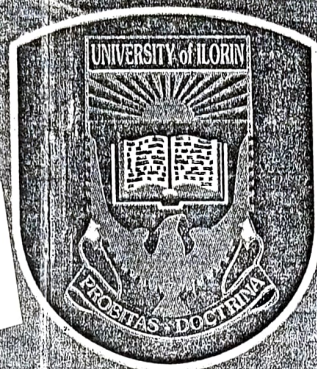
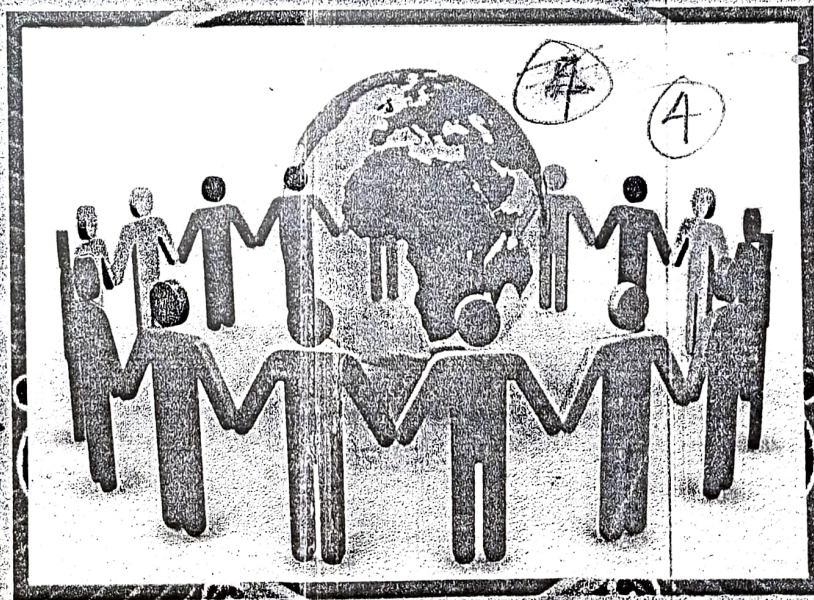


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MANAGING DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES IN AFRICA: THE WAY FORWARD

¹ Aremu Fatai Ayinde, Ph.D

² Isiaq Atanda Abdulwaheed
abdulwaheedisiaq@gmail.com

³ Aluko Opeyemi Idowu
opealukoheavenprogress@gmail.com

Abstract

The principle of democratic practice has never been alien to Africa even before the advent of colonialism. The name democratic practice presumes all manners of checks and balances. The advent of colonialism reshaped the traditional system of government (TSG), which is democratic in principle, so as to conform to the styles of colonial administration. At the demise of colonialism in Africa, the TSG powers had been reduced to mere peasantry and pedantry. Consequently, after independence, new order of government emerged which took to autocratic rule. Interestingly, the colonialist reintroduced the form of TSG back to Africa in an advanced system called Liberal Democracy. Therefore, this paper seeks to interrogate democracy in Africa and the existing institutions in the face of administrative letdown. The methodology adopted the afro barometer database round six, 2015 to analyse the level of democracy in four selected states in Africa with selected institutions; the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and the security sector. The democratic peace theory is used to reach a conclusion regarding failed democracy or institutions. This paper recommends an institutionalised democracy with integration of the principles of Africa TSG.

Keywords: Democracy, Colonialism, Democratic Peace, Development.

Introduction

Democracy is a system of governance which has a multi-dimensional outlook. The classical origin zoned to the Greek city states is popular among democracy scholars while the traditional origin claimed in this paper which is Africa is not contestable either. Democracy is a current world arrangement of governance while other forms are seen as bad and the states practicing such are seen as anathema. No doubt, the forms of democracy vary from one part of the world to the other. The kind of democracy in Africa has a twist in taste and variation in angle to that of the Europeans and the Americans. However the basic principles and objectives of democratic practice have never been alien to Africa even as far back as the pre colonial era.

The traditional Africa community leaders had been leading the community members in the most

collective and adequate participatory level. The members of the community have adequate control over their leaders which in some cases might assume office via ancestral lineage or rotational basis. The rotational basis will be subject to the approval or knowledge of the community members. In some cases, the community chiefs on behalf of the community members vote for the next community leader. This shows that some basic principles of democracy in practice are indigenous to Africa Traditional governance.

