The researcher selected areas in the Local Government that if covered, will give the desired result. The research covered all the selected areas: Ugba, Anyiin, Abeda, Ayilamo, Gondoza, Iorza and Abeda-Mbadyul.

## **Chapter 2: Literature review**

### **2.0. Introduction**

The word democracy is one of the most used terms of the political vocabulary. This vital concept, through its transcultural dimension and because it touches the very fundamentals of governance in the context of collective existence of human beings in society, has given rise to much written comment and reflection. This chapter provides a review of the literature related to democratic governance from principles to realization. Some of the existing works that the researcher has considered in this chapter deals with the following: Meaning and content of democracy; instrumental arguments for and against democracy; democracy rule of law and human rights; democratic processes and civil society; democracy, pluralism and social solidarity; internationalization and regionalization of democracy; democracy and peace; and authoritarianism. The chapter also looked at factors militating against democratic governance; and solutions to democratic problems as well as theoretical frameworks.

### **2.1. Meaning and Content**

The term "democracy" means different things to different people, and that conclusion is accepted by most commentators. The concept is sometimes looked upon from two views; the minimalists and substantive definitions. The minimalists at its most basic level, looks at democracy as that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote as well as basic civil liberties that should, in principle, guarantee that the democratic process is inclusive, free of repression and enables

citizens to participate in an informed and autonomous manner. Whereas substantive definition of democracy focus more on the processes of consolidation of democratic system, which gives more prominence to the role and importance of accountability (Rakner, Menocal, and Fritz, 2007).

There should be a distinction between democracy as an ideal of political association and democracy as a system of government. In the former there is an objective of collective action and is a value in itself, while the latter is a means of achieving certain common objectives and its value lies in the extent to which it contributes to their achievement (Villoro, 1985).

In classifying rule, Aristotle has come out with six forms of rule: royalty, where one person rules in the common interest; tyranny, a ‘deviation’ of royalty, where one person rules in his private interests; aristocracy or proper rule by the few; oligarchy, which is the deviant form of aristocracy; proper rule of the many, called ‘polity’; and its deviation for which he reserved the term democracy (Cunningham, 2002).

As a concept and form of government, democracy is quite old. It “entails a system of government that allows the citizens freedom to decide their desires. Ancient Greece (Athens in particular) is widely regarded as the birthplace of Western democracy” (Lioba and Abdulahi 2005).

Democracy, or rule by the people, is an egalitarian form of government in which all the citizens of a nation determine public policy, the laws, and the actions of their state together, making them authorship of their collective decision. It is therefore after recognition of individual rights and freedom, in which decisions from direct or representative processes prevail in many policy areas (Times, 2005).

According to Gerring, Thacker and Moreno (2005: 567) “a country can only be known for practicing democratic governance when multiparty competition, under reasonably fair conditions, is in place.” To Fayemi, (2009:104) “the word democracy was derived from the Greek words demos which means “the people”, and kratia which means “to rule”. This in theory means a governance system by the people for the people, as opposed to rule by one despot (autocracy), or a few (oligarchy).” In this view, Fayemi, (2009:104) means, “Democracy is a complex concept that centers on ensuring freedom for all citizens within a country.”

On the contrary, Hyland says, although the word ‘Democracy’ can easily be defined by many based on its etymology coined from two Greek words: demos (the people) and Kratos (rule) which simply means people’s rule, it is good to look at it beyond its etymology, by considering many variables; like time from the Athenians and the present time. How it was practiced in those days, and how it is practiced presently and the size of the group which is being considered for the practice of democracy, as well as having in mind the variables that can change the former meaning of the concept. Considering all these variables, he has most favoured the definition of Schumpeter (Hyland, 1995). Democratic method is therefore that institutional arrangement for

arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote (Schumpeter, 2003). This definition is however not far from the other ones; hence all are after people's rule and freedom in decision making by the ruled.

## **2.2. Democratic Governance**

According to United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific the concept of 'governance' is not new. It is as old as human civilization. To them, 'governance' means: the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented. They say 'governance' can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance (UNESCAP, 2015). In another way, democratic government can be predicated upon freedom, justice and equal treatment of all citizens, men and women alike, by the society (Nwabueze, 1993). According to United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste: UNMIT (2012) democratic governance "involves promoting the sustainability of democracy which includes an enduring capacity for: the separation of powers and independence of the branches of government; the exercise of power in accordance with the rule of law; the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and, the transparency and accountability of a responsible civil service, functioning at both the national and local levels."

In a similar way, the community of nation's governance is considered "good" and "democratic" to the degree in which a country's institutions and processes are

transparent. Its institutions refer to such bodies as parliament and its various ministries. Its processes include such key activities as elections and legal procedures, which must be seen to be free of corruption and accountable to the people. A country's success in achieving this standard has become a key measure of its credibility and respect in the world (Ki-moon, 2009).

Considering the above mentioned definitions, we cannot say any government is democratically practiced when citizens are unfairly treated or where there is no accountability, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the like. Where these things are lacking, it is showing clear sign of undemocratic governance.

### **2.3. Instrumental Arguments against Democracy**

There are several arguments that are either for or against democracy. Those who argue against democracy consider it as an inferior form of governance. Plato (*Republic*, Book VI) argues that democracy is inferior to various forms of monarchy, aristocracy and even oligarchy on the grounds that democracy tends to undermine the expertise necessary to properly governed societies. In a democracy, he argues, those who are expert at winning elections and nothing else will eventually dominate democratic politics (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2006).

Similarly, Hobbes argues that democracy is inferior to monarchy because democracy fosters destabilizing dissension among subjects. To him, individual citizens and even politicians are apt not to have a sense of responsibility for the quality of legislation

because no one makes a significant difference to the outcomes of decision making. As a consequence, citizens' concerns are not focused on politics and politicians succeed only by making loud and manipulative appeals to citizens in order to gain more power, but all lack incentives to consider views that are genuinely for the common good. Hence the sense of lack of responsibility for outcomes undermines politicians' concern for the common good and inclines them to make sectarian and divisive appeals to citizens (Hobbes, 1651).

Many public choice theorists in contemporary economic thought expand on these Hobbesian criticisms. They argue that citizens are not informed about politics and that they are often apathetic, which makes room for special interests to control the behavior of politicians and use the state for their own limited purposes all the while spreading the costs to everyone else (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2006). All leftists who have bought the view of those who are arguing against democratic governance believe that democracy is poised to destroying order, stability, discipline and moral rectitude which aristocracy and oligarchy have always maintained (Jawondo, 2011).

#### **2.4. Instrumental Arguments in Favor of Democracy**

Although many have seen the inferiority of democratic governance to all other forms of governance, others have in the other way round looked at its superiority over all other forms of governance.

The positivists, looking at democracy from the point of view of the practice in the developed world argues that democracy implies the rule by the people, the triumph of the will of the people, rule of law, egalitarianism, utilitarianism, constitutionism, civil liberties and universal franchise (Jawondo, 2011).

John Stuart Mill argued that a democratic method of making legislation is better than non-democratic methods in three ways: strategically, epistemically and via the improvement of the characters of democratic citizens (Mill, 1861). Strategically, democracy has an advantage because it forces decision-makers to take into account the interests, rights and opinions of most people in society. Since democracy gives some political power to each, more people are taken into account than under aristocracy or monarchy. The most forceful contemporary statement of this instrumental argument is that no substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent country with a democratic form of government and a relatively free press. The basis of this argument is that politicians in a multiparty democracy with free elections and a free press have incentives to respond to the expressions of needs of the poor (Sen, 1999). From the epistemological point of view, democracy is thought to be the best decision-making method on the grounds that it is generally more reliable in helping participants discover the right decisions. Since democracy brings a lot of people into the process of decision making, it can take advantage of many sources of information and critical assessment of laws and policies. Democratic decision-making tends to be more informed than other forms about the interests of citizens and the causal mechanisms necessary to advance those interests. The broad based discussion typical of democracy



enhances the critical assessment of the different moral ideas that guide decision-makers (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2006).

Many have endorsed democracy on the basis of the proposition that democracy has beneficial effects on character. Many have noted with Mill and Rousseau that democracy tends to make people stand up for themselves more than other forms of rule do because it makes collective decisions; depend on them more than monarchy or aristocracy do, hence in democratic societies individuals are encouraged to be more autonomous. In addition, democracy tends to get people to think carefully and rationally more than other forms of rule because it makes a difference whether they do or not. Some have argued that democracy tends to enhance the moral qualities of citizens. When they participate in making decisions, they have to listen to others, they are called upon to justify themselves to others and they are forced to think in part in terms of the interests of others. While others have argued that when people find themselves in this kind of circumstance, they come genuinely to think in terms of the common good and justice. Still others have argued that democratic processes tend to enhance the autonomy, rationality and morality of participants. Since these beneficial effects are thought to be worthwhile in them, they count in favor of democracy and against other forms of rule (Mill 1861, Elster 2002).

Similarly, some argue in addition that the above effects on character tend to enhance the quality of legislation as well. A society of autonomous, rational, and moral decision-makers is more likely to produce good legislation than a society ruled by a self-centered person or small group of persons who rule over slavish and unreflective subjects (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2006).

Democratic participation is quasi-synonymous for social and political inclusion. Through the expansion of the right to vote and other crucial freedoms such as the freedom of expression, association, or assembly, all of a country's citizens supposedly become part, on an equal footing, of a political system from which many of them were previously excluded. On the one hand, expressive participation implies that the very opportunity of voicing their interests through elections, parties, unions, civic organizations, social movements, and the like allows individuals and groups to feel that they are now taking part and have a stake in the system. Rather than feeling politically excluded, people more likely identified with the state and accept the legitimacy of its authority (Engström 2009).

Democratic competition also plays a crucial role in supporting a state consolidation process. Competition implies the presence of one or more alternatives to current rulers. That is a government in waiting, and thus creates incentives for reelection-seeking politicians to improve their record in terms of investments in and provision of public goods, rather than increase their rents or those of a few clients. They will thus help improve state performance. In a system in which rulers face contestants, and thus cannot credibly promise that they will be in power tomorrow to protect the interests of rent seekers, the latter will be less ready to bribe politicians, resulting in lower levels of corruption (Carbone, and Memoli, 2013).

Although people like Plato, Thomas Hobbes and many others have argued against democratic governance with the fact that it undermines the expertise; fosters destabilizing discussion among subjects; helps politicians to loud out manipulative appeals to citizens in order to gain more power; makes room for special interest to control the behavior of politicians; destroys order, stability, discipline, and moral rectitude, its benefit cannot be over emphasized as it forces decision-makers to take into account the interest, rights and opinions of most people in the society; cause them to responds to the expressions of needs of the poor; helps participants discover the right decision, enhances the critical assessment of different moral ideas that guide decision-makers.

## **2.5. Democratization**

The term Democratization, has also recently appeared in the debate on democracy. At times it is used to refer to the processes of democracy, and at other times it refers to the "transitional stage" of government from non-democratic to the various emerging forms of power sharing, governance and public accountability in new regimes (Bassiouni, Beetham, Beevi, Boye, Mor, Kubiak, Ramaphosa, Sudarsono, Touraine, & Villoro, 1998).

The goals of security, state-building and the promotion of democracy have become closely linked. In the most extreme cases, military force has been used to pursue (democratic) 'regime change' alongside other foreign policy objectives. The US-led coalition initially undertook the invasion of Iraq for the stated objectives of fighting terrorism and preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; but its

goals also included bringing about 'regime change' in the form of promoting 'freedom' and installing a democratic political system.

On the other hand, the interventions in Afghanistan, and in particular in Iraq, have given democracy promotion a bad name in some circles. The status of the US as a symbol of democracy and democracy promotion has been challenged by reactions to the country's military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo Bay. Furthermore, pointing to the impressive economic transformation of China over the past two decades, authoritarian leaders in the Middle East and Asia are increasingly justifying repressive politics, arguing that pressures to democratize their political systems may jeopardize economic development and other important objectives (Rakner, Menocal, and Fritz, 2007).

Those who hold this view argue that democratization do not necessarily result in successful consolidation; but may evolve into hybrid regimes, which may be more or less unstable; leading to the weakening of accountability; reducing the presumed benefits from democratization like rule of law, respect for human rights/freedom; creating weak states which require high military interventions and aid. (Rakner, Menocal, and Fritz, 2007).

