

**USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO  
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)**

**DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA  
A CASE STUDY OF BORNO STATE: 1999- 2015**

**A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Postgraduate School,  
USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO, NIGERIA  
In Fulfilment  
For the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (POLITICAL SCIENCE)**

**BY**

**SHEHU KAM-SELEM  
(ADM. NO. 12310202002)  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**MAY, 2019**

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to the memories of my late parents Shehu Umar Ibrahim and Hajja Fatima Umar. May their souls rest in Jannatul Firdaus. Amen.

## **CERTIFICATION**

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

This work is brought to fruition with the inputs and contributions of many people.. Indeed, it is imperative to express sincere gratitude to all who contributed to my educational achievement. First, my greatest gratitude is to Almighty Allah for creating me and providing me with the opportunity to serve Him.

I wish to express my gratitude to my major supervisor, Dr. Abdul-Majeed Alkali whose constructive criticisms helped a lot in shaping this work. I must sincerely express my gratitude for his understanding, guidance and concern in this work despite his tight schedules. May Allah continue to reward him abundantly both now and here after. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude and thanks to my co-supervisor I, Professor Garba Bala Muhammad who spent enormous time and energy at all stages of this work and his efforts not only positively shaped the quality of this work, but also inspired in me the love for knowledge and desire to impact to others. My co-supervisor II, Professor M.T. Usman I am very grateful for his contributions, corrections to this work, above all, treating me like a son not only a student. May Allah (S.W.A) continue to grant long life, good health and reward my supervisory team.

I am also grateful to the Head, Department of Political Science, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto. Dr. T.K. Baba for his concern and encouragement toward the successful completion of this work. May Allah reward him. I am equally grateful to the Post Graduate Co-ordinator Dr. Abubakar Abdullahi for treating postgraduate cases with additional attention, Prof. Ibrahim M.B. Zaga, Prof. S.S. Muhammad, Prof. Tijjani Bande, Prof. Zaiyanu Muhammad Umar, Prof. I. Sarafa Ogundiya, Dr. Suleiman B.Y. Kura, Dr. Dantani, Dr. Ibrahim Sani, Dr. Danjuma and others, too who are many to mention. I am sincerely grateful to you all.

Madame Theresa, the Secretary to the Head of Department, Abdul Rasheed the Departmental Admin Officer, Muhammadu the messenger of the Department. I sincerely appreciate you all who strongly stood by me in this hard and horrendous time of terrorist activities living sleepless nights and staying in fear in my absence. May Allah bless them all.

I also wish to express my gratitude to late Prof. Kyari Tijjani for encouraging me to further my education, may his soul rest in peace (Ameen). Prof. Usman A. Tar I am equally grateful for the guidance and support of Prof. Usman A. Tar, Mallam S. Gatawa, Chief, Stanly Washama, Abba Bukar Umar, Alh. Ah. Bello, Adam Musa, Dr. Usman M. Kolo and my brothers and friends who are many to mention them.

My special appreciation goes to Madame Vivienne, Madame Success and her team for their tireless efforts towards the completion of this work.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
DEDICATION	ii
CERTIFICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
ABSTRACT	xv

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the Study	1
1.2	Statement of the Problem	3
1.3	Research Questions	4
1.4	Objectives of the Study	4
1.5	Assumptions of the Study	4
1.6	Justifications of the Study	5
1.7	Scope and Limitations of the Study	6
1.8	Methodology of the Study	7
1.8.1	Research Design	8
1.8.2	Population of the Study	8
1.8.3	Sample Size and Sampling Techniques	9
1.8.4	Instrument of the Research	9
1.8.5	Procedure for Data Collection	9
1.8.6	Method of Data Analysis	10
1.9	Organization of the Research	10

### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1	Literature Review	12
2.1.1	Conceptual Clarifications	12
2.1.2	Types of Democracy	15
2.1.3	Democracy the Minimalist Perspective	16

2.1.4	The Maximalist Perspective	16
2.1.5	The Procedural Perspective	17
2.1.6	The Substantive Perspective	18
2.1.7	Theories of Democracy	18
2.1.8	Characteristics of Democracy	20
2.1.9	Agency for Measuring Democracy	23
2.1.10	Good Governance: Conceptual Clarification	31
2.2.11	Characteristics of Good Governance	34
2.2.12	Nature of Liberal Democracy in Nigeria	36
2.2.13	Democracy and Good Governance Nexus in Nigeria	51
2.2.14	Good Governance and Stability for Democratic Order	55
2.2.15	Citizen's Influence on the Actions and decisions on the Regime Leaders	63
2.2.16	Challenges of Democracy in Borno State	69
2.2	Theoretical Framework	83
2.3	Critique of the Theory	85