Ever before the commencement of colonialism in Africa, which entails a forceful scrambling and partitioning of kingdoms, there was a form of community based acceptable system of government which is democratic in outlook. The traditional system of government (TSG) has principles of governance and administration domicile and

¹ Associate Professor, Department of Political Science University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

^{2 & 3} Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria

institutionalized in the community blood stream of comportment and minimum acceptable behaviours. The name the system of government might be primitive and in most cases nameless to the non-members of the traditional African community who then felt that there should be more improvement. The system was traditional in nature no doubt, and it was filled with all manners of checks and balances where the council of chiefs can checkmate the paramount ruler when he is going out of the written or unwritten code of conducts of the community (Mazrui 2002; Oyekan, 2009).

There were institutions from all arms of government which work with the principles of separation of powers. This ranges from the executives who are headed by the paramount ruler to the legislature which composed of the council of chiefs and the judiciary which is highly in the custody of the traditional priest, the paramount ruler and or the community (spiritual) custodians (Aremu et al., 2015). The delegation of powers to institutions and oversight function exists with great caution from the leaders so as to prevent a breakdown of law and order in the community (Venter, 2003).

The advent of colonialism about six decades ago reshaped the traditional system of government (TSG) in Africa to conform to the styles of colonial administration. The colonial administrators however knows that they were not forming an entirely new community but just to adopt their homeland administrative system to the new found land in order to have a smooth running of their forceful colonial government (Janda & Goldman 1995; Falaiye, 1998; Olaniran & Arigu, 2013). This is not totally strange practice to man as every man will like to adapt to the weather condition of a new place by creating his own conveniences (Faboyede, 2013; Ajayi & Buhari, 2014). Forceful persuasions were used to integrate a new order of colonial totalitarian government against a democratic traditional order inherent in the Africa system of government.

At the demise of colonialism in Africa, the TSG democratic powers had been reduced to mere peasantry and pedantry. The traditional rulers had been exposed by the colonial leaders to the trade of divide and rule and assimilation policies just to secure their consents of destroying the original system of government (Ndege, 2009; Alemazung, 2010; Ziltener & Künzler, 2013). Consequently, after independence, new order of government emerged which took to autocratic rule. The old order of traditional system of government had been manipulated and reshaped into the totalitarian

structure of the new order of colonial rule (Aremu et al., 2015).

As a result, crime to humanity pervaded the entire system as rule of law of the old order had been laid in silence and the rate of power greed of the few traditionalists loyal to the ex-colonial rulers mounted the tension in the lawless authoritarian regimes later formed. This new development heightened the concern of the ex-colonial rulers knowing that the evils of colonialism will escalate to their homeland and negatively affect the network of international system. This made the ex-colonial leaders to feedback with the re-introduction of the old practice of governance which they met as traditional system to the native land but with a new name (democracy), coats and technical advancements.

Interestingly, the colonialist reintroduced the form of TSG back to Africa in an advanced way called Democracy. Therefore, this work seeks to interrogate democracy in Africa and the existing institutions in the face of governance failure. What is the present understanding of democracy in Africa, its level of satisfaction and to what extent is it institutionalised back in the various countries considering the executive (police) and the judiciary (court) institutions? Also, to what extent is it institutionalised in the various countries considered?

The methodology adopted was the afro barometer database round six, 2015 to see the level of democracy in four selected states in Africa which include: Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya and Zimbabwe with their selected institutions- the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and the security sector. The democratic peace theory was used to reach a conclusion regarding fail- democracy or institutions. This work concludes on the premise that the TSG and the new democracy have the same underling foundational principles. It therefore recommends an institutionalised democracy with integration of the principles of Africa Traditional System of Government (TSG).

Conceptual Clarification

The whole essence of clarifying concepts is to put in some iota of strength into the meaning of the concepts in question. The following concepts will be clarified in this section of the work; Traditional System of Government, Democracy and Institutional Democracy. Traditional System of Government is the domicile system of administration found primarily in a native or homeland community or society before any modernity comes to reshape it (Aremu et al., 2015). This means that the original

way of administering justice and executing laws in a land prior to the development of newly adopted systems of government. This further justifies the fact that a domicile system of governance or rule in a new land is traditional to it be it in Europe, America or in Africa.