## **2.6. Regionalizing Democracy**

Sometimes, forces within a particular region are geared towards democratization of that particular region, normally called snowballing (Huntington, 1991). As demonstrated in Eastern Europe and Latin America, transitions to democracy often

trigger subsequent transitions in other countries within the same region. This is one reason for the perception that regional organizations such as the African Union (AU) and the Organization of American States (OAS) sometimes offer the potential to act as catalysts of positive change and transformation. In the particular case of Africa, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), formally adopted in July 2001 by African heads of state is now widely seen as the continent's main official development framework. Among other things, the Partnership states that Africa's development 'is impossible in the absence of true democracy, respect for human rights, peace and good governance'. It commits African leaders to promoting these principles in their own countries and regionally. In this context, the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) has been created as an initiative to use peer pressure and demonstration effects to assess progress and performance among participating countries towards achieving agreed goals in areas such as democracy and political governance (Rakner, Menocal, and Fritz, 2007).

## **2.7. Democracy, Rule of Law and Human Rights**

Democracy in any of its meanings requires the existence and free exercise of certain basic individual and group rights without which any democracy, however perceived, can exist. These basic rights are inter alia: life, liberty, and property, due process of law, equality; non-discrimination, freedom of expression and assembly, and, judicial access and review. Each of these basic rights in turn given rise to other substantive rights, but all substantive rights are dependent for their fair and effective implementation on procedural rights (Bassiouni, Beetham, Beevi, Boye, Mor, Kubiak, Ramaphosa, Sudarsono, Touraine, & Villoro, 1998).

## **2.8. Democracy, Pluralism and Social Solidarity**

Democracy dances between Pluralism and Social Solidarity. Pluralism and social solidarity are reflected in the simple prohibition of discrimination and the injunction to afford equality. But unlike certain ideologies like Marxism which have also claimed as one of its goals to achieve pluralism and social solidarity, democracies goal to achieve both is founded on the philosophy of social humanism. While this philosophy is consistent with free enterprise capitalism with respect to pluralism it is not necessarily so with respect to social solidarity. The later is closer to what is commonly referred to as social democracy, which is a form of liberal socialism. It is quite clear from the above that a discourse on pluralism and more so on social solidarity will necessarily draw into the debate considerations of political economy on which there is significant divergence of views. Since the demise of Marxism and socialism as a form of government notions of social solidarity in the context of democratic societies have also regressed in the face of a more aggressive form of free enterprise capitalism. Democratic societies will therefore have to face the difficult task of determining whether social solidarity is a fundamental element of democratic society or not (Bassiouni, 1998).

## **2.9. Developing Consensus**

According to Bassiouni, the inherent difficulties of the subject of democracy and the intellectual confusion that surrounds it makes it more difficult to develop a consensus understanding of what it is and how it should or could be achieved in different cultural, political, social and economic contexts. Developing an international

definition of democracy or even a consensus as to its content, other than for the intellectual challenge of the undertaking is a daunting task (Bassiouni, 1998).

### **2.10. Democracy and Peace**

This concept is certainly appealing and has merit. But a national democratic form of government does not necessarily translate into international democratic conduct or conduct in international relations is in conformity with the preservation of peace or observance of international legality. Indeed, the conduct of states in their international relations, even those that have democratic governments, is still essentially guided by power considerations and by economic interests. These considerations may not necessarily produce what would generally be considered to be democratic, namely, lawful or fair and equitable conduct. There is, therefore, a danger in oversimplifying the relationship between national democratic forms of government and international peace and security and surely more so in matters of political and economic fairness and equity in the sharing of resources and technology between developed and developing societies.

### **2.11. Authoritarianism**

Authoritarianism is a principle of blind submission to authority, as opposed to individual freedom of thought and action. In government, authoritarianism denotes any political system that concentrates power in the hands of a leader or small elite that is not constitutionally responsible to the body of the people. Authoritarian leaders often exercise power arbitrarily and without regard to existing bodies of law, and they

usually cannot be replaced by citizens choosing freely among various competitors in elections (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2013).

Another definition states that authoritarianism is a principle that favors complete obedience or subjection to authority as opposed to individual freedom; a governmental or political system, principle, or practice in which individual freedom is held as completely subordinate to the power or authority of the state, centered either in one person or a small group that is not constitutionally accountable to the people; exercising complete or almost complete control over the will of another or of others (Dictionary.com (2015). In a nut shell, we can say authoritarianism is the opposite of democracy.

## **2.12. Factors Militating Against Democratic Governance**

Democracy, a universally recognized ideal as well as a goal, which is based on common values shared by peoples throughout the world community irrespective of cultural, political, social and economic differences, is thus a basic right of citizenship to be exercised under conditions of freedom, equality, transparency and responsibility, with due respect for the plurality of views, and in the interest of the polity.

Referring to the Agenda for Democratization presented on 20 December 1996 by the UN Secretary-General to the 51st session of the United Nations General Assembly, the UN adapted all Universal Declaration on Democracy and urges Governments and Parliaments throughout the world to be guided by its content. In spite of all these



declarations, democracy has faced several challenges both at international, regional, national, local and individual levels.

### **2.12.1. Globalization**

Recalling that each State has the sovereign right freely to choose and develop, in accordance with the will of its people, its own political, social, economic and cultural systems without interference by other States in strict conformity with the United Nations Charter, this good declaration has however not escape the challenges of globalization on democracy. Drawing on the work of a seminal theorist, C. B. Macpherson, Cunningham (2008: 1) states “globalization poses two generic problems: to democratize trans-country interactions and institutions and to protect democracy from global forces that severely constrain effective decision making by citizens internal to their countries.” Explaining further Cunningham (2008: 1) states, “first the inter-connectedness of the world's countries call for inter-country governing structures, which are difficult to achieve on a large and world-wide scale and, second the global forces impede democracy within single countries.”

Another new concept of extending democracy at the international level has also emerged in the last few years. It is referred to as the "internationalization of democracy." It is used to signify equal vote and equal representation of states in international organizations. But it also sometimes has the implication of a weighted approach to the equalization of power in international decision-making processes. Sometimes certain efforts are made to address these imbalances, but the substantive extension of that concept into the international economic field, such as transfer of

technology from developed to developing states, sharing of natural resources, and assumption of certain costs by industrialized societies is largely unheeded by the developed states, notwithstanding the UN's Declaration on the Economic Rights and Duties of States. The questions of "internationalization of democracy" as applicable to economic rights and duties is, however, further complicated by the fact that multinational corporations dominate international trade and investments and the development of technology. These multinationals are guided by the profit motive and are not subject to the same legal constraints applicable to states in their mutual relations. Furthermore, multinational corporations are not concerned by the same considerations that some states voluntarily take into account in their foreign relations (Bassiouni, 1998).

To Nigeria and many African countries, democracy is totally foreign to them. Africans had their system of governance before the Western system of governance called "democracy." The calling for greater responsiveness and accountability of leaders to their people, has often forced African leaders to adopt measures and policies that are diametrically opposite to the feelings and sentiments of the vast majority of their people. That is what democratization is expecting from Africa, but since the African governments do not decide for their people, there will be no rapid and sustainable growth and development as it happened in the west. This then creates more problems; making the practice of democratic governance impossible (Philanthropist, 2010).

According to an anonymous document, “The Challenges of Globalization in Africa: What Role for Civil Society and other Stakeholders?” (2002: 7-9)

“While calling for greater accountability and responsiveness of leaders to their people, globalization has often pressured African leaders to adopt policies and measures that are diametrically opposite to the feelings and sentiments of the vast majority of their people. This has led to the rise or reinforcement of authoritarian regimes. A good recent example of this is the pressure on many African governments to take certain measures in the fight against terrorism at the behest of external powers; By defining basic and generally accepted principles of democratic governance, such as good governance, transparency and accountability, in narrow terms, conditioned by particular historical, political, social, and cultural factors, while leaving little or no room for adapting them to different societies and cultures, democracy takes on the image of something alien and imposed from the outside. Support for the fundamental principles of democracy is thus undermined, cynicism arises, and the effort itself fails to develop roots in the countries to which they are being artificially transplanted.”

#### **2.12.2. Political violence**

The Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections which it adopted in March 1994 and in which it confirmed that in any State the authority of the government can derive only from the will of the people as expressed in genuine, free and fair elections, has never been fully achieved as a result of persistent political violence (Bassiouni, Beetham, Beevi, Boye, Mor, Kubiak, Ramaphosa, Sudarsono, Touraine, & Villoro, 1998).

According to Jawondo (2011: 5) “Political violence could be regarded as a forceful way of seeking or using power and rebelling against authority without regards for laws, lives and properties; the use or threat of physical act carried out by an individual or individuals within a political system against another individual or individuals and/or property, with the intent to cause injury or death to persons and/or damage or destruction to property.” Jawondo has also enumerated some factors as, failure of the ruling parties to tolerate competition and concede electoral defeat; unconstitutional activities of opposition parties against the parties in power in order to discredit the government or gain power; witch-hunting of political opponents, manipulation of electoral machinery and regulations, Government’s inadequate responsiveness to needs for poverty reduction, job creation and security; the dependency of the successive Nigerian electoral bodies and the judiciary on the ruling parties; the oppressive tendencies of security agents towards the citizens. Preference of the Nigerian traditional rulers for undemocratic regimes for selfish interest; recourse to primordial identities- regionalism, tribalism and ethnicism at the expense of national unity due to politics of exclusion from the socio-political and economic activities by the ruling parties, and inadequate or lack of proper political education of the masses by the political stakeholders before, during and after transitions (Jawondo, 2011).

Jawondo, (2011: 5) says, “Democracy, the most preferred system of government is bedeviled in Nigeria by political violence. Political violence has rendered a number of havoc on the national security, be it political, economic, social or religious. In response to oppression, suppression, intimidation, hunger, poverty, unemployment

engendered by bad governance the citizens most especially the youth under their patrons have constituted themselves into different militant groups who fend for themselves through nefarious means such as oil bunkering, hostage taking, assassination and a host of other embarrassing acts. These groups include the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF), the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Oodua Peoples' Congress (OPC), National Association of Road Transport Owners (NARTO), Anambra Vigilante Service (AVS), Ijaw Youth Movement (IYC), The Youth Democratic Movement (YDM) and a host of other unnamed but active groups. The government at all levels responded by cajoling, intimidating, injuring or even eliminating members of the opposition. Consequently, the evils perpetrated by the governors and the governed have resulted in the violation of human rights, the rule of law and undermined the democratic project in Nigeria.”

Four years into the 4<sup>th</sup> republic, between 2003 and 2007, there were series of political violence in the country. The potency and tempo of violence drastically increased as there was proliferation of arms and ammunition that led to the introduction of the use of thugs and assassins to secure election victory. Cases of political violence and politically motivated killings abounded. The Lagos state governorship aspirant, Eng. Funsho Williams, Ekiti State governorship aspirant Dr. Ayo Daramola and Harry Marshall, an All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) chieftain in Rivers state were all gruesomely murdered (The Nation, 2006). Other factors militating against

democratization in Nigeria include electoral violence, manipulation of election results and political participation constraints (Arowolo and Aluko, 2012).

Today political violence has gone beyond the borders of physical attacks to include spiritual or broadly speaking psychological and structural attacks as well as attacks, injuries, and killings through passive scientific and nonscientific means for political reasons (Jawondo, (2011).

### **2.12.3. Female Marginalization in Politics**

International instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted on 10 December 1948, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted on 16 December 1966, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted on 21 December 1965 and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women adopted on 18 December 1979, all provide for equality and non-discrimination, including on the basis of sex. It is assumed that, this is enough to take care of gender discrimination (Bassiouni, Beetham, Beevi, Boye, Mor, Kubiak, Ramaphosa, Sudarsono, Touraine, & Villoro, 1998). However, female marginalization in politics is also another factor that is seriously militating against democratic governance.

Samuel, and Segun (2012: 4) say, “Democratic government is predicated upon freedom, justice and equal treatment of all citizens- men and women alike, by the society.” However, political alienation is a strong factor militating against full participation of Nigerian women in politics. There is clear indication that popular

participation to democratic governance has engendered intense academic discourse on the political alienation of women across the globe including Nigeria. Based on recent research study carried out, it has been realized that despite the increasing global agitations for gender equality, the situation in Nigeria, following the demise of military rule in 1999, is nothing to write home about as women representation in the national parliament in the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections recorded a dismal 6.3%, 8.8% and 7.3% respectively (Samuel, Segun, 2012).

