

JOLAE

Journal of Arts and Education

Vol. 2. No. 1.

December 2008

ISSN: 2006-280X

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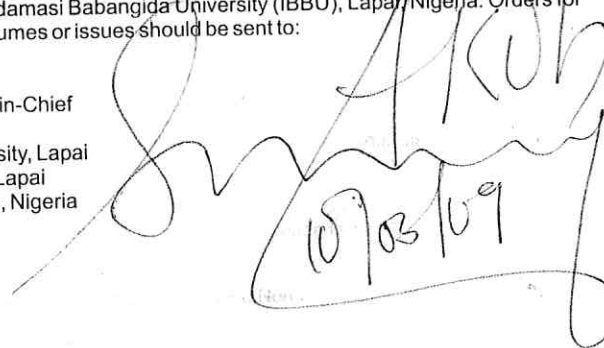
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JOLAE is published twice in a year by the Faculty of Education and Arts, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University (IBBU), Lapai, Nigeria. Orders for specific volumes or issues should be sent to:

The Editor-in-Chief
JOLAE
IBB University, Lapai
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10/03/09

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Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to discuss issues relating to development agenda for Nigeria in a democratic setting by the year 2020. The paper traced the origin of Nigeria underdevelopment to incessant military intervention in politics. Some of the crises of democracy and development identified in this paper include: corruption, ethnicity, religious bigotry and political violence, among others. The paper argued that a concerted effort to eliminate or reduce the crisis of democracy and development pointed out in this paper will pave way for sustainable development in a democratic setting. The paper concluded by making some recommendations that can guarantee sustainable development in Nigeria. Some of the recommendations include home grown development policies, outright rejection of foreign economic blue print and periodic review of the constitution.

Introduction

Nigeria's march to constitutional democracy has been a check-marked by anti-colonial struggles, crisis, coups and a thirty-month agonizing civil war (Ojo 1998). In 1960, when Nigeria got her political independent from her colonial master (Britain), there was high expectation, aspiration and hope that Nigeria, the most populous black nation in the world, was on her path to sustainable development in a democratic setting. The high expectation from within and the international communities were short-lived as the military overthrew the democratically elected government in 1960.

The fall of the first republic marked the starting point of "solider go soldier come syndrome" which is detrimental to sustainable development in any democratic setting. Nigeria as a nation has experienced series of coups and counter-coups with more years under dictatorial arm of the military. The interventionist role of the different military regime in Nigeria politics with promise of leading Nigeria to the path of development is still a mirage. This is so because Nigeria as a nation is ranked among the under developed countries of the world.

In recent times, democratic government began to take root and admired in most third world countries including Nigeria. But the change of fortune for Nigeria from military to civilian regime, no doubt, marked a new life of Nigeria State. After eight years of democratic rule under the leadership of President Obasanjo, one expects that Nigeria should currently be ranked

among the developed countries or on the part to development in a democratic setting. On the contrary, Nigeria is still ranked among the poor nations of the world, with low economic, social and political development, among others.

Abdulazeez (2005), argued that the current level of democratic dispensation in Nigeria is most importantly a semblance of political intransparency marked by corruption, embezzlement, nepotism, political violence, ethnicity and religious bigotry. Some people or groups have attested to the level of social ills in Nigeria. For examples, Transparency International (TI), in its 2004 global corruption perception index (CPI), ranked Nigeria as the third most corrupt countries in the world. That body argued that as corruption levels persists national development and social security are compromised; poverty continues to bites and more citizens are conscripted into the unfortunate wretched class.

According to the United Nations Development report (UNDP 2003), the state of poverty in Nigeria is worrisome. According to the report, "Nigeria has maintained a 70% rise in poverty despite the fact that she had accrued more than \$200 billion in oil revenue since 1970. Furthermore, "the new partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD 2001) ranked Nigeria among other African nations whose more than half of the total population lives on less than US \$1 per day. The mortality rate of the Nigerian children under 5 years of age is 140 per 1000 and life expectancy is only 54 years. Only 58 percent of the population has access to safe water. The rate of illiteracy for people over 15 years of age is 41 percent.

This paper is an attempt at projecting Nigeria in the year 2020 with the aim of drawing a development agenda that will bring about sustainable growth and development. The paper will be discussed under the following sub-headings.