### CHAPTER THREE: OVERVIEW OF DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICAL GOVERNANCE IN BORNO STATE

3.1	Introduction	87
3.2	Democratic and Political Governance in Borno State in the Nigerian First Republic 1979- 1983	90
3.2.1	Policies and Programme of Goni's Administration: An Overview	91
3.2.2	General Administration of Goni's Regime	97
3.3	Alhaji Asheik Jarma Regime, October 1 <sup>st</sup> , 1983 - 31 <sup>st</sup> December, 1983	101
3.4	Democratic and Political Governance in Nigerian's Third Republic 1992 – 1993	102
3.5	Maina Ma'aji Lawan Regime and Policy of Progress (January 1992 – November, 1993)	103

### CHAPTER FOUR: DEMOCRATIC RULE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BORNO STATE: 1999-2015

4.1	Introduction	109
4.2	Democratic and Political Governance in Nigerian's Third Republic 1992 – 1993	110
4.2.1	The Democratic and Political Governance in Borno in the Nigerian Fourth Republic: Mala Kachalla Regime (1999-2003)	110
4.2.2	The Nature of Democratic Rule in Borno State: Mala Kachalla Regime: 1999 – 2003	114

4.2.3	The Executive/Legislation Relations in Borno Under Mala Kachalla Regime	116
4.2.4	Political Participation and Electoral Activities in Borno Under Mala Kachalla Regime: 1999 – 2003	123
4.3	Nature of Democratic Rule Under Ali Modu Sheriff Regime: 2003-2011	126
4.3.1	Political Participation and Electoral Activities Under Ali Modu Sheriff's Regime (2003 – 2011)	132
4.3.2	The Executive-Legislative Relations under Sheriff Regime: 2003-2011	135
4.4	The Nature of Democratic Rule in Borno State: The Kashim Shettima Regime 2011-2015	146
4.4.1	Political Participation and Electoral Activities in Borno State under Shettima 2011-2015	150
4.4.2	The Executive-Legislature Relations in Borno State under Governor Kashim Shettima Regime (2011-2015)	153
4.4.3	Kashim Shettima Regime 2011 – 2015	158
	Conclusion	171
 CHAPTER FIVE: DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BORNO STATE (1999:2015): DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS		
5.1	Introduction	172
5.2	Data Presentation and Analysis	172
5.2.1	Research Question One	172
5.3	Findings	185
 CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS		
6.1	Summary	188
6.2	Conclusion	190
6.3	Recommendations	191
6.4	Contribution to Knowledge	192
6.5	Suggestions for Further Studies	194
	REFERENCES	195
	APPENDICES	207



## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ABN	Association for Better Nigerian
AD	Alliance for Democracy
AFRC	Armed Forces Ruling Council
ANPP	All Nigeria People Party
APP	All Peoples Party
BH	Boko Haram
BRTV	Borno Radio Television
BSHA	Borno State House of Assembly
C.D	Campaign for Democracy
CDC	Constitution Drafting Committee
CDD	Centre for Democratic Governance
CNC	Congress for National Consensus
CRC	Constitutional Review Committee
CSOs	Civil Society Organization
DEFRI	Directorate of Food Road and Rural Infrastructure
DGI	World Governance Indicator
DPN	Democratic Party of Nigeria
ECG	Electoral Commission of Ghana
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crime Commission
FEDECO	Federal Electoral Commission
FMG	Federal Military Government
G.G.	Good Governance
GDM	Grassroots Democratic Movement
GNPP	Great Nigerian Peoples party
GPRS	Ghana poverty Reduction Strategy

ICP	Corruption Perception Index
ICR	International Crisis Group
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
ING	Interim National Government
MDG's	Millennium Development Goals
NACYAN	National Council of Youth Association of Nigeria
NADECO	National Democratic Coalition
NBA	Nigerian Bar Association
NCC	National Constitutional Conference
NCPN	National Conscience Party of Nigeria
NDC	National Democratic Party
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NECON	National Electoral Commission of Nigeria
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NLC	Nigerian Labor Congress
NNC	Nigerian National Congress
NPC	Nation Population Commission
NPF	Nigerian Police Force
NPN	National Peoples Party of Nigeria
NPN	People's National Party
NPP	National Patriotic Party
NPP	Nigerian Peoples Party
NRC	National Republic Convention
PDP	People Democratic Party
PDP	People's Democratic Party

PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
PRC	Provision Ruling Council
PRP	Peoples Redemption Party
PSP	Peoples Solidarity Party
SFO	Serious Fraud Office
SMC	Supreme Military Council
SNC	Sovereign National Conference
UN	United Nations
UNCP	United Nigeria Congress Party
UNDP	United National Development Programme.
UNHC	United Nation Human Right Council
UPN	Unity Party of Nigeria
USAID	United State Agency for Aids and Development
WGI	Worldwide Governance Indicator

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1: Democratic rule in Borno State is an exclusive elite affair	174
Figure 2: Democratic Good Governance based on Equity, Inclusiveness, Effectiveness and Responsiveness can Stabilize Democratic Order in Borno State	179

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1.1	The Population of the Study Area	8
Table 4.1:	Bills Passed into Law (1999 – 2003)	119
Table 4.2:	Members of Borno State House of Assembly 1999 – 2003	121
Table 4.3:	Members of Borno State House of Assembly, 2003-2007	137
Table 4.4:	Members of Borno State House of Assembly 2007 – 2011	138
Table 4.5:	Bills Passed into Law, 2003-2011	139
Table 4.6:	Bills Passed into Law, 2011-2015	154
Table 4.7:	Borno State House of Assembly Members, 2011-2015	156
Table 5.1:	Since 1999, Democratic Rule has brought Favourable Improvements in Education, Security and Poverty in Borno State.	172
Table 5.3:	Democratic rule in Borno State is an Exclusive Elite Affair	174
Table 5.4:	Democratic Rule in Borno State is a Mere Platform for Changing of a Various Leaders.	175
Table 5.5:	There is no Substantive Democratic Rule in Borno State but Procedural Democracy	175
Table 5.7:	The Prevalence of Insecurity and Poverty in Borno State is as a Result of Lack of Good Governance	177
Table 5.8:	Democratic Rule in Borno State Lacks the Capacity to bring about and Consolidate Good Governance	177
Table 5.9:	Flawed and Incredible Election Hinder the Consolidation of Good Governance in Borno State	178
Table 5.10:	Good Governance based on Equity, Inclusiveness, Effectiveness and Responsiveness can Stabilize Democratic Order in Borno State	179
Table 5.11:	Democratic Orders and Rule can only be Consolidated through Participatory, Responsive Good Governance	180
Table 5.12:	The Good Governance in Borno State can Eradicate the Problems of Poverty, Income Inequality, Under-development, Unemployment, Conflict and Insecurity	180
Table 5.13:	The Phenomenal Preponderance of Tribal and Religious Tendencies have Negatively Contributed to the Challenges Associated with Good Governance in Borno State	181

Table 5.14: Exclusionist and Elitist Politics has Terminated the Hopes of the Citizens at the Grassroots in Borno State	181
Table 5.15: Democratic Order and Good Governance Failed in Borno State because Citizens have no Participatory Influence on the Actions and Decisions of Political Decision-makers	182
Table 5.16: Purposeful, Effective Decline in the Causes and Attendant Risks of Mass Discontent will Lead to Good Governance in Borno State	183
Table 5.17: Concerted and Sustained Influence by the Citizens on the Actions and Decisions of Regime Leaders will Lead to Good Governance in Borno State	183
Table 5.18: Factual Decline in the Causes and Imminent Risks of Discontent will Lead to Stability of Democratic Order in Borno State	184
Table 5.19: Undoubtedly, Good Governance is the Single most Important Element of Human Development and Nation-building	184
Table 5.20: Concrete, Stable Democratic Rule and Good Governance will Lead to Decline in Mass Discontent in Borno State	185