Democracy is a system of government which is characterized by the participation of the people through their freely elected representatives, by which the recognition and promotion of the basic rights of citizens, including the rights of vulnerable groups such as the minorities (Omotola 2008; Campbell, 2008). This implies that so far there is a participation of people in the administrative process of governance and their rights are guaranteed then the system of governance is democratic. To Lively (1975), democracy is a mechanism by which the political system maintains its equilibrium. Dahl (2000) also pointed out two dimensions of democracy that, democracy in theory (as an ideal, goal, aim or standard) and in practices. This includes the traditional system of government practice in Africa. This takes us to the concept of Institutional Democracy. This is the practice of democracy as an integral part of the society. It is the reality of democracy in the administrative process of enacting laws, implementing laws and adjudicating processes in the community (Coppedge et al., 2011). The whole framework of democracy is seen in the whole organ or governance and not on the paper works alone. In other words, democracy is simply institutionalised when the people practicing it sees it as a binding norms and practice of their day to day activities. This feature is a typical traditional system of governance principles found in Africa, America and Europe.

Theoretical framework

Democratic Peace Theory (DPT)

The democratic peace theory (DPT) is used in this work so as to see the extent of violence acceptable in the democratic regime against the constituted rule of law of the state. The primary claim of democratic peace theory proponents is that democratic states do not wage war against each other, although a number of scholars have modified the claim to the proposition that "democracies are less likely to fight wars with each other" (Lake, 1992).

A general explanations of the democratic peace theory assumptions fall into one or a blend of the three main summaries which include; Democratic institutions make makes democratic leaders reluctant to choose war or place constraints on the ability of leaders to fight other democracies. Also the norms

shared by democratic states cause them to view each other as friends and unthreatening to one another. Finally, democracy tends to foster economic interdependence, which promotes peace and reduces the likelihood of war.

Szayna et al (2001) noted that there are a number of approaches in the study of DPT. The various approaches of democratic peace theory are important to the understanding of the theory. These include; the Institutional Approach, the Normative Approach and the Interdependence Approach:

The Institutional view of DPT is that democratic institutions are believed to cause peace in one of two ways. The most common argument is that the constitutional and legal restraints on executive action in democratic states as well as the existence of free public debate are a strong force against peace for several reasons (Owen, 1994). Bueno de Mesquita et al (1999) position on institutional approach focuses on the desire of democratic elites to be re-elected. Democratic leaders are primarily concerned about retaining office, and they are especially concerned about policy failure, they therefore fight harder and are more cautious. They try harder to win warfare by spending more resources, and they only engage in fights they think they can winning.

The normative approach to DPT believes that other democracies are reasonable, predictable, and trustworthy; therefore, they will be reluctant to fight other democracies because they think that other democracies' intentions will always be good. Interdependence arguments of DPT believes that Democratic states have free-market economies in terms of movement of goods and services and they are better able to offer credible commitments regarding the terms of trade and capital flows therefore they are more inclined to trade with one another than autocratic regimes (Oneal & Russett, 1997). Interdependence promotes peace and harmony by increasing contacts among various democracies and contributing to mutual and collective understanding.

Methodology

The methodology adopted uncovers the perceptions of people in Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya and Zimbabwe to the democratic administration. Therefore, this study seeks to interrogate democracy in Africa and the existing institutions in the face of governance failure. The questions marshalled to this effect include; what is the present understanding of democracy in Africa? What is it level of satisfaction and to what extent is it institutionalised in the various

countries considering the executive (police) and the judiciary (court) institutions. The data obtained in Afro barometer database round six, 2015 research is interrogated, analysed and used to see the level of democracy in four selected states in Africa with selected institutions; the executive, the judiciary and

the security sector. The data are further validated, analysed and interpreted.