Data from the Independence National Electoral Commission (INEC) on the April 2007 elections show the high levels of female Marginalization in Nigerian Politics. For example, of the 7160 candidates that contested in the April 2007 elections, only 628 were women; 25 candidates vied for the office of the President and only 1 was a woman, while 5 women contested for the office of the Vice President. Also, only 9 of the 109 senators were women, 25 of the 360 House of Representative members were women and there were only 54 female members of the state Assemblies. Looking at Nigeria's recent presidential election, Sarah Jubril was the only female amongst the three Presidential Candidates for the 2011 Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) Presidential election (David, Ocheni, Mabe and Adekunle, 2012).

Contributive factors to this women marginalization include, lack of adequate education, lack of enough financial resources, patriarchal culture that pushes women back in the private sphere, Women multiple responsibilities, religious binding, Male dominance in the society, the use of gangsters in Nigeria's politics, the use of thugs in

Nigeria's political activities, the practice of godfathers in Nigeria's politics, majority electoral system, lack of specified percentage of seat reserved for women (quota system), lack of provision for equal gender representation in party nominees, military legacy of women alienation from governance, colonial legacy of women alienation from governance, and lack of women's interest in politics (Samuel and Segun 2012).

Another obstacle to women's active participation in politics is lack of constituents and financial resources. Women move from their fathers' homes to their father-in-laws' homes. They are like refugees. They have no base from which to develop political contacts with the people or build knowledge and experience about issues involved. They have no money of theirs, the money they have belongs to their father, their husbands or their in-laws; and given the rising cost of running an effective campaign, this poses serious hurdle for women in the developing countries like Nigeria (Fadeiye (2005).

#### **2.12.4. Monetary Politics**

Another strong factor that militates against democratic governance in Nigeria is monetary politics. The cost of buying votes through stakeholders, political god-fathers and the poor is so exorbitant that only those who diverted public funds meant for development while they were in public office and those who are still in office and are controlling public funds can afford it. Arowolo and Aluko call it, "poverty of politics and politics of poverty." Arowolo, and Aluko, say poverty of politics and politics of poverty is another factor which helps the rich political actors in Nigeria to target the already feeble and disenchanted mind of the poor to secure their election victory.



Politics has been so monetised to the extent that an average, credible Nigerian cannot afford its exorbitance. Politics, therefore, becomes avenue to create and sustain poverty through looting of funds meant for developmental purposes. Leadership ineptitude and promotion of personal aggrandisement at the expense of national interests grievously affect democracy in Nigeria and makes the dream of attaining good governance impossible (Arowolo, and Aluko, 2012).

Similarly Jawondo (2011: 5) says, “Politics or democracy has been conceived as a system concerned with sharing of national resources among the various competing groups in Nigeria, and being part of it ‘guarantees control of the allocation of scarce economic resources’ To many, ‘the shortest cut to affluence and influence is through politics’. Politics means money and money means politics.”

#### **2.12.5. Human Rights Violation**

For democratic governance to take its proper hold, human rights must be on the forefront. Human rights also include political issues like right to vote and be voted for, freedom of speech, right of life and the like. Most of the above mentioned things do not have a single chance in Nigerian politics. As earlier mentioned, people have been deprived of their lives through the use of political thugs. Freedom of speech, right to vote and be voted for are just but theories set on paper which cannot manifest itself in real life situation. Idowu, (2008: 1) says, “Having passed through many years of agonizing, undemocratic and dehumanizing military regimes; Nigerians have come to realize that genuine concern for human rights and democracy is a viable option for attaining effective development well-recognized by international communities.

Unfortunately, this realization is now being manifested in the affairs of Nigeria very much in theory rather than in practice.”

#### **2.12.6. Non independence of the judiciary**

The non-independence of the judiciary, the law enforcement agents and other state machinery is another factor. Since these state machineries do not have their independence in Nigeria, they are most at times used wrongly. This kind of practice is not creating room for democracy. Arowolo, and Aluko, (2012: 9) say, “Nigeria's democracy is being manipulated by those in power. They employ and monopolise state machinery to maintain their hold on power. The Obasanjo's administration, for instance, was noted for its selective judgment and flagrant disrespect for and disobedience to the rule of law; this is also a function of ineffective rules and weak institution. The administration hunted its opponents with the awe of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).”

#### **2.12.7. Colonial Legacy**

Ibrahim Abdul Jawondouse has traced the causes of political violence in Nigeria today as originating from colonialism. According to him, the amalgamation of Nigeria by the British in 1914, the destruction of the political culture of Nigeria, the introduction of new socio-political and religio-economic order, bastradization of political composition of Nigerian communities and a search for socio-political and religio-economic identity are the causes of political violence in present Nigeria, because the search for the above named identity is playing a vital role in working against democratization in Nigeria. As earlier mentioned, the amalgamation of Nigeria in

1914 still has impact on the nation. The Northerners still look at themselves as Northerners while Southerners look at themselves as Southerners. This is strongly reflected in leadership and search for leadership in a way that does not reflect democratic governance (Jawondouse, 2011).

#### **2.12.8. Wrong economic policies**

The imposition of wrong economic policies on African countries for the interest of foreign countries without considering the interest of the African countries themselves is another factor that is bringing democratic governance challenges in African countries According to an anonymous document, “The Challenges of Globalization in Africa: What Role for Civil Society and other Stakeholders?” (2002: 7-9)

By imposing economic specialization based on the needs and interests of external forces and transforming the economies of African countries into a series of enclave economies linked to the outside but with very little linkages among them, divisions within African countries are accentuated and the emergence of national consciousness and the sense of a common destiny is frustrated. Democracy, with its emphasis on tolerance and compromise, can hardly thrive in such an environment.

The economic specialization imposed on African countries makes rapid and sustainable growth and development impossible, conflicts over the distribution of the limited gains realized from globalization become more acute and politicized. Vulnerable groups, such as women, the youth, and rural inhabitants, fare very badly in this contest and are discriminated against. This further erodes the national ethos of solidarity and reciprocity that are essential to successful democracies.

By insisting on African countries opening their economies to foreign goods and entrepreneurs, limits the ability of African governments to take proactive and conscious measures to facilitate the emergence of an indigenous entrepreneurial class. Consequently, due to their weakness and incapacity to operate on a national basis, rather than being forces for national integration and consolidation as was and is the case of European and American entrepreneurs, African entrepreneurs reinforce social divisions based on ethnicity, religion, race, language, culture, and location.

Welfare and other programs intended to meet the basic needs of the majority of the population are transferred from governments to non-governmental

organizations that begin to replace governments in the eyes of the people. As a result, governments lose what little authority and legitimacy they have. The consequent gap between government leaders and the public leads to alienation of the population from the political process and creates a favorable environment for the emergence of non-representative governments.

### **2.13. Solutions to Democratic Problems**

Although democratic governance has faced many challenges which have rendered it almost useless as the leftists have perceived, many have observed that if certain measures are taken, they can bring about effectiveness of democratic governance. These efforts must include efforts at international, regional, national, local and individual level.

#### **2.13.1. International level**

To preserve international democracy, States must ensure that their conduct conforms to international law, refrain from the use or threat of force and from any conduct that endangers or violates the sovereignty and political or territorial integrity of other States, and take steps to resolve their differences by peaceful means.

A democracy should support democratic principles in international relations. In that respect, democracies must refrain from undemocratic conduct, express solidarity with democratic governments and non-State actors like non-governmental organizations which work for democracy and human rights, and extend solidarity to those who are victims of human rights violations at the hands of undemocratic regimes. In order to strengthen international criminal justice, democracies must reject impunity for

international crimes and serious violations of fundamental human rights and support the establishment of a permanent international criminal court (Bassiouni, Beetham, Beevi, Boye, Mor, Kubiak, Ramaphosa, Sudarsono, Touraine, & Villoro, 1998).

### **2.13.2. Combined Efforts**

In order to consolidate democracy at national level, it requires the combined efforts of international, national and local observers, where greater emphasis on domestic, long-term observation and better, closer co-operation between international and local observer group as well as promotion of regional, continental and locally-developed guidelines (Rakner, Menocal, and Fritz, 2007).

### **2.13.3. Independence of Some State Agencies**

By giving independence and enough funds to political parties, INEC, the judiciary, the law enforcement agencies and others; involvement in poverty alleviation programmes; Traditional Rulers assuming roles of fathers of all; a change from perception of democracy as profit making venture to community/humanity service venture, and also coming to the realization of the potency of dialogue and negotiation as the best option for resolving political conflicts as against political violence; giving room for foreign aids to be more genuinely involved in Africa development, than the mere extension of financial aids to Africa (Nigeria) as well as more African-friendly programmes which strongly support Nigeria financially and morally will bring about a lasting result which will consolidate democratic governance in Nigeria (Jawondo, 2011).

#### **2.13.4. Regulation of Interests in Politics and Behaviour of Actors**

To involve democratic governance in Nigeria in the mist of incompatibility of interests inherent in political and power relations, behaviour of actors need to be regulated, coordinated, shaped and made to be in line with the existing rules in order to ensure fairness, equity, justice and transparency which, in turn, guarantee peace and harmonious relationship among the political actors (Arowolo, and Aluko, 2012).

#### **2.13.5. Women Empowerment**

On the issue of women empowerment in political participation, political parties should have a clear policy in respect of women political ambition. This will help women to know what to do and how to go about their political venture. It is good to be religious, but putting women in Purdah and restricting their movement as well as activities which stop them from political participation is a form of slavery. Therefore men should allow their wives to actively participate in politics which is one of their fundamental human rights enshrined in chapter 4 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended). Accomplished politicians as well as political parties operating in the study area should always assist women financially and morally to prosecute their political ambition (Ajibade, Ocheni, Mabe, and Adekunle, 2012).

Similary, Oni, and Segun (2012: 5) say “Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) should be domesticated in Nigeria immediately; which will expunge the conflicting and discriminatory provisions in

Nigerian Statutory, Customary and Religious laws that reinforce male supremacy and perpetuate patriarchal system in Nigeria.”

#### **2.13.6. Implementation of Electoral Bill**

Electoral bill explicitly specifying and clarifying guidelines for modalities and implementations of affirmative action that enhance women’s empowerment should be passed into law in the country, taking care of 50% of financial cost of registration as a candidate for political positions and election campaign should be borne by the government. Every national political party should reserve 30% of all elective positions for women. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should ensure that this policy is obeyed and any political party that fails to follow it should be disqualified. There should be constitutional provision for electoral quota system of 50% of the seats in the National Assembly, States’ House of Assembly and Local Government Councils in Nigeria reserved for women in Nigeria; and women in the study area should be enlightened by the official of the National orientation agency as well as through sustained publicity by political parties so as to increase their political awareness (Oni and Segun, 2012).

#### **2.13.7. Government to Curb the Menace of Electoral Violence**

Furthermore, Government must curb the menace of electoral violence and the use of political thugs and gangsters to suppress and witch-hunt political opponents in the country. Election Task Force should be established by the government with membership drawn from The Nigerian Police which should be on ground throughout election periods for immediate investigation of the use of political thugs and gangsters

during political campaigns and voting by political parties or aspirants, and conviction of such acts through the adjudication of Election Tribunal should lead to automatic disqualification of such political party or aspirants by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) (Samuel and Segun, 2012).

#### **2.13.8. Individual Efforts**

While the existence of an active civil society is an essential element of democracy, the capacity and willingness of individuals to participate in democratic processes and make governance choices cannot be taken for granted. It is therefore necessary to develop conditions conducive to the genuine exercise of participatory rights, while also eliminating obstacles that prevent, hinder or inhibit this exercise. It is therefore indispensable to ensure the permanent enhancement of, inter alia, equality, transparency and education and to remove obstacles such as ignorance, intolerance, apathy, the lack of genuine choices and alternatives and the absence of measures designed to redress imbalances or discrimination of a social, cultural, religious and racial nature, or for reasons of gender (Bassiouni, Beetham, Beevi, Boye, Mor, Kubiak, Ramaphosa, Sudarsono, Touraine, & Villoro, 1998).