- (a) Introduction.
- (b) Conceptual Clarification on Democracy and Development.
- (c) Democracy and Development Crisis in Nigeria.
- (d) Suggestions for Development Agenda in 2020, and
- (e) Conclusion and Recommendations.

Conceptual Clarification on Democracy and Development

(i) Democracy

Democracy has been variously defined as a technique through which popular participation in governance is enjoyed among the civil masses. To this end, Abraham Lincoln (cited in Wada Nas 2004), posited that democracy is government of the people by the people and for the people. One can deduce here that Lincoln's pointedly expressed that democracy is an avenue through which popular participation of the masses is enjoyed in selecting their representatives. This implies that if an election is marred by rigging, corruption and other vices, and any government that is formed

cannot be a government of the people by the people.

Ayoade (1998), opined that democracy is a form of government in which citizens in a state have political investments of political participation and trust. According to Zack William (2007), democracy essentially has to do with the ability of the people to control decision-making. No wonder, Osaghae (1994) posited that the central thing about democracy is to ensure that power actually belongs to the people. In his own view, Nnoli (2003) asserted that democracy emphasizes freedom of the individuals in various aspects of political life; it also emphasizes equality to citizens, justice in relation to the people and government and the free participation of the people in choosing those in government.

According to Schumpeter (1967), democracy entails, institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its wills. According to Sowards (1998), in every good democratic practice, people ought to be treated as political equals.

What scholars seem to emphasise is that for democracy to thrive it must supersede any hegemonic disposition. Democracy should be based on honesty, decency and good governance whereby the will of the people in choosing their representatives is most effectively respected.

Sowards (Ibid) gave a more elaborate and detain definition of democracy when he asserted that democracy is a political system in which citizens themselves have and equally effective input into making of binding collective decision.

(ii) Development

Scholars in sociology, economics, and political science among others defined development from different perspectives. According to Lane and Ersson (1997), development means a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty.

According to Omotola (cited in Saliu et al 2006), democracy and development share common attributes such as popular empowerment, participation and freedom. Sen (1990) argued that development is conterminous with capacity expansion, and freedom. He stated further that as capacity expansion development requires adequate empowerment of the state and society such that they can adequately discharge complimentary responsibilities.

According to Omotola (2005), a major concern in recent thinking on development is the issue of sustainability of the basic. Such indices includes reduction/eradication of poverty, improved per-capital income and standard of living of the populace. He related sustainable development to development that endures and will not roll back or recede even in the face of threatening reversal waves.

According to World Bank report (2002), Steer and Lutz (1993), state that it is development that can guarantee the protection of the environment and resources today and tomorrow. It is also one that is self-sustaining and meets the needs of present and future generations.

According to Akinbode (2003), sustainable development is multidimensional and seeks to promote spatial, social, political, economic and psychological linkages not only among the different sectors of the economy but also among the different regions of national economy. As such it encourages equitable distribution of wealth rather than merely emphasizes Gross National Production (GDP) alone.

From the above, one can say that development and democracy are like a conjoined twins. Both need each other to survive. In other words, it is democracy that can lead to sustainable development and it is sustainable development that can sustain democracy.

Democracy and Development Crisis in Nigeria

It is pertinent to discuss the crisis of democracy and development in Nigeria before drawing an agenda for Nigerian development in the year 2020.

According to Fanon (cited in Falola and Babawale 1988), liberation struggle and neo-colonialism has ensured that even after decolonization, the British will still control and regulate affairs in Nigeria. This shows that the beginning of Nigeria's political crisis could be traced to colonization and the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates in 1914 (Crowder 1978). This was a forceful marriage and inconvenience that did not consult with the marrying partners. This led to leadership struggle between the different ethnic groups in Nigeria that continued to surface from time to time. Another factor that is threatening the enthronement of democracy and development is the crisis of good governance, ethnicity, corruption, political violence, nepotism, religious bigotry and arson among others.

Leadership crisis and bad governance have always been elusive in Nigerian political terrain and this problem often impedes sustainable development. According to Joseph (1987), most Nigerian leaders, whether military or civilian, tend towards despotic and dictatorial tendency with little or no regard for the rule of law. He stated further that it is the adherence to the rule of law that is necessary for development in a democratic setting.