The total sample size is two-thousand four hundred (2,400) participants across the countries each. The sample selection technique is simple proportionate purposive random sampling. Simple percentage,

Analysis of Findings

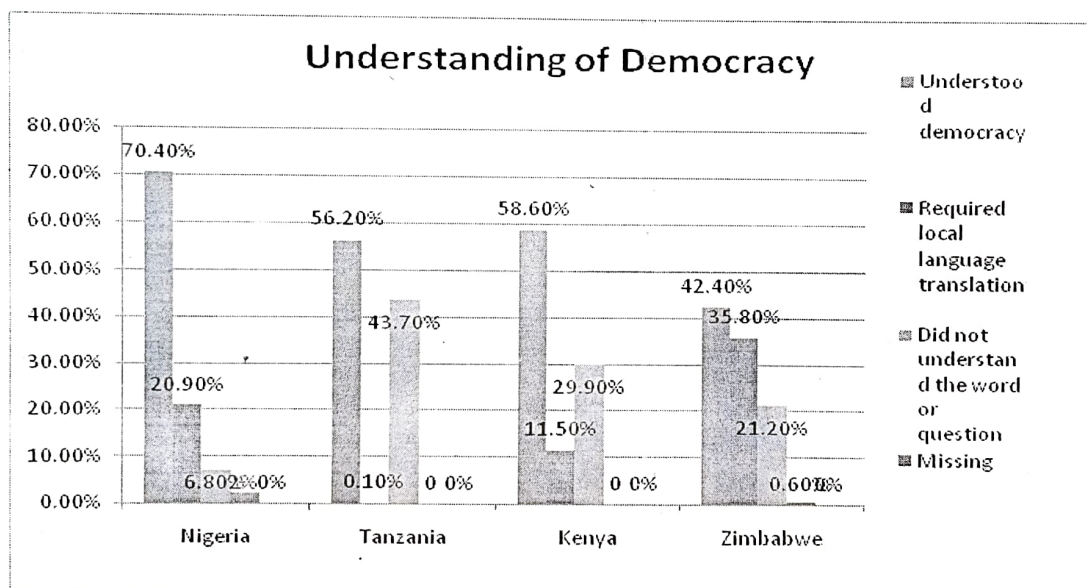
1. Understanding of Democracy

Table I

Level of Analysis	Nigeria	Tanzania	Kenya	Zimbabwe
Understood democracy	70.4	56.2	58.6	42.4
Required local language translation	20.9	0.1	11.5	35.8
Did not understand the word or question	6.8	43.7	29.9	21.2
Missing				0.6

Sources: Afrobarometer Round Six 2015

Figure I



The level of understanding of democracy is above fifty percent (50%) in Africa which is significantly high. This is seen in the four considered countries in Africa except Zimbabwe which has forty-two percent (42%) level of democracy understanding. The level of understanding is very significant in Nigeria which is seventy percent (70%). This shows that democracy is not alien to Africa from the foundational angle.

However, the percent of people in Zimbabwe and Kenya that do not understand the word democracy is somewhat low as twenty-one percent (21%) and

thirty percent (30%) respectively of the citizenry falls into this category. The percentage that does not understand the word democracy is significantly low in Nigeria as seven percent (7%) of the populace falls into this level. The level is significantly high in Tanzania as forty-four percent (44%) of the populace do not understand the meaning of democracy. The limited percentage of poor understanding of what democracy is in this regard is an indication of the level of failed institution of administration in the respective countries.

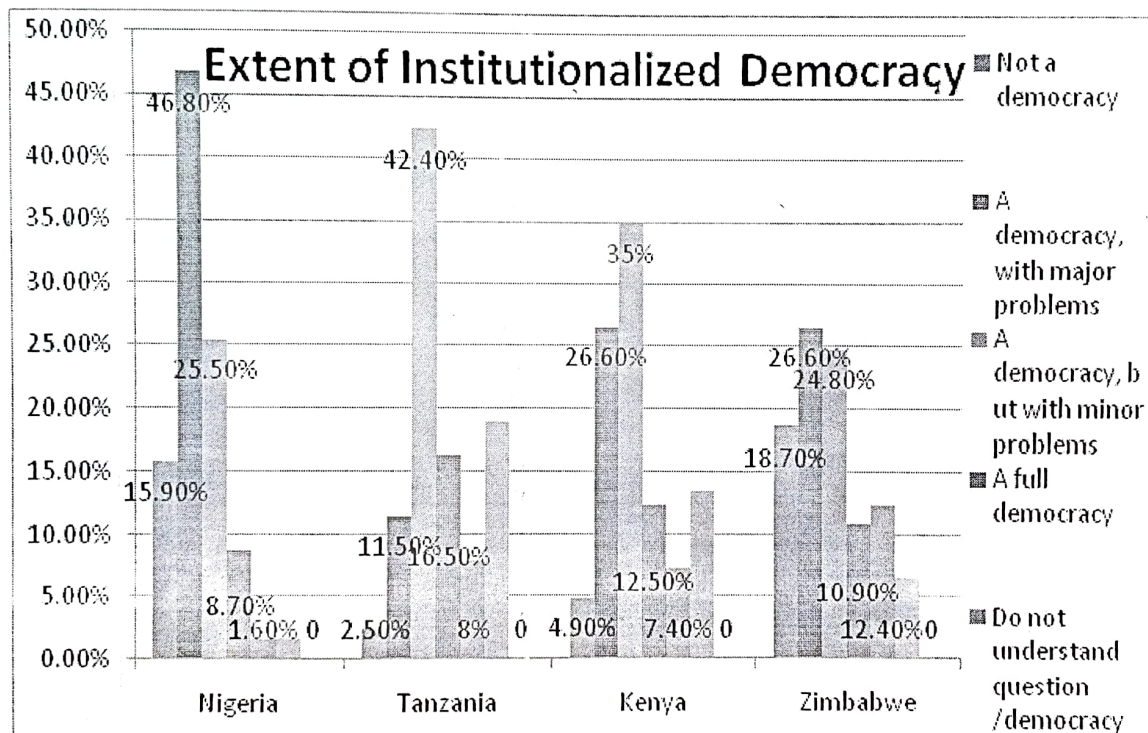
2. Extent of Institutionalized Democracy