#### **2.14. Theoretical framework/conceptual framework**

There are several theories of democracy, which can be grouped into two; liberalism and republicanism; and contemporary theories. From liberalism and republican theories, we have Liberal Tradition by John Locke, Tom Paine, James Madison, Alexis Tocqueville, John Stuart Mill, and John Rawls; and Republican Tradition by Aristotle, Niccolò Machiavelli, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Winthrop, Horace Mann,



and Robert Bellah. From contemporary theories we have Protective Democracy by Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman; Pluralist Democracy by Arthur Bentley and Robert Dahl; Performance or Developmental Democracy by Joseph Schumpeter and Anthony Downs; and Participatory Democracy John Dewey and Benjamin Barber (Terchek & Conte, 2001).

Although there are so many of these theories of democracy, my argument centers on developmental democracy to see how developmental democracy, which is for provision of infrastructure for development is being used by leaders of Logo Local Government for the people of Logo.

Under developmental democracy, citizens are engaged in civic issues and focused on what is best for society as a whole. It is connected to morality. As citizens become involved in government, they acquire an understanding and appreciation of what is needed to improve services and communities. In developmental democracy, engaged citizens are responsible community members. This democracy acknowledges the need for elected officials but believes the people are responsible for selection and oversight of their work.

Developmental Democracy aims to maximize political participation, freedom of information, and the involvement of the mass public in government elections and decision-making. As earlier mentioned, it aims to develop and concentrate sufficient capacity within the state so that it could use its resources to improve the well-being of citizens on lower rungs of the socio-economic hierarchy.

Developmental democracy is therefore more suiting for the research. Hence the democratic governance of Nigeria is more of developmental democracy, it will be

better to major the performances of leaders of Logo Local Government based on the form of governance they are practicing rather than what they should practice.

## **2.16. Summary**

Though so many researches have been conducted on this topic, factors militating against democratic governance have been identified, and suggested solutions have been made, these efforts have always been abortive. This is because these factors have always been attributed to our leaders and top politicians, and efforts for positive change have always been geared towards these groups who have less power, but are very influential, and enjoy better when these factors are in place; leaving out the masses who have the power to easily effect the change but are ignorant of that power. This research will unveil factors militating against democratic governance from the masses that suffer more in an undemocratic government, but do not know how to use their power to get rid of their sufferings, and create a way how they can be educated to overcome these undemocratic governance challenges

## **Chapter 3: Research Methodology**

### **3.0. Introduction**

This chapter describes how the research was carried out. It is crucial to utilize the appropriate methodology in order to accomplish the objectives which underlie a particular research. The chapter sets out the research design, targeted population, data collection methods, data analysis technique and ethical considerations.

### **3.1. Research design**

Research design is the framework that has been created to seek answers to research questions. Design of a study defines the study type (descriptive, correlational, semi-experimental, experimental, review, meta-analytic) and sub-type (e.g., descriptive-longitudinal case study, cross-sectional etc.).

In this research, the researcher made use of a descriptive cross-sectional study design, making use of case study. Both Quantitative and Qualitative methods were used, making use of both open and close ended questions. This choice was made in order to get more information that might not be acquired through the use of only close ended or open ended questions.

#### **3.1.1. Case Study**

For better management and thoroughness, Logo Local Government was used as a case study for the research. The selection of Logo as a case study is attributable to some rationales. Firstly, Logo Local Government is the Local Government of the sitting

Governor of the State, hence governance activities in the Local Government are more pronounced.

Secondly, it is where opposition was more pronounced, as gubernatorial candidates, Governor Gabriel Suswam of the PDP and ACN governorship candidate Professor Steve Ugbah, both the ruling party and the strongest opposition party came from this Local Government. This brought about a lot of political activities that creates good ground for a research on this topic.

Thirdly, this Local Government has experienced a lot of political violence that claimed not less than fifteen lives and destroyed properties worth millions of naira. All the above mentioned factors have created good reasons for Logo Local Government to be used as a case study for this research, particularly as the research is investigating into factors that are militating against the practice of democratic governance in Nigeria; hence all the required information for the research can be easily obtained here.

Population of your study is next, followed by the sample.

### **3.1.2. Sample Selection**

When conducting research, it is almost always impossible to study the entire population that one are interested in, as this would be extremely timely and costly. As a result, researchers use samples as a way of gathering data. In view of these facts, the sample selection of this research has been carefully done, considering the following:-

Firstly, age has been considered. The administering of the questionnaires and the interview was done among people of the age between 18- 75 years. This is among

people of voting age, who are eligible to actively participate in politics. Secondly, 50 people were sampled. This has to do with the limited time and funds available for the research. Although the population is probably over 169, 063, the sampling of 50 people can give us reliable information on the topic, because the sampling covered all corners of the Local Government as well as people with useful information on the research topic.

### **3.1. 3. Target groups**

To ensure against any possible human bias in this method, the researcher had groups in mind, but at the same time sampled individuals from these groups randomly. In this case, the targeted groups were Executive members of Logo Local Government, The Legislative council, members of various political parties, Local Government staffs, and members of the Judiciary, leaders of various organizations as well as some youths and women through the random sampling. It was still random sampling because any person among the selected groups could be sampled.

Executive members of the Local Government were sampled, because they are in governance and are expected to have useful information on the research topic. Secondly, members of various political parties were sampled for being directly involved in the formation of every government. Thirdly, Local Government staffs, for being in the system of governance of the Local Government. Fourthly, members of the judiciary for handling electoral court cases. Fifthly, leaders of some organizations because they have useful information on the research topic, as they can easily assess democratic governance through relationship of the government and civil society

organizations. Similarly, Youths were also sampled for their roles either for, or against democratic governance in the Local Government.

In the same vein, women were not been left out for their level of involvement in all the above mentioned areas in Logo Local Government and for assessment of gender discrimination in governance of the Local Government.

#### **3.1.4. Data Collection Methods**

For data collection of this research, mixed research involving both quantitative and qualitative methods were used.

Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect information. The questionnaires containing both closed and open ended questions were served.

Questionnaires were translated in the local language so that the research will not be limited to only elites. Although Qualitative research was used, care was taken not to involve focus group discussion, but only individual interview for the sake of confidentiality; since the topic for research is so sensitive. The use of focus group discussion was only practiced where participants decided to waive their right to anonymity due to desire for visibility in their community.

#### **3.1.5. Data analysis**

Quantitative data was analyzed in a tabular form through the use of Epi-Info version 7.1.2.0, while Qualitative data was analyzed thematically.

### **3.2. Ethical considerations**

The permission to carry out the study was sought from Africa University Research Ethics Committee (AUREC), and the research proposal was presented to it for ethical consideration. Permission was also sought from Leadership of the Local Government. The nature and purpose of the research, as well as the role and expectations of every participant was clearly explained, so that they could make informed choices about whether to participate or not. The rights of participants were also protected during and after the research.

Throughout the study, conscious efforts to maintain confidentiality were made. Informed consent was sought from all participants in the study. Participants were informed of the general reason for my presence in their environment, and they signed Informed Consent Form prior to involvement in the study. All data were treated in a way that respected and protected the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants involved in the study; by making sure that all information provided by participants is used solely for the proposed research and will be securely stored in the school to ensure privacy for all families involved. Should the participants wish to waive their right to anonymity due to a desire for visibility in the community; this was considered as appropriate to the underlying aims of the study.

Although some of the participants were very reluctant to comment on political issues, for the fear of being victimized, the explanation of the objectives of the research and the assurance of confidentiality made them to contribute confidently.

## **Chapter 4: Data Analysis**

### **4.0. Introduction**

This chapter presents results of the findings through interviews conducted among 50 participants who were sampled for data collection. Among the 50 participants, 16 were female, while the remaining 34 were male. Data was collected randomly from selected groups including: Executive members of Logo Local Government, The Legislative council, members of various political parties, Local Government staffs, and members of the Judiciary, leaders of organizations as well as some youths and women in order to avoid biasness. The research covered areas in Logo Local Government like, Ugba, Anyiin, Abeda, Ayilamo, Gondoza, Iorza and Abeda-Mbadyul. Hence the researcher wanted to obtain response from 50 questionnaires; lost and destroyed ones were replaced by either giving the same people new ones, or other people, to replace the number. The process of data collection was through mixed research; which made use of quantitative and qualitative research. Findings were as shown below:



#### 4.1: Socio-Demographic Data

The age group of participants was between 18-75 years. The median age is 45years. As noted above, 16 female and 34 males were sampled.

**Table 1: Socio-demographic data**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Frequency N = 50</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Age group (years)</b>		
18 – 37	12	24.0
38 – 57	34	68.0
58 – 75	4	8.0
<b>Median age (Q<sub>1</sub>, Q<sub>3</sub>)</b>	<b>45 (38, 53)</b>	
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	34	68.0
Female	16	32.0

**Table 2: Knowledge**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Frequency N = 50</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Some political office holders go into those offices without knowing what they have to do for their subjects.	True	44	88.0
	False	6	12.0
	Don't know	0	0
Many political office holders do not know the meaning of democracy.	True	44	88.0
	False	6	12.0
	Don't know	0	0
Many people vote candidates without knowing what those people have to do for them.	True	45	90.0
	False	5	10.0
	Don't know	0	0

Table 2 above, which is about knowledge shows that 44 (88%) are of the view that many leaders do not know their duties, 44 (88%) say many political office holders do not know the meaning of democracy, while 45 (90%) say many people vote candidates without knowing the duties of such people.

**Table 3: People's Perceptions on Leaders**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Frequency N = 50</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Politicians use thugs in order to secure votes.	True	42	84.0
	False	5	10.0
	Don't know	3	6.0
Some politicians use money to buy votes.	True	47	94.0
	False	1	2.0
	Don't know	2	4.0
Political god-fathers do influence the choice of candidates.	True	48	96.0
	False	1	2.0
	Don't know	1	2.0
Political parties vow for change for their personal gains rather than the interest of the society.	True	46	92.0
	False	4	8.0
	Don't know	0	0.0
Many Top politicians prefer sharing of public funds to execution of projects.	True	48	96.0
	False	2	4.0
	Don't know	0	0.0
Citizens are always allowed to vote freely.	True	16	32.0
	False	33	66.0
	Don't know	1	2.0
Some of the votes do not count.	True	39	78.0
	False	8	16.0
	Don't know	3	6.0
There is always rigging in every election.	True	38	76.0
	False	5	10.0
	Don't know	7	14.0
Fears of violence sometimes prevent others from turning up for voting.	True	50	100.0
	False	0	0.0
	Don't know	0	0.0

In Table 3 which are for people's perceptions on leaders, respondents give the following results. 42 (84%) say, Politicians use thugs to secure votes; 47 (94%) say politicians use money to buy votes; 48 (96%) have the opinion that Political god-fathers do influence the choice of candidates; 46 (92%) say Political look for change for their personal gains; 48 (96%) say many top Politicians want public funds to be shared rather than execution of projects; 33 (66%) say Citizens are not allowed to vote freely; 39 (78%) give their views that some of the votes do not count; 38 (76%) say

there is always rigging in every election; while 50 (100%) say Fears of violence sometimes prevent others from turning up for voting.

**Table 4: People's Perceptions on Leaders**

Variable	Characteristics	Frequency N = 50	Percentage
Sometimes ruling parties do use law enforcement agencies against opposition during election.	True	42	84.0
	False	3	6.0
	Don't know	5	10.0
Opposition cannot fight for their justice.	True	27	54.0
	False	18	36.0
	Don't know	5	10.0
Oppositions do use violence during elections.	True	27	54.0
	False	20	40.0
	Don't know	3	6.0
Poor candidates cannot win election on their own.	True	43	86.0
	False	6	12.0
	Don't know	1	2.0
People do attend political rallies for money rather than showing their support to candidates.	True	42	84.0
	False	5	10.0
	Don't know	3	6.0
Politicians vote political parties rather than candidates that can lead them better.	True	48	96.0
	False	1	2.0
	Don't know	1	2.0

Commenting further as seen on the above table, 42 (84%) are of the view that sometimes ruling parties do use law enforcement agencies against opposition during election; 27 (54%) say Opposition cannot fight for their justice; 27 (54%) are of the view that oppositions do use violence during elections; 43. (86%) are of the opinion that candidates who are not wealthy cannot win election on their own; 42 (84%) say People do attend political rallies for money rather than showing their support to

candidates; 48 (96%) say Politicians vote political parties rather than candidates that can lead them better

**Table 5: People's Perceptions of Leaders**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Frequency N = 50</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Women are less considered for political positions.	True	45	90.0
	False	4	8.0
	Don't know	1	2.0
There are many politicians and political office holders that are above the law	True	36	72.0
	False	12	24.0
	Don't know	2	4.0
There is no independence of the judiciary and this has adverse effects on outcomes of election petitions	True	44	88.0
	False	1	2.0
	Don't know	5	10.0
Your elective representatives inform you on what is going on, seek your opinions on issues affecting you before taking their decisions	True	12	24.0
	False	37	74.0
	Don't know	1	2.0

From the above table, 45 (90%) say women are less considered for political positions. 36 (72%) say there are many politicians and political office holders who are above the law. 44 (88%) say there is no independence of the judiciary and this has adverse effects on outcomes of election petitions; and 37 (72%) say their elective representatives do not seek their opinions before taking decisions that affect them.