Another crisis of democracy and development is the issue of corruption in Nigeria. Corruption can be said to be a cankerworm that has eaten deep into our fabric and it is anti development in all ramification. The first attempt at democratic government was brought to a halt by military due to corruption. The military that have always been a threat to the development of democracy often cited leadership corruption, violence, arson and political assassination as the reasons for intervention in politics.

According to Saliu and Aremu (2004), corruption entails a violation of the

moral ethos to confer personal advantage on self or acquaintances. Above all, it comprises acts that are likely to diminish the capacity of the state to meet its material and welfare obligations to the citizenry.

Nigeria is ranked the third most corrupt country in the world by Transparency International (TI). The prosecution and conviction of some past leaders in Nigeria is an evidence that corruption is deep rooted in Nigerian nascent democracy.

Another crisis of democracy and development in Nigeria is ethnicity. The British colonial master sowed the root of ethnicity when "divide and rule" tactics was introduced into Nigerian politics. This resulted in the emergence of regional vis-à-vis ethnic leaders. This gave birth to political party formation based on ethnic affiliation at the time of independence till the present dispensation. We had Action Group (AG) dominating the Western Nigeria and led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo; NPC in the North led by Sir Ahmadu Bello and NCNC controlling the East and led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (Sklar 1983). No doubt, regional leaders make use of ethnic affiliation to destroy politics for selfish-reason. This often leads to political instability and under development in Nigeria. According to Nnoli (1995) ethnicity is accompanied by nepotism while merit and efficiency are sacrificed on the altar of ethnic chauvinism.

Political violence is another phenomenon that has negative implication on democracy and development in Nigeria. According to Corsine (cited in Alamu 2005) political violence represent the expression of hostility and rage through physical force directed against persons or property. Political violence takes different forms in Nigeria. Some of the effects of political violence include the destruction of human and material resources that are and could contribute to the growth of democracy and development in Nigeria. Political violence has made the act of governance to be difficult in states like Anambra, Kogi, Ekiti and Akwa Ibom just to mention but a few. Political violence often resulted to politically motivated killings. Example of such death includes, Bola Ige (Chief), Marshal Harry, and Arojo among others.

Suggestions for Development Agenda in the Year 2020

If Nigeria is to attain the level of sustainable development by the year 2020, concrete steps should be taken to address the issue of ethnicity, corruption, political violence, leadership crisis, poverty and religious bigotry, among others. It is only when the aforementioned crises are curbed or reduced to the barest minimum that there will be enabling environments for meaningful or sustainable development in a democratic setting in Nigeria.

In addition to the above, sustainable reform is a key to Nigeria development in 2020. The various reforms that the previous government had embarked upon and those that the present administration is to embark on should be retained and consolidated for the good of national

developments. There is no need to throw away a reform that can lead to development for the sake of creating a new one. Under a sustainable reform, the act of governance should be based on the rule of law. Everybody should be equal before the law. The constitution of the federation should be adhered to strictly. No one should be regarded as a sacred cow or to be above the law of the land. There should also be a political and electoral reform that can guarantee free and fair election as well as equality of all political parties. No staff of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should be allowed to play partisan politics or have sympathy for any political party. Furthermore, the development agenda should address calls for or agitation for resources control. To this end, there should be an independent monitoring committee charged with the responsibility to oversee the money that the various states get from the federation account and how such money is spent.

In addition to the above, the government should address the issue of poverty by creating gainful employments for the unemployed. Government can address the problem of poverty by also introducing social security system that can guarantee food subsidy, free medical care, and unemployment wages among others.

As a way of encouraging local and foreign investors, government should re-orientate the police force and prepare its men and women to fight crime (not to extort money on the high ways) and protect the lives and properties of the citizens. Adequate security of lives and properties will create enabling environments for sustainable development in Nigeria by 2020.

The next thing to consider if Nigeria is to achieve a development agenda by 2020 is the issue of globalization. No doubt, the whole countries of the world are moving towards globalization and the world itself is becoming a global village. Liberal democracy and free market economy are now the order of the day in most countries of the world. If Nigeria must develop by the year 2020, it must embrace globalization. But she must choose between globalization and national interest.