Table II

Level of Analysis	Nigeria	Tanzania	Kenya	Zimbabwe
Not a democracy	15.90%	2.50%	4.90%	18.70%
A democracy, with major problems	46.80%	11.50%	26.60%	26.60%
A democracy, but with minor problems	25.50%	42.40%	35%	24.80%
A full democracy	8.70%	16.50%	12.50%	10.90%
Do not understand question /democracy	1.60%	8%	7.40%	12.40%
Missing				
Don't know	1.60%	19.10%	13.50%	6.60%

Sources: Afrobarometer Round Six 2015

Figure II



The level at which the Nigerian polity institutionalised democracy is considered as relatively fair as less than fifty percent (47%) regards its democracy as one with major problems; twenty-five percent (25%) regards it as democracy with minor problems while less than ten percent (9%) regards it as a full democracy. The level to which Tanzania polity institutionalised democracy is considered as relatively good as less than twelve percent (12%) regards its democracy as one with major problems; forty-two percent (42%) regards it as democracy with minor problems while seventeen percent (17%) regards it as a full democracy.

The situation in the Kenyan polity in the institutionalization of democracy is considered as relatively fair as less than twenty-seven percent (27%) regards its democracy as one with major problems; thirty-five percent (35%) regards it as democracy with minor problems while sixteen percent (10%) regards it as a full democracy. Zimbabwe on the other hand has relatively good institutionalised democracy. Less than thirty percent (27%) regards its democracy as one with major problems; twenty-five percent (25%) regards it as democracy with minor problems while eleven percent (11%) regards it as a full democracy.