From qualitative analysis, the search to find out whether democratic governance is practiced in Logo Local Government got these responses:

Ten participants were of the opinion that it is either practiced wholly or partially, while forty participants were of the opinion that it is not at all practiced in Logo Local Government.

Comments from respondents on what effects this non practice of democratic governance has on Logo Local Government also received responses from participants. Participants identified many effects of non practice of democratic governance on Logo Local Government, which include: Poor governance; low level of development; deprivation of human rights; lack of infrastructure like good roads, good water, electricity, health facilities, streets and drainages as a result of unfair distribution of public properties; poor payment of salaries, which has adverse effect on education and governance in general in the Local Government; increase in criminal activities as a result of poverty that has been created through diversion of public funds, leaving public funds in the hands of few individuals, while majority live in absolute poverty; rise in position of god-fatherism; lack of unity among political parties and even family members who belong to different political parties; lack of faith in leaders of the Local Government by many rural dwellers and the less privileged who feel deserted. Others include political violent crises that have claimed many lives and properties worth millions of naira.

With regards to how best these challenges could be resolved, participants responded by saying it could be handled through the conduct of free and fair elections; considering electorates as key players in the practice of democratic governance; organizing educational programmes to educate both the rulers and the ruled on what

democratic governance really means; working on gender balance programmes; embarking on developmental projects by the Local Government; strict observation of rule of law; avoidance of money politics as well as the practice of imposing candidates on people; observation of due process; educating the youths on the evil of allowing themselves to be used as political thugs; consideration of people for leadership positions based on merits; inculcating the spirit of servant leadership in leaders of the Local Government; considering minority rights; reforming electoral systems to avoid riggings; introduction of voter education to help voters to be able to know the right choice on their own without being influenced by other people who have their interest above that of the society; observation of due process in all political and governance issues; introduction of interfaith programmes among political parties to foster unity among multiple political parties and holding of leaders accountable in all their actions; strict observation of all elements of democratic governance in all forms of leadership in the Local Government. Lastly, some say it can be handled through discouragement of the use of law enforcement agencies against opponents, and the respect of the opinions of the masses.

#### **4.2. Discussion**

Below is detailed information concerning the findings with direct quotations of some participants, regarding factors militating against democratic governance in Logo Local Government; its effects on the Local Government; as well as suggestions on ways of evolving democratic governance in the Local Government.

#### **4.2.1. Factors Militating Against Democratic Governance in Logo Local Government.**

The investigation has shown that democratic governance not been well practiced in Logo Local Government in the years after 2001. The study found that there are a number of factors that are militating against democratic governance in the Local Government. These factors include:

##### **4. 2.1.1. Lack of Knowledge**

To create democratic governance, people must have the knowledge and capacity to exercise their individual and collective rights in order to bring about democracy, preserve democratic processes, and insure that these processes work effectively and with integrity so that democratic outcomes may be attained. Knowledge is indispensable and allows a citizenry the capacity to develop civil society and to act in defense of its values and institutions. Lack of knowledge is probably the single factor which causes apathy and indifference in a society. Such apathy and indifference is what allows the few to malgovern, to abuse individual and collective rights, and to exploit their fellow citizens. No genuine democracy can long exist while the citizenry is apathetic or indifferent to the ways of government engagement and participation in public life and in support of civil society is indispensable to democracy. This is therefore one of the contributing factors to lack of democratic governance in Logo Local Government. From the findings, some say many political office holders go into those offices without knowing what they have to do for their subjects; others say many political office holders do not know the real meaning of democracy; while others say

people vote candidates without knowing what they have to do for them; indicating that lack of knowledge is a factor that is militating against democratic governance in Logo Local Government; because if people are holding offices without knowing their duties and the meaning of democracy, and people are voting candidates without knowing what they have to do for them, democracy cannot be practiced in such a society. We can therefore conclude rightly that lack of knowledge is a factor militating against democratic governance in Logo Local Government.

#### **4. 2. 1.2. Use of Thugs**

Developmental Democracy; the theory which this research is founded, aims at maximizing political participation, freedom of information, and the involvement of the mass public in government elections and decision-making. The use of thugs in election deprives the mass public of all these things, thereby making the whole system undemocratic. Hence many participants in Logo say, politicians use thugs to secure votes and all participants say fear of violence prevents others from turning up for voting, while others say sometimes ruling parties do use law enforcement agencies against opposition during elections; people are not allowed to vote freely; some of the votes do not count; it then shows that force is being applied either through the use of thugs or law enforcement agencies. This might be what is creating fears and preventing others for turning up for voting; making the whole system undemocratic.

#### **4.2.1.3. Monetary Politics:**

Furthermore, some say politicians use money to buy votes. While others are of the view that people attend political rallies for money rather than paying attention to



manifestos of their candidates. This is an indication that both top politicians and the masses are after money. This therefore helps people who are in position of money to quickly influence the choices of the poor masses through the use of money. This is similar to what Arowolo, and Aluko, have also argued that Nigerian politics has been so monetized to the extent that an average, credible Nigerian cannot afford its exorbitance (Arowolo, and Aluko, 2012). This mentioned practice in Logo will never create room for democratic governance if it is still in place.

#### **4.2.1.4. People's Interest above the Interest of the Society:**

Democratic governance aims to develop and concentrate sufficient capacity within the state so that it could use its resources to improve the well-being of citizens on lower rungs of the socio-economic hierarchy. If governments are not accountable to the people they govern, they are then very likely to engage in socio-economic practices which are not responsive to people's needs. Where people's interests are set above the interest of the community, such resources are normally being diverted for individual benefits of few people who are in leadership or those who have strong links with those in leadership, exposing the rest to absolute poverty. In a similar vein, some participants in Logo Local Government are of the view that some politicians in Logo vow for change for their personal gains rather than the interest of Logo people, while others say that many top politicians prefer sharing of public funds to execution of projects, show that people hold their interests above that of the society; turning the real meaning of democratic rule upside down. This is therefore one of the factors that is militating against democratic governance in Logo Local Government.

#### **4.2.1.5. Non Independence of the Judiciary:**

Democratic governance is achievable in the atmosphere of sustenance of the rule of law. This is achievable only through independence of the judiciary. In an atmosphere where there is no independence of the judiciary, there will be no possibility of having democratic governance. Research result in Logo Local Government shows that opposition cannot fight for their justice. Many participants say, some politicians and political office holders are above the law; while others are of the view that there is no independence of the judiciary, and that this has adverse effects on the outcome of election petitions. All these responses show that there is no independence of the judiciary in Logo to some extents. Democratic governance cannot function effectively without independence of the judiciary.

#### **4.2.1.6. Lack of True Representation:**

In true democratic governance, elective representatives seek opinions of the people they represent before taking any decision that affects them. In Logo Local Government, many participants say their representatives do not seek their opinion before taking any decision that affects them. This shows that there is no true representation. This is an indication that lack of true representation is also a factor that is militating against democratic governance in Logo Local Government.

#### **4.2.1.7. Lack of adherence to rule of law:**

We can only talk about possibility of the existence of democratic governance where there is free exercise of certain basic individual and group rights. These basic rights are inter alia: life, liberty, and property, due process of law, equality; non-

discrimination, freedom of expression and assembly, and, judicial access and review. Without any these, democracy however perceived, cannot exist. The fact that a considerable number of participants in Logo Local Government say that some politicians and political officeholders are above the law; indicates clearly that democratic governance is lacking in Logo, because in a democratic government, all are equal before the law.

#### **4.2.1.8. Female Marginalization in Politics**

From result of the research, women are less considered for political positions in Logo Local Government. This can also be considered as a factor militating against democratic governance in the Local Government, because if we accept with Nwabueze's view that democratic government is predicated upon freedom, justice and equal treatment of all citizens, men and women alike, by the society, we cannot talk of democratic governance in Logo Local Government where 90% are of the view that women are less considered for political positions. This female marginalization in Nigeria has earlier been reflected in the work of David, Ocheni, Mabe and Adekunle, where they have clearly shown how women have been marginalized in Nigerian politics (David, Ocheni, Mabe and Adekunle, 2012). There cannot be any democratic governance without gender balance in political positions.

#### **4.2.1.9. Influence of political god-fathers**

Responding on the issue of influence of political god-fathers, many were of the opinion that political god-fathers do influence the choice of candidates in Logo Local Government. During interview, one of the respondents said, *"Leaders of Logo Local*

*Government Council are mostly selected by few individuals (god-fathers). The attention of these selected, but not elected leaders is directed on satisfying their god-fathers rather than working for the good of Logo people.”* This is also a clear indication that god-fatherism is one of the factors that is militating against democratic governance in Logo Local Government.

#### **4.2.1.10. Political Violence**

Political violence which has to do with forceful way of seeking or using power and rebelling against authority without regards for laws, lives and properties; the use or threat of physical act carried out by an individual or individuals within a political system against another individual or individuals and/or property, with the intent to cause injury or death to persons and/or damage or destruction to property, can hardly give room to democratic governance to exist. Research result in Logo Local Government indicating, fear of not turning up for voting; the use of thugs; the use of law enforcement agencies against opposition; the inefficiency of some votes; female marginalization in politics; lack of rule of law, is a clear indication of impossibility of existence of democratic governance in such a community. This is in agreement with what Jawondo, (2011: 150) says, “Democracy, the most preferred system of government is bedeviled in Nigeria by political violence,” as well as the views of The Nation, (2006), Arowolo, and Aluko, (2012). All these views are clearly showing that political violence is among the factors that are militating against democratic governance as research findings of Logo Local Government has also shown.

Commenting on whether democratic governance is practiced in Logo Local Government through some interviews, ten participants were of the opinion that it is either practiced wholly or partially. One of the participants, who is of the opinion that it is wholly practiced said, *“Yes, democratic governance is fully practiced in Logo Local Government.”*

On the other hand, forty participants are of the opinion that it is not at all practiced in Logo Local Government, with some interesting comments. *“Capital no; it is not at all practiced in Logo Local Government of Benue State.” “Ngu ga, ka mkighir” (there is none, only authoritarianism).*

Some still say,

“On the whole, there is no democratic governance practiced in the above named Local Government because of these reasons; killing of innocent souls, and scaring people with guns and their thugs” “I stand to say there is enforcement of candidates on the masses in Logo Local Government” “It is not, because few individuals have hijacked democratic governance.” “What we have in Logo is autocracy or dictatorship.” “Not at all; there is always fear; people rarely come out to vote; favoured individuals have upper hands and control elections at their wills.” “Leaders of Logo Local Government Council are mostly selected by few individuals (god-fathers). The attention of these selected, but not elected leaders is directed on satisfying their god-fathers rather than working for the good of Logo people.”

Although they were some who said that there is democratic governance in the Local Government; their statements were however so contradictory. They had already answered quantitative questions indicating that there is lack of democratic governance in Logo before their final opinions through qualitative questions, indicating that there is democratic governance in the Local Government; making the whole issue contradictory.

#### **4.3. The Effects of Non Practice of Democratic Governance on Logo Local**

##### **Government.**

When asked of the effects of this non practice of democratic governance on Logo Local Government, participants had some of these responses.

“Inequality, unfair treatment, injustice and malice are on the increase. Opposition is treated with contempt rather than taking into account their kind opinions. On the whole, there is practical apathy among the people of the area.” “There is total deprivation of human rights.”

Additionally, one of the participants said, there is *“low community development; a lot of political differences between families; misuse of Government funds. Families of political office-holders carry lion shares, when it is time of employment.”* Another one says *“it affects people’s consciousness; people do not have interest in politics again.”*

To sum it up, they have identified many effects of non practice of democratic governance on Logo Local Government, which include: Poor governance; low level of development; deprivation of human rights; lack of infrastructure like good roads, good water, electricity, health facilities, streets and drainages as a result of unfair distribution of public properties.