Nigeria should not be governed by the dictates of the Western form of democracy and free markets economy if it will not guarantee sustainable development in Nigeria. The nature of democracy may not suit our national interest and any attempt to embrace it hook line and sinker as it is practiced in countries such as Britain and America will lead to underdevelopment rather than development.

In this same vein, the dictate of World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Paris Club, etc may not suit our national interest and as such Nigeria cannot afford to swallow their pills without consideration for national interest. If Nigeria must develop, her globalization approach should be guarded by national interest and not by western world.

Ethnic and religious stability should be part of the development agenda

Nigeria in the Year 2020: Towards a Development

for Nigeria in the year 2020. There can be no meaningful development in the face of war, violence or ethnic and religion intolerance. The various ethnic groups in Nigeria should be encouraged to live in peaceful co-existence. The three major ethnic groups (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) should not be regarded as or treated as superior to the minority ethnic group. The value of justice and equity has always been threatened by ethnicity.

According to Nnoli (1995), ethnicity promotes hypocrisy, injustice and discrimination. In order to regulate or reduce ethnic-tension, constitutional provisions on federal character principles, state creation local government creation, revenue allocation, derivation formula etc. should be reviewed so that the aggrieved ethnic groups can be pacified. The art of governance should not be seen to favour a particular religious group. Nigeria is a secular state and she should be seen and treated as such until the constitution says otherwise.

One of the United Nations Organisation's charter advocated that 30% of all positions should be reserved for women worldwide. Following the declaration of 1975 as the international women's year by the United Nations, there has been increased demand for gender equality and women representations (Akinboye 2004). According to Omotola (2006), women constitute half of the world population and have contributed to human development. Presently, Nigerian women are not well represented in public positions. Elective positions advocated for women by the United Nations are far from been achieved in Nigeria. The table below shows how women are marginalized and underutilized in Nigeria.

If Nigeria is to attain a level of sustainable development by the year 2020. There should be a deliberate policy that will address the gender discrimination in this country. Women should be given more positions and be allowed to contribute to the development of Nigeria as their men counterpart. The above position is supported by Amali (2007), when she asserted that "women work, they are poorly compensated and much of their economic appreciation is in the home. Our challenge is also to make their economic contribution appreciated outside the home".

There is need for sustainable policy that will ensure developmental projects in the rural areas. Because infrastructural projects are mostly cited in the urban areas, this encourages drift from rural areas to the urban centers; more than half of Nigerians are rural dwellers. Emphasis should be based on human development in both urban and rural communities where the people are encouraged to participate and be involved in developmental policies.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that Nigeria is still underdeveloped in spite of her huge natural and human resources. The paper also pointed out Nigeria is still underdeveloped even under the present democratic dispensation. Some of the indicators of underdevelopment include corruption, poverty, political

Table 1: Gender and Policy Decision -Making Political Position, 1999

Position	Male	Female	Total	% Female
Minister/Special Adviser	35	9	44	20.5
Speaker	35	1	36	2.8
Governor	36	-	36	0
Deputy Governor	35	1	36	2.8
Local Government Chairman	765	9	774	1.2
Counsellor	8,667	143	8,810	1.6
State Assembly Member	978	12	990	1.2
Senator	106	3	109	2.8
Representatives	349	13	362	36

Source: United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNDEM) 2000, Reproduced in Dauda 2002.

violence, ethnicity, and religious bigotry among others.

The paper, therefore, conclude that, it is still possible for Nigeria to attain a sustainable development if she can tackle or face-head long the crisis of democracy and development that has been discussed in this paper, particularly.

Recommendations

We cannot afford to accept and adopt assumptions and conditions of a western economy and expect that "things will get much worse before they get better" (Amali 2007).

It is recommended that home-growth developmental policy that will be useful to the citizens of Nigeria should be put in place. Secondly, we also recommend that the problem of corruption in Nigeria, which is the bane of her development in democratic setting, should no longer be fought with kid gloves or on the pages of newspapers. It is recommended that stiffer sanctions for corrupt office holders or any individual in Nigeria should be

imposed on the culprits. Thirdly, for democracy and sustainable development to thrive in Nigeria, there should be concerted efforts that will encourage peaceful co-existence among ethnic groups, all the citizens and residents in Nigeria. Finally, periodic constitutional review that will address to take care of ethnic agitations, violence and contentious issues like resource control and religion crises should be carried out.

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