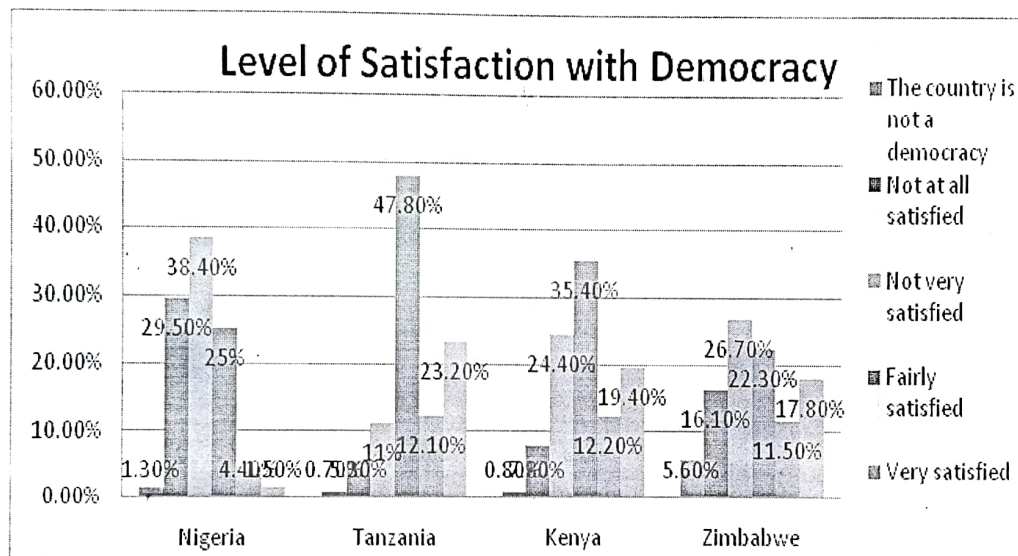
3. Level of Satisfaction with Democracy

Table III

	Nigeria	Tanzania	Kenya	Zimbabwe
The country is not a democracy	1.30%	0.70%	0.80%	5.60%
Not at all satisfied	29.50%	5.30%	7.80%	16.10%
Not very satisfied	38.40%	11%	24.40%	26.70%
Fairly satisfied	25%	47.80%	35.40%	22.30%
Very satisfied	4.40%	12.10%	12.20%	11.50%
Missing				
Refused				
Don't know	1.50%	23.20%	19.40%	17.80%

Sources: Afrobarometer Round Six 2015

Figure III



The level of satisfaction with democracy in Nigeria is relatively weak as the total (very satisfied and fairly satisfactory) satisfactory level is twenty-nine percent (29%). The percentage of "not satisfied" with the level of democracy in Nigeria is thirty percent (30%) while thirty-eight percent (38%) was not very satisfied. The lines of satisfaction with democracy level in Tanzania are relatively strong as the total (very satisfied and fairly satisfactory) satisfactory level is sixty percent (60%). The percentage of "not satisfied" with the level of democracy is five percent (5%) while eleven percent (11%) was not very satisfied.

These lines of satisfaction with democracy level in Kenya are relatively strong as well as the total (very satisfied and fairly satisfactory) satisfactory level is forty-eight percent (48%). The percentage of "not satisfied" with the level of democracy is seven percent (7%) while twenty-four percent (24%) were not very satisfied. In Zimbabwe, the lines of satisfaction with democracy level are relatively weak as the total (very satisfied and fairly satisfactory) satisfactory level is thirty-three percent (33%). The percentage of "not satisfied" with the level of democracy is sixteen percent (16%) while twenty-seven percent (27%) was not very satisfied.

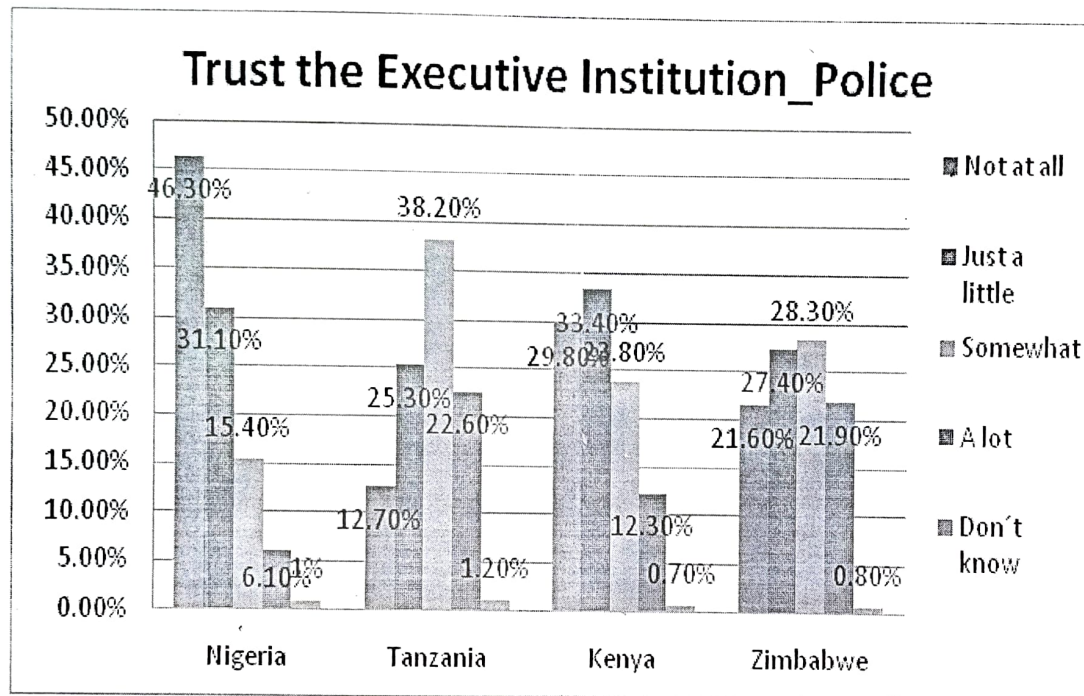
4. Trust in the Executive Institution: Police