To them, other effects include: Irregular payment of salaries, which has adverse effect on education and governance in general in the Local Government; increase in criminal activities as a result of poverty that has been created through diversion of public funds, leaving public funds in the hands of few individuals, while majority live in absolute poverty; rise in position of god-fatherism; lack of unity among political parties and even family members who belong to different political parties; lack of faith in leaders

of the Local Government by many rural dwellers and the less privileged who feel deserted.

Equally important, others have said that the non practice of democratic governance in Logo Local Government has greatly, negatively affected the Local Government through so many violent, political crises that have claimed many lives and properties worth millions of naira.

Furthermore, others say, it has led to the abuse of power by many political officeholders, as many of them end up serving their god-fathers by doing their will at the expense of the society. Still others are of the opinion that it is also the cause of high unemployment; imposition of leaders on the masses; increase in corruption and indiscipline as well as lost of interest in politics by many as a result of frustration and fear that is always created through the use of thugs during elections. This is an indication that these factors are not just there, but they are negatively contributing to the underdevelopment of the Local Government. It is therefore good to discuss them in full.

#### **4.3.1. Poor governance**

Governance which is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented has a lot to do with democracy. Democracy directs governance towards right policies and implementation of right policies. Any governance which puts aside democracy will end up making decisions; implementing decisions or not implementing decisions that will take that organization or society forward.

The non-evolvement of democratic governance has made leaders of Logo to pass through so many governance challenges by implementing polices and not implementing policies that will bring about underdevelopment in the area.

#### **4.3.2. Lack of infrastructure**

Lack of democratic governance has created the problem of lack of Infrastructure like good roads, electricity; good water; health facilities and the like. During raining season, places like Asom, Abul, Akaa, Azua, Ikyor, Agov, Abiem, Goosu, Igboughul, to mention but a few are never accessible. Most used vehicles during this period are motorbikes; especially “BAJA.” Farmers who produce crops in these areas end up not been able to take them to the market for sell. Those who force themselves end up working for vehicle owners, because sometimes they sell at the cost of transport fares. This has affected agriculture to a wide extent as many farmers are discoured from putting on their efforts in farming, as farming is no longer beneficial to them as a result of bad roads. This problem has been created as a result of non practice of democratic governance, for there is Federal Allocation which is for these projects, and democratic structures are on the ground to address these issues, but the problems are still there as a result of diversion of such funds.

Most of the above mentioned places lack electricity, health facilities and good water. During dry season, women have to travel kilometers in search of water, this affects their farming activities and education of their children, who end up going late to school or not at all. People who drink any available water are sometimes being affected by deadly diseases, rising mortality rate in the Local Government. Prominent



towns in Logo Ugba, Abeda, Anyiin and Ayilamo lack streets and drainages. Some of the areas of the towns are impassable for lack of streets, which is the responsibility of leadership of the Local Government. Looking at the kind of development Logo experienced from 1999-2001, if that continues, Logo would have been very far in terms of infrastructural development. The inability to renovate even the existing ones, as a result of non-democratic governance has taken Logo Local Government very far behind in terms of development, as mentioned earlier.

#### **4.3.3. Lack of faith in leadership of the Local Government**

The above mentioned hardships have made many people who are living in these areas to have no interest in the government again. They feel deserted, and no longer feel to be part of the Local Government. Some hardly vote during elections, because they do not know their benefits in the government.

#### **4.3.4. Deprivation of human rights**

Every individual has rights to basic things like life, food, education, shelter, privacy, freedom of expression, and the like. As earlier mention, these things are seriously lacking in Logo. By denying people of these basic things is to deprive them of their rights, especially where resources for the provision of the things are there, but are only diverted.

#### **4.3.5. Irregular payment of salaries**

Non democratic governance has badly affected payment of salaries in the Logo Local Government. People have to go without salary for months. Sometimes even when they

are paid, it is either half of their salaries or one quarter of their salaries. This has brought about very serious hardships on parents as many of their children have to stop going to school for lack of school fees. Some have either lost their lives or their dear ones as a result of this problem. Those who want to survive under all cost have ended up falling in the hands of money lenders through “Ma lua.” This has made them enter into debt traps that they will never get out of, as their interest charges keep on increasing every month. This hardship has made many to wonder why they even live to face unbearable hardships. Many have lost their lives, or have ended up being hypertensive.

#### **4.3.6. Increase in criminal activities.**

The use of the youths as political thugs, poverty as a result of increase in unemployment level has led to increase in criminal activities, as there are many cases of armed robbery and thefts in so many parts of the Local Government. Commenting on this, some participants say, politicians buy arms and ammunitions and give them to these youths to assist them during elections. After these elections, they do not settle these youths or collect these weapons from them. Their inability to retrieve these weapons from the hands of these youths, as well as their inability to give them something to sustain their lives, usually cause these youths to turn up using these weapons for criminal activities.

#### **4.3.7. Political violence.**

Logo Local Government has witnessed several political crises that have claimed many lives and properties worth millions of naira. Commenting on this, Weekly Trust

(2011) states, “Ugba, headquarters of Logo Local Government Area, witnessed a whole day of this violent part of Benue politics, with extra days of tension sending many fleeing their homes. The media have reported many people killed in a violent reprisal that trailed the gruesome murder of a popular transporter and money lender, Celestine Agber, who also held sway as a local chieftain of the opposition ACN.”

Similarly, Duru, (2015) says, “No fewer than 15 persons have been reported killed with over 60 houses burnt in a politically-motivated violence that rocked Ugba, in the Logo Local Government Area of Benue State.” The recent 2015 election has also witnessed the burning down of INEC office in Ugba and the loss of lives in some places in the Local Government. These activities are bringing a very big setback in Logo, because in many of these crises, many of the houses of some prominent sons and daughters, as well as visitors of Logo have been burnt down without any compensation. The resultant effect is that many have resolved not to build their houses in Logo any longer. They are therefore residents of other places, who only visit Logo once in awhile.

#### **4.3.8. Loss of interest in politics**

Many people, who have seen the hardship that Logo is passing through, joined politics with a strong zeal of taking their people out these hardships. However, many have met humiliations and disappointments as a result of activities of some god-fathers who would only allow those who can accept to go into these leaderships for the sake of their benefits (god-fathers). These undemocratic activities have made many

responsible people to completely loss interest in politics, living politics in the hands of many ill responsible people.

#### **4.3.9. Rise in position of god-fathers**

The benefits derived in god-fatherism is rising interest of many people to that position, and making people who are already in that position to do everything possible to maintain their positions. Increase in number of political god-fathers in the Local Government is increase in undemocratic governance, which has always led to diversion of public funds to satisfy these god-fathers; exposing the Local Government to serious underdevelopment.

#### **4.3.10. Lack of unity**

Undemocratic governance has created disunity among political parties, and even family member who belong to different political parties. This disunity has brought about some violent acts, and difficulty in team work among people of the Local Government and family members, crating set back in development. These issues if not properly addressed will lead to the disintegration of the Local Government. There is therefore every justifiable reason to look for ways of evolving democratic governance in the Local Government.

#### **4.4. Evolving Democratic Governance in Logo Local Government.**

With regards to how this undemocratic governance challenges will be solved, participants responded as follows: -

“Strict observation of constitutional provisions, absolute truth and fairness must be maintained so as to achieve positive result.” “Allow elections to be free and fair, elimination of god-fatherism; the wishes of the people should prevail. The last hope of the common man is the judiciary, they should have independent.” *“Sha shie u tsuan mbahemenev yo, I na ian ityo i tsua ior sha asema a ve. Ityo I fa onov vev mba vea hemen ve a kpe ve iyol yo.” (At the time of election, the electorates should be allowed to elect the person of their choice. The electorates should also know and vote for one who will lead for their interest).*

Similarly one of the participants said, *“There is need to reform our electoral system in order to discourage rigging. Voter education is needed to educate perspective voters on the gain of true practice of democratic governance. Electorates should hold their leaders accountable.”* Additionally, another participant said, *“Money should not be used to win the heart of people, as we all know its effects; it should also be on merit and not favoritism; the less privileged should also be given their cake.”*

In summary, participants were of opinion that the best way of resolving these challenge of non democratic governance in Logo Local Government should be by conducting free and fair elections; considering electorates as key players in the practice of democratic governance; organizing educational programmes to educate both rulers and the ruled on what democratic governance really means.

Equally important, some say they can easily be gotten rid of through gender balance programmes; embarking on developmental projects by the Local Government; strict observation of rule of law; avoidance of monetary politics as well as the practice of imposing candidates on people; observation of due process; educating the youths of

the evil of allowing themselves to be used as political thugs; consideration of people for leadership positions based on merits.

Still of importance, some say, other ways of handling these democratic governance challenges in Logo Local Government should be through leadership trainings for all leaders of the Local Government when ever new leaders are elected; by inculcating the spirit of servant leadership in leaders of the Local Government; considering minority rights; reforming electoral systems to avoid riggings; introduction of voter education to help voters to be able to know the right choice on their own without being influenced by other people who have their interest above that of the society; observation of due process in all political and governance issues; introduction of interfaith programmes among political parties to foster unity among multiple political parties and holding of leaders accountable in all their actions.

Others are of the opinion that there should be strict observation of all elements of democratic governance in all forms of leadership in the Local Government. Lastly, some say it can be handled through discouragement of the use of law enforcement agencies against opponents, and the respect of the opinions of the masses.

Although there is clear indication from the analysis of this chapter that there is none practice of democratic governance in this Local Government, and that this none practice has brought about serious negative effects on the Local Government,

participants were of the opinion that if the above mentioned opinions are followed, these challenges will be resolved.

## **Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations**

### **5.0. Introduction**

In this study, efforts have been made to investigate factors militating against the practice of democratic governance in Nigeria, using Logo Local Government as a case study; these factors have been identified; their effects on the Local Government have also been identified; possible ways of entrenching true democratic governance in the Local Government have been suggested. In this chapter, summary; conclusion and appropriate recommendation will then be made by the researcher.

### **5. 1 Summary**

The research has investigated factors militating against democratic governance in Nigeria, using Logo Local Government as a case study. The research states that Logo Local Government with all her democratic features for grassroots developments is going through serious undemocratic governance challenges and underdevelopment. The research therefore sought to identify factors that are militating against the practice of democratic governance in Logo Local Government; examine the effects of this non democratic governance on Logo; discuss possible ways of evolving democratic governance in Logo Local Government, and make appropriate recommendations from the findings of the study.



## **5.2. Conclusion**

Findings from the research have shown that factors militating against democratic governance include: Lack of knowledge; use of thugs; monetary politics; people's interest above the interest of the society; non independence of the judiciary; lack of true representation; lack of rule of law; female marginalization; influence of god-fathers, and political violence.

The research has also revealed the effects of this undemocratic governance of Logo as poor governance; lack of infrastructure; lack of faith in leadership of the Local Government; deprivations of human rights; irregular payment of salaries; increase in criminal activities; political violence; rise in position of god-fatherism; and lack of unity.

From findings, participants have suggested that the following measures should be taken in order to evolve democratic governance in Logo Local Government. These measures should include: Conducting of free and fair elections; considering electorates as key players in the practice of democratic governance; organizing educational programmes to educate both rulers and the ruled on what democratic governance really means; embarking on developmental projects by the Local Government; strict observation of rule of law; avoidance of monetary politics as well as the practice of imposing candidates on people; observation of due process; educating the youths of the evil of allowing themselves to be used as political thugs; consideration of people for leadership positions based on merits. Still others say, it should be handled through

leadership trainings for all leaders of the Local Government when ever new leaders are elected; by inculcating the spirit of servant leadership in leaders of the Local Government; considering minority rights; reforming electoral systems to avoid riggings; introduction of voter education to help voters to be able to know the right choice on their own without being influenced by other people who have their interest above that of the society; observation of due process in all political and governance issues; introduction of interfaith programmes among political parties to foster unity among multiple political parties and holding of leaders accountable in all their actions.

### **5.3. Recommendations**

Deriving from the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made to mitigate the factors militating against democratic governance in Logo Local Government:

- ❖ NGOs and Governmental organizations should team up together to give grassroots education to citizens on the role of governments to them, in order to help them know the duties of their leaders, and global issues affecting leadership; so that they can be able to assess the performances of their leaders themselves, rather than being influenced by some politicians who have their interest above that of the society.
  
- ❖ Election Task Force should be established by the government with membership drawn from The Nigerian Police which should be on ground throughout election periods for immediate investigation of the use of political thugs and gangsters during political campaigns and voting by political parties

or aspirants, and conviction of such acts through the adjudication of Election Tribunal should lead to automatic disqualification of such political party or aspirants by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Government should bring out programmes for youths empowerment so that they will no longer be used as thugs.

- ❖ Government should create a law banning the use of public funds for buying votes, as it is publically being distributed during political rallies. The education of citizens as mentioned earlier will also solve the problem as it happens in the present 2015 elections in Nigeria, where some were given money but still went ahead and vote the people they wanted after collecting such monies.
- ❖ There should be accountability, transparency and rule of law in all processes. There should also be increased civil society initiative to monitor and ensure accountability in public service delivery.
- ❖ Judiciary should be bold enough to give verdict in favour of those who truly won elections. Perpetrators of political violence should be brought to book against all odds, as this will serve as deterrent to others and rid democratization process of violence.
- ❖ There should be legal empowerment blend community mobilization with legal capacity building advocacy to build the voice and political impact of the poor

and the marginalized. Legal information to institutions of rule of law like National Human Rights Commission should given, and these institutions should work tirelessly to enforce rule of law, and help the poor to resist exploitation.

- ❖ The institutions of good governance must be funded, staffed, trained, equipped and be made independent in a manner that will investigate, expose, and punish corrupt conduct, and thus vigorously eliminate political violence.
- ❖ There should be Women education in the area of politics; scholarships; clear political policy; tolerance by men; registration assistance by Government and political parties, and reservation of 30% of the seats in the Local Government Councils for women.
- ❖ A Bill should be passed into law that restrains representatives from handling constituency funds without involving the community they represent, as well as increasing civil society initiative to monitor and ensure accountability in public service delivery.
- ❖ Leaders of the Local Government should be given leadership training, especially in the area of democratic governance, so that they can govern democratically.

- ❖ God-fatherism should be eliminated through education of the masses, so that the masses will know their rights and refuse to be influenced by other people for such people; as well as being able to identify the right persons themselves.
- ❖ There should be electoral reforms through the use of card reader or electronic voting in order to discourage rigging.

#### **2.4. Areas of further research**

Further research can be conducted in some of these areas: Why politicians what to influence the choice of candidates; the emergence of god-fatherism; how to evolve rule of law for democratic governance; and the impact of democratic governance on development.

Although Logo Local Government has passed through undemocratic governance as a result of various factors militating against it as presented in this paper, if the suggested ways mentioned in this paper which include, education of citizens; eradication of the use of thugs; discouragement of monetary politics; eradication of corruption; independence of the judiciary; enforcement of true representation; sanction of offenders; enforcement of rule of law; women empowerment; and eradication of god-fatherism as well as eradication of political violence are followed, Logo Local Government and Nigeria in general will surely arrive at her desired democratic governance.

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## **Appendix 1: Informed Consent Form**

### **INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

My name is Rev Shive, Iyover Jacob, a Masters Student at the Institute of Leadership Peace and Governance, Africa University Mutare, Zimbabwe. I am carrying out a research on ‘An Investigation into Factors Militating Against Democratic Governance in Nigeria’, with Logo Local Government as a case study; and asking you to participate in the research by filling in the form/answering the questions on the research. You are given this Consent Form so that you may read about the purpose, risks, and benefits of this research study. You have the right to refuse to take part in the study and may also change your mind about participating at any point. Please review this Consent Form carefully. Ask any questions before you make a decision. Your choice to participate is voluntary.

#### **Purpose of Study:**

The purpose of this study is to explore the factors militating against implementation of democratic governance in Logo Local Government. The result will be used to create awareness of the evil caused by Non-Democratic Governance resulting in political violence in Nigeria, as well as intervention strategies through sensitization and other educational measures. You have been selected among other 50 people in Logo Local Government who are believed to have useful information on the research topic.

#### **Procedures and Duration:**

If you agree to be a participant in this study, we would ask you to respond to a short

questionnaire and this will take a total of about 15 minutes to complete. You can refuse to answer any question that you are not comfortable with during the interview. This is a onetime only interview. A private one to one place will be used for the interviews in order to secure confidentiality and privacy.

**Risks to being in the study:**

We do not foresee any harm to you as a result of your participation in this study; however, there are some risks that can be incurred. Politicians can be very uncomfortable if they perceive that unfavourable or negative information is being divulged about them or their activities. This may result in the givers of such information losing some economic and social benefits because they will be considered as being anti- partisan. This will however be properly handled as names of participants will not be published without their consent. Their confidentiality will be highly respected.

**Benefits and/or Compensation:**

If you agree to take part in this study, there are no direct rewards or monetary value to you from taking part but Logo Local Government and Nigeria could benefit in the future from the findings of this study, as it can reduce political violence which is retarding development in the area and Nigeria at large. The study only gives you a chance to participate in reflecting on challenges faced in implementing democratic governance and exploring options for change.

**Confidentiality:**

If you indicate your willingness to participate in this study by signing this document, all information obtained will be for study purposes only, and will be held securely and stored on paper and computer files. In any type of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant. No name of any participant will be published without the permission of that participant. However, please note that the regulatory agency named: The Africa University Research Ethics Committee (AUREC) may need to review participant records for compliance audits.

**Voluntary Participation:**

Your participation is voluntary. If you decide not to participate in this study, your decision will not affect your future relations with the researcher or with collaborating institutions like Africa University Zimbabwe. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty, compensation or giving reasons.

**Offer to answer Questions:**

Before you sign this form, please ask any questions on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you. You may take as much time as necessary to think it over.

**Authorization:**

Your signature indicates that you have read and understood the information given above, have received answers to the questions you have asked, and have decided to participate in this research.

Signature of participant (or Thumbprint) \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of investigator \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Contacts and Questions:

You will be given a copy of this consent form. If you ever have questions about this study, please feel free to contact the Principal Investigator, Rev. Shive, Ityover Jacob of Africa University, Zimbabwe. Cellphone: +263 771 800 616, +234 8154 988 803. Email: [jacobyovershive@yahoo.com](mailto:jacobyovershive@yahoo.com)

If you ever have questions about your rights as a participant, and would like to talk to someone other than me, please feel free to contact:

Africa University Research Ethics Committee (AUREC). P.O. Box 1320, Mutare, Zimbabwe. Off Nyanga Road, Old Mutare. Tel (+263-20)60075/60026/61611. Email: [aurec@fricau.edu](mailto:aurec@fricau.edu) WEBSITE: [www.africau.edu](http://www.africau.edu). accessed 27 January 2015.

## **Annex I (b)**

Mtov u Tovon sha Atoakyaa a Ne man M-ertom a Mhemenu Hemen Ior sha Mkighir Ga a Lu Nan Ican Ken Nigeria Yo (Mtsough u Eniel u Logo sha Tesen Ikyav)

## **FOOM U IAN PINEN**

Mo mba yilan mo er Paseto Shive, Ityover Jacob. M ngu wanyemakeranta ken Africa University Mutare, ken tar u Zimbabwe. M ngu ngeren takerada u been makeranta sha iaven I digirii u sha u har u I yilan er Maseta la; ken vegher kwagghenen u Ayooso a soron man Tar Hemen. Mngu ngeren takerata sha Mtov u Tovon sha Atoakyaa a Ne man M-ertom a Mhemenu Hemen Ior sha Mkighir Ga a Lu Nan Ican Ken Nigeria Yo (Mtsough u Eniel u Logo sha Tesen Ikyav)

I nau takerada u ian pinen ne sha u nan we ian I tovon sha u fan ityokyaa, mbamtaver man mtsera u kwagghenen ne. U ngu a ian I rumun shin vendan u nan ikyar sha mbampin, shin hiin kpa ishima va vendan we u zan hemenu a min. Or foom ne vindi vindi, shin pine I wanger we man u mase toon mhen ye. Kwagh u mkighir ngu shamin ga.

## **Ityokyaa i Kwagghenen Ne:**

Ityokyaa I kwagghenen ne ka sha u tovon sha u fan atoakyaa a a lu nongon itya a mertom u Mhemenu Sha Mkighir Ga ken Eniel u Logo yo. A er tom a kwaghfan u a zua a min sha kwagghenen ne sha u tan ior iwanger sha mvihim ma vendan u eren tom a Mhemenu Hemen Ior Sha Mkighir Ga a lu van a min ken Nigeria man Eniel u Logo sha iginda I



ayooso kposo kposo; man shi gbenda u a kar sha u nan ior ityesen sha u nongon been a zayol ne yo. I tsua u u lun mom ken ato u iorov 50 ken Eniel u Logo mba I ne jigh jigh er vea lu a kwaghfan kpisi sha tinekwagh I kwaghhenen ne yo.

### **Genda u Tom Ne man Shie:**

Aluer u rumun u nyoron iyol ken kwaghhenen ne yo, se lu soon u zuan a ikyar hen awe sha mbampin mba tionon nahan hen anshie u kuman er miniti 15 nahan. U faityo u vendan u nan ikyar sha ma mpin u a doo u ikuma ga yo, shie se lu pinen we la. Se lu soon u teman vea we tseegh shie u se lu pinen we mbampin mban man u lu nan ikyar shamin la, sha u nengen er akaaron la nga ken myer sha u yangen zayol sha iyol you.

### **Uzayol Mba ken Kwaghhenen Ne:**

Se ver ishima ser ma kwagh u vihin a tser u sha ciu kwaghhenen ne ga; nahan cii kpaa akaa nga aa a faityo u tseren sha aciu kwaghhenen ne yo. Ishima I a faityo doon mbapativ ga akaa a gen a a or sha iyol ve yo, man a ior mba ve or akaa shon kpaa. Vea faityo u vendan u nan amba a ior la iwasen sha hanma gben cii, shin paven a ve je kpaa sha u nengen er mba hide nongon num a pati u ve lu ker la. Se fa genda u se er tom a kwagh ne tsembelee je, sha aciu se gba duen a iti I or mom sha kwaghngeren wase a mfe u nan shio ga, saa se vande pinen nan ian nana rumun cii man se er nahan ye. Akaa a or nan kaa er nan soo er alu ken myer yo, shi se er shamin nahan vough.

### **Mtsera shin Injar:**

Ma injar ngi i i ver u nan we ken injar shin sha ma kwagh u gen sha aciu kwaghhenen ne

ga, kpa Eniel u Logo man tar u Nigeria vea zua a iwasen ken hemen ne sha akaa a a zua a min ken kwaghhenen ne yo; er se fe ser kwagh ne una va a mpande u ayooso a patii a alu van a mgbjime kpisi ken ken Logo man Nigeria jimin cii la. Kwaghhenen ne una waseu sha u nengen sha mbamtaver mba ve lu ken u keren gbenda u eren tom a Mhemmen u Hemen Sha Mkighir Ga ken jime la.

### **Myerenem:**

Aluer u rumun u nyoron iyol ken kwaghhenen ne sha u wan wegh shin takerada ne yo, se tondo zwa ser akaaoron a se zua a min hen a we cii a lu sha aciu kwaghhenen ne tseegh, shi a kosu a ken ityakerada man kikyie i Batur I ngeren kwagh a min la tseegh. Mba duen a iti i or mom sha kwaghngeren a mfe u nan shio ga. Kpa aluer komoti u makeranta u i yilan er: ‘Africa University Research Ethics Committee (AUREC)’ la soo u nengen er hanma or nan ne ikyar sha mbampin mba i pine nan yo, a tese ve.

### **Msooshima u Tom Ne:**

Ka sooshima wou u eren tom ne. Aluer u venda u eren tom ne kpa kwagh la una faityo vihin mlu wou vea or u alu eren tom sha kwaghhen ne ga, shin makeranta na u I yilan er Africa University, Zimbabwe la kpaa ga. Aluer u hii u eren tom ne man ishima va gemau ker u soo u ker zan hemen a min ga sha hanma shie kpa u faityo, a u ngohol ma mtsaha shin or pinen we injar shio.

### **Ian i Nan Ikyar Sha Mbampin:**

Cii man u wa wegh shin kwaghngeren ne yo, pine hanma mpin u u lu amin u u soo u ma u zau a iwanger sha sha kwagh u kwaghhenen ne yo. U faityo u toon ian i u soo cii sha u

henen shamin.

**Wegh ku Wan:**

Wegh ough ku wan tese er u or kwaghngern ne shi a wanger we; shinu pine akaa a a wanger we ga la I nau ikyar shamin kumau nahan u rumun u nyoron iyol ken kwaghhenen ne.