Table IV

	Nigeria	Tanzania	Kenya	Zimbabwe
Not at all	46.30%	12.70%	29.80%	21.60%
Just a little	31.10%	25.30%	33.40%	27.40%
Somewhat	15.40%	38.20%	23.80%	28.30%
A lot	6.10%	22.60%	12.30%	21.90%
Missing				
Don't know	1%	1.20%	0.70%	0.80%

Sources: Afrobarometer Round Six 2015

Figure IV



The level of institutionalization of democracy in the executive and security institutions of administration seen in the level of the trust in the police in Nigeria is quite satisfactorily moderate to the level of democracy in the polity. The total (a lot, somewhat and just a little) level of good trust is fifty-three (53%). The level of bad trust is forty-six percent (46%). This situation is not totally different for Tanzania and Kenya. The level of institutionalization of democracy in the executive and security institutions of administration seen in the level of the trust in the police in both Tanzania and Kenya is quite satisfactorily high in relation to the level of democracy in the polities respectively.

The total (a lot, somewhat and just a little) level of good trust is eighty-six percent (86%) and sixty-nine percent (69%) respectively. The level of bad trust is thirteen percent (13%) and thirty percent (30%) respectively.

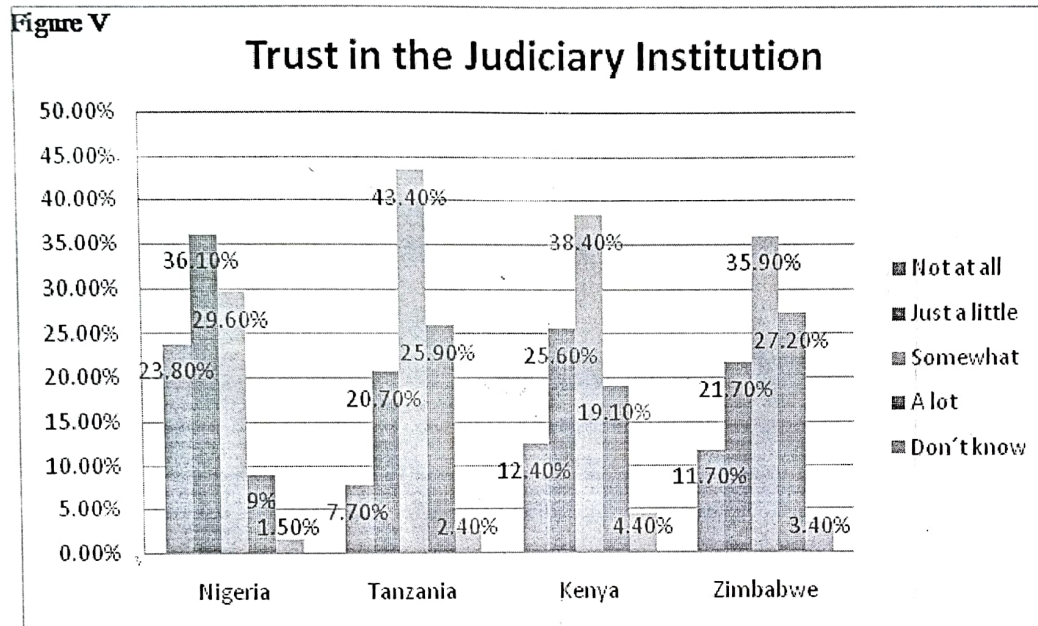
The level of institutionalization of democracy in the executive and security institutions of administration seen in the level of the trust in the police in Zimbabwe is quite satisfactorily high to the level of democracy in the polity. The total (a lot, somewhat and just a little) level of good trust is seventy-seven percent (77%). The level of bad trust is twenty-two percent (22%).