Wegh ku wan ku or u nan ikyar (Wegh ku Pamen) \_\_\_\_\_ Wer

Ayange\_\_\_\_\_

Wegh ku or u Tovon \_\_\_\_\_ Wer Ayange\_\_\_\_\_

Gbenda u Zuan a Mo and u Pinen Kwagh:

A nau foom u ian pinen ne. Aluer u ngu a mbampin sha kwagh u kwaghhenen ne yo, u faityo u pinen mo u mlu orhemmen ken mba ve lu eren tom ne la, ka mo Paseto Shive, Ityover Jacob, wanyemakeranta u ken Africa University, Zimbabwe. Ingyegh ki yilan mo a min yo ka: +263 771 800 616 shin +234 8154 988 803. Email:

[jacobyovershive@yahoo.com](mailto:jacobyovershive@yahoo.com)

Aluer u ngu a mbampin sha u fan kwagh u ian you man u soo u pinen orgen kposo i de kera luun mo ga yo, u faityo u pinen ior mban:

Africa University Research Ethics Committee (AUREC). P.O. Box 1320, Mutare,

Zimbabwe. Off Nyanga Road, Old Mutare. Tel (+263-20)60075/60026/61611. Email:

[aurec@africau.edu](mailto:aurec@africau.edu) WEBSITE: [www.africau.edu](http://www.africau.edu)

## Appendix 2: Interview schedule

### Interview schedule

An investigation into factors militating against practice of democratic governance in Nigeria (A case study of logo local government)

**Instruction:** Please answer every question in the questionnaire by ticking at the answer you choose.

**Questionnaire number.....**

Date ...../...../2015

### Socio-Demographic Data

1. Age.....years

2. Sex: Male [ ☐ ] Female [ ☐ ]

3. Designation.....

4. Years in service [ ☐ ] years [ ☐ ] months

### KNOWLEDGE

Some political office holders go into those offices without knowing what they have to do for their subjects.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

Many political office holders do not know the meaning of democracy.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

Many people vote candidates without knowing what those people have to do for them.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

### ATTITUDES

8. Politicians use thugs in order to secure votes.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

9. Some politicians use money to buy votes.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

10. Political god-fathers do influence the choice of candidates.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

11. Political parties vow for change for their personal gains rather than the interest of the society.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

12. Many Top politicians prefer sharing of public funds to execution of projects.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

13. Citizens are always allowed to vote freely.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

14. Some of the votes do not count.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

15. There is always rigging in every election.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

16. Fears of violence sometimes prevent others from turning up for voting.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

17. Sometimes ruling parties do use law enforcement agencies against opposition during election.

True [ ☐ ] False [ ☐ ] Don't know [ ☐ ]

18. Opposition cannot fight for their justice.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

19. Opposition does use violence during elections.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

20. Poor candidates cannot win election on their own.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

21. People do attend political rallies for money rather than showing their support to candidates.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

22. Politicians vote political parties rather than candidates that can lead them better.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

23. Women are less considered for political positions.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

24. There are many politicians and political officeholders that are above the law.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

25. There is no independence of the judiciary and this has adverse effect on outcomes of election petitions.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

26. Your elective representatives inform you of what is going on, seek your opinions on issues affecting you before taking their decisions.

True [ ]      False [ ]      Don't know [ ]

27. On the whole, do you think that democratic governance is practiced in Logo Local Government?

.....

.....

.....

28. If not, what are the effects of this non practice of democratic governance on Logo Local Government?

.....

.....

.....

29. In your opinion, how best can these challenges be resolved?

.....

.....

.....

*Thank you for your time*

## **Annex II (b)**

Mtov u Tovon sha Atoakyaa a Ne man M-ertom a Mhemmen u Hemen Ior sha Mkighir Ga a Lu Nan Ican Ken Nigeria Yo (Mtsough u Eniel u Logo sha Tesen Ikyav)

**Kwaghwan: We a rumun yon a ikyar sha mbampin mban sha u eren ikyav i mrumun ken mbaakpati mba mrumun la u u rumun a min la.**

**Takerada u mbampin u sha Ingeegh.....**

**Wer Ayange...../...../2015**

Ityom I Sha Mlu u Or

1. Mtse.....Anyom
2. Mlu: Nomsoor [ ] Kwase [ ]
3. Mlu u Tesen.....
4. Anyom a ken tom [ ] Anyon [ ] Iwer

### **Mfe:**

5. Ior mbayan asangen kpish ka ve fa kwagh u igbe pevea er sha aciu ior mba ve haa ve asangen la ga Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]
6. Mbayan asangen kpisi mba a kwaghfan sha u eren tom a Mhemmen u Hemen ior Sha Mkighir Ga ne ga. Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] . Mfa ga [ ]
7. Mbahaanasangen kpisi ka ve haa ior asangen a u fan kwagh u I lu u ior mban vea er sha aci ve shio. Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

### **Aeren:**



8. Mbapativ ka ve kor mbayev mba eren ayooso ken we sha u zuan a isangen.

Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

9. Mbatilenasangen mbagen ka ve yam asangen sha inyar.

Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

10. Ashie kpisi mbapatii mba tagher tagher ka ve tsua ior sha asema ve tseegh.

Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

11. Ashie kpisi mbapatii ka ve soo er I muan hemen kpa ilu sha aciu mtsera ve tseegh I lu sha

aciu mtsera u ityo ga.    Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

12. Mbapatii mba tagher tagher kpisi hembra soon inyaregh ki burun Karen a u eren akaa sha aciu ityoo.    Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

13. Hanma shie cii ka I na ior ian u haan ishangen sha asema a ve.

Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

14. Ashie a gen mba hembe ishangen sha ingeegh ki votu ga.

Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

15. Hanma ishangen yo ka I nongo u iin keng.

Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

16. Mciem ma ayooso ka ma yange ior mbagenev u duen sha u za han ashangen.

Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

17. Ashie a gen upati mba sha mkon ka ve kamer mba kuran tar ken we sha u hemban upati

mba ve lu hendan a ve la.    Mimi [    ]    Mimi ga [    ]    Mfa ga [    ]

18. Upati mba hendan a pati u sha ikon mba faityo u zuan a isho ga.

Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

19. Upati mba hendan a pati u sha ikon ka ve keren ishang sha tswam,

Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

20. Mbatilenshangen mba lun a inyaregh ga vea faityo u yan ishangen sha tseeneke ve ga.

Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

21. Ior mba zan pati sha aciu za zua a inyaregh, ka sha u za ungwan utyendezwa mba ior mbatileasangen ve lu za tondon a ve la ga.

Mimi [ ] Mim,I ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

22. Mbapatii ka ve haan pati ishangen I kera lu ior ga.

Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

23. Mbapatii ka ve nenge er kasev kuma u nan ve hemen ga.

Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

24. Mbapati mba tagher tagher man mbahemenev mba gen gande tindi.

Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

25. Mbaatindiv kpa mba sha tseeneke ve ga. Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

26. Mba ve ze idyu sha ityough yenegh ka ve hide ve va or ne akaa a ze hemen yo, shi ve pine ne akaa a ilu u vea er sha ityogh yenegh man ve za mase eren ye.

Mimi [ ] Mimi ga [ ] Mfa ga [ ]

27. Sha mnenge wou yo u hen wer mba eren tom a Memen u Hemen Ior Sha Mkighir Ga ngu ken Eniel u Logo?

.....  
.....

28. Aluer mba eren tom ne ga yo, ka nyi zayol mvende u vendan u eren tom a mertom u  
eren tom a Mhemmen u Hemen Ior sha Mkighir ga ne a ve a min ken Eniel u Logo?

.....  
.....

29. Sha mhen wou yo u hen wer a er nan man a bee a zayol mban?

.....  
.....

*Msugh sha shie wou u u nem la*

### **Annex III (a)**

Factors Militating Against the Practice of Democratic Governance in Logo Local Government

Money politics

Political thuggery

Political god-fatherism.

Voting of political parties rather than candidates

Personal interests at the expense of societal interest

Lack of knowledge of democratic governance

### **Annex III (b)**

Mbamhen

Atoakyaa a Ne man M-ertom a Mhemmen u Hemen Ior sha Mkighir Ga a Lu nan ican ken

Eniel u Logo yo.

Pati u eren sha inyar

Pati eren sha u eren tom a igumior I wan tswam.

Tahav mbu mba tagher tagher mba ken pati.

Mhaa u haan pati ishangen kera lun ior ga.

Mtee u ior toon mtsera vev hemban u ityoo.

M ban u mfe sha kwagh u alu Mhemmen u Hemen Ior sha Mkighir Ga ne

**SECRET**  
**BENUE STATE OF NIGERIA**  
**LOGO LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCIL**

*All communications shall be addressed to  
the Chairman of the Local Government*



LLG/SCH/58

RefNo:.....  
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN  
LOGO LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCIL  
UGBA, BENUE STATE NIGERIA.

Date: 10<sup>th</sup> February, 2015.....

Rev. Shive Ityover Jacob  
Africa University  
P.O Box 1320  
Mutare-Zimbabwe

Sir,

**RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH IN LOGO LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

In response to your letter dated 5<sup>th</sup> February, 2015, requesting to be allowed to conduct a research in Logo Local Government, (Investigation into factors militating Against the Practice of Democratic Governance in Nigeria, with Logo Local Government as a case study),

I have been duly authorized by the Council Chairman to convey the Council's approval to you.

The Council wishes you a happy and fruitful research and hopes that the results will be of benefit to the Local Government and Nigeria at large.

Thanks and God Bless you.



**SECRET**

## Annex v. Approval for research



(A United Methodist-Related Institution)

*Investing in Africa's Future*

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE - OFF NYANGA ROAD, OLD MUTARE - TEL: (263-20) 66786/60076/60026/61611 - FAX: (263-20) 66786/61785 - EMAIL: [iplgdirector@africau.ac.zw](mailto:iplgdirector@africau.ac.zw) - Website [www.africau.edu](http://www.africau.edu)

### INSTITUTE OF PEACE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

21 April 2015

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**Re: Permission to Undertake Research for Dissertation at Africa University**

**Jacob Shive** Student registration number **130388** is a student at Africa University. He is enrolled in a degree program in Peace and Governance and is currently conducting research for his project, which is required for completion of the program in June 2015. The research topic is "**An Investigation into factor Militating against Democratic Governance in Nigera: A Case Study of Logo Local Government**". Jacob is expected to undertake this research during the period April-May 2015 before the dissertation can be submitted to the Faculty in June 2015.

The student will share with you the results of this research after its approval by the Institute.

We thank you for your support and cooperation regarding this research.

Yours sincerely

  
**Prof. P. Machakanja**  
Director

*"Living our Vision in Faith, Embracing Diversity, Developing Leaders for Africa"*



## Appendix vi. Approval from Research Ethics Committee



INVESTING IN AFRICA'S FUTURE

### AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (AUREC)

P.O. BOX 1320, MUTARE, ZIMBABWE • OFF NYANGA ROAD, OLD MUTARE • TEL: (+263-20) 60075/60026/61611 • E-MAIL: aurec@africau.edu • WEBSITE: www.africau.edu

Ref: AU156/15

March 16, 2015

Shive Ityover Jacob  
Institute of Peace Leadership and Governance  
Africa University  
Mutare

**Re: An investigation into factors militating against the practice of democratic governance in Nigeria. A case study of Logo Local Government.**

Thank you for the above titled proposal that you submitted to the Africa University Research Ethics Committee for review. Please be advised that AUREC has reviewed your application to conduct the above research.

AUREC stipulated that you work closely with your supervisor in addressing the comments below and submit the final proposal for further review prior to initiating direct contact with human participants.

1. Specify the target for the questionnaires.
2. Your stated study limitations imply that this study may not be doable. You need to state the measures you will take to overcome or minimise these limitations.
3. Justify selection of research area in light of the random sampling design.
4. Split up the double barrelled questions (25 and 26) so that the variables are responded to separately.
5. Rework your methodology section to clearly state:
  - a. Number of persons to be interviewed and justify.
  - b. State the groups to be interviewed.
  - c. Explain your sampling procedure(how will participants be randomly selected).
6. Clearly state whether this is a random or convenient/non random method.

NB: After addressing these comments you should resubmit the proposal to AUREC together with your supervisor's approval for further review and approval.

Yours Faithfully

MITI G. P. AUREC Programmes Officer-  
FOR CHAIRPERSON,  
**AFRICA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