5. Trust in the Judiciary Institution: The Court of Law

Table V

	Nigeria	Tanzania	Kenya	Zimbabwe
Not at all	23.80%	7.70%	12.40%	11.70%
Just a little	36.10%	20.70%	25.60%	21.70%
Somewhat	29.60%	43.40%	38.40%	35.90%
A lot	9%	25.90%	19.10%	27.20%
Missing			0.1	
Don't know	1.50%	2.40%	4.40%	3.40%

Sources: Afrobarometer Round Six 2015



The level of institutionalization of democracy in the judiciary institution of administration seen in the level of the trust in the judiciary in both Nigeria and Tanzania is quite satisfactorily high in relations to the level of democracy in the polities respectively. The total (a lot, somewhat and just a little) level of good trust is sixty-five percent (65%) and eighty-nine percent (89%) respectively. The level of bad trust (not at all satisfied) is twenty-four percent (24%) and eight percent (8%) respectively.

This situation is not totally different for Kenya and Zimbabwe. The level of institutionalization of democracy in the judiciary institution of administration seen in the level of the trust in the judiciary in both Kenya and Zimbabwe is quite satisfactorily high in relations to the level of democracy in the polities respectively. The total (a lot, somewhat and just a little) level of good trust is eighty-three percent (83%) respectively. The level

of bad trust (not at all satisfied) is also twelve percent (12%) respectively.

CONCLUSION

There are evidences of failed institutions in Africa due to the readjusted democracy which the western countries reintroduced to Africa. Democracy had been in Africa before the scrambling and partition of Africa by the Western countries. This distorted the original looks of the traditional system of government (TSG) in Africa. African Democracy was embedded with the principles of collectivism, rule of law, principles of check and balance and adequate representations. However, these principles were wiped off by the advent of colonialism and left a footprint aftermath of totalitarian regimes, military rule, failed institutions and failed states in Africa. The ripple effects of this on the polities in the western states such as

genocide, human trafficking, trans-boarder crimes, regional violence, civil war, illegal entry into Europe among other, make the ex-colonial masters to reintroduce the old order of governance back to Africa with a new name and modifications but with the old principles.

This paper interrogated democracy in Africa and the existing institutions in the face of governance failure. The questions marshalled to this effect include; what is the present understanding of democracy in Africa, its level of satisfaction and to what extent is it institutionalised in the various countries considering the executive (police) and the judiciary (court) institutions?

It revealed that there are weak institutions in Africa states which bred failed democracy in most Africa polity. The extent of the level of **Understanding what Democracy is in modern Africa is adequate and better. The level of Satisfaction with Democracy by Africans is in a satisfactory mode and the extent of Institutionalized Democracy mostly in principles and not in practice in Africa are also in satisfactorily level. However, the inadequate practice of democratic principles within the institutions of democracy in Africa such as the trust in the Judiciary Institution: The Court of Law and the trust in the Executive Institution: Police, makes the written codes of democratic principles to be weak in practice. This to a large extent had given some polity in Africa a failed or pariah state acronym, while others have a weak and fragile state acronym while the best is the stable state.**

The remedy to this that –all stakeholders in Africa which include the governments of each country, the Africa Union (AU) and the whole citizenry should revert back to the traditional system of government (TSG) principles – the original shaped African original democracy which is embedded with the complete principle of transparency, equity, rule of law and tranquillity are inevitable.

The Way Forward

The level of failed institutions in Africa is a major determinant of the level of democratic success. The following recommendations are posited to the following stakeholders; the governments of each country, the Africa Union and the whole citizenry.

The government of each country should ensure that the collectiveness of purpose as seen in the traditional Africa society should be re-institutionalised in the administration of the country. This will make the old African democracy

principles (traditional system of government) to come back to life and the new flesh of the western democracy will be evicted.

The Africa Union on its part should solicit for true African institution in member states by discouraging the elite structure and rule in the polity. This will be effective if the collective principles in the ancient Africa democracy (traditional system of government) are encouraged. This implies that the leaders will not see themselves as totalitarian and self sufficient in the control of the economic means of production, distribution, networking and political spaces.

The whole citizenry as well should disregard the second class status in the global politics by re adopting the principles of check and balance and participatory governance which is conspicuously present in the ancient Africa democracy (traditional system of government). This will eventually treat the new look of democracy which the western countries reshaped and reintroduced back to Africa to an original homeland idea. It will as well treat the weak or failed institutions in Africa.

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