## **ABSTRACT**

The study assessed democracy and good governance in Nigeria with reference to Borno State from 1999 to 2015. The Elites Theory was adopted for this study which states that in every society few individuals subvert state power to attain economic, social and political ends. The study used both primary and secondary sources. Borno State has 27 Local Government Areas, and consists of 3 senatorial zones made up of 9 LGAs. A random sampling was used in selecting 3 LGAs from each zone to make total of 9 LGAs for the study. The 9 LGAs have an estimated population of 2,068,342 according to National Population Census figure of 2006. A sample size of 2,068 was proportionately selected. The data was analysed using descriptive statistics. The result showed that 34% disagreed that democratic rule has brought favourable improvement in education, security and reduce poverty in the study area. 42% agreed that the democratic rule is a mere platform of changing leaders in the study area. 37% agreed that there is no substantive democratic rule in the study areas. 40% of the respondents agreed that democratic order and good governance failed in the study area because the citizens have no participatory influence on the actions and decisions of the political decision makers. 45% of the respondents agreed that concerted and sustained influence by the citizens on the actions and decisions of the regime leaders would lead to good governance in the study area. The democratic regimes in the state have not promoted good governance and the democratic challenges are as a result of lack governance in the practice of democratic rule. Therefore, for Borno State and Nigeria at large to achieve democratic development there must be application of good governance in the practice of democratic rule.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

For over five decades, since Nigeria and other African states gained independence and the continent as a whole struggled to extricate itself from hunger, disease, poverty, unemployment, ignorance, violence, under-development among others improvement in the standard of living was expected to improve from the belief that much of the wealth of decolonized states previously siphoned away to the metropolis would be kept in newly independent African States (Ndulu and Achille, 1995:2). It is believed that these legitimate hopes of freedom and respect would be accepted by the people through political liberation and freedom and respect which people on threshold would have autonomy and respect.

Although regrettably, Africans ought to ask themselves about what went wrong with their political freedom and autonomy, this situation will generate a question as to whether the region had a clear sense of strategic purpose of development. One would also readily ask whether there was a strong commitment with strategic intervention intended to raise the hopes of the people generated by the achievement of political independence. Put another way, did African nations develop a vision for democracy and good governance for improving the well being of their citizens?

The struggle for democratization and good governance in Nigeria has relevance not only in liberalizing the political arena and achieving civil and political liberties but also in ensuring better living standards and social welfare for Nigerians, hence good governance. One of the proponents of state failure Zartman (1995) conceptualized state in terms of its capacity to properly perform those basic functions that it claims are required for it to



qualify as one when a state with traditional, charismatic or instructional sources of legitimacy, can no longer properly perform its basic functions, or claim legitimacy to govern and when it has lost control over its own political and economic spaces. The legitimacy of a state then is derived from the functions it performs, thus a state fails when 'it has lost its right to rule i.e. when the structure, authority (legitimate power), law and political order have fallen apart (Zartman, 1995).

In recent times, instances of bad governance have been persistent throughout Nigeria to the extent that the governed have become worried as to the meaning and purpose of governance in general. It has been proved that democracy is the widely acclaimed and acceptable form of government world over as opposed to other forms of governments approved to the surest safeguard of individual liberties, the principles and values of freedom, equality, justice, rule of law, accountability, public interest among others are best provided and promoted in a democratic settings. Democratic governments in the modern world are responsible for the delivery of essential political goods to the citizenry such as security, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunities and human development. Democratic form of government guarantees basic personal and political rights, fair and free elections and independence of judiciary.

However, compared to other states in Nigeria, Borno State has not enjoyed the dividends of democratic governance through the practice of democratic rule; because, since the inception of democratic form of governance on May 29, 1999, many Nigerians were excited and believed that democratic governance could bring about miracle and positive change for better. Some jubilated that the problem of national integration, national unity, insecurity, conflict, violence, socio-economic under-development, political instability, human right abuse and inequality among others in the country as a result of long period of

military regimes would be solved (Jega, 2007). Yet, others perceived the return of democracy as the much desired opportunity to correct some of the mistakes of the past for national development and nation building.

Citizens of all countries desire to be governed well. Thus nation states in the modern world are responsible for the delivery of essential goods to their inhabitants. The purpose, legitimacy and justification of any nation state are to provide essential political goods, such as rule of law, transparency, participation and human rights; sustainable economic opportunities and human development among others.

The modern practice of democratic rule is about guaranteeing basic personal and political right, fair and free elections, independent courts of law, human rights, separation of powers, freedom of opinion, religious liberty, equal right to vote, public interest, accountability and transparency, absence of corruption, etc, all which are key elements of democracy and good governance.

Good governance increases citizens' influence on the decisions and actions of regime leaders, reduce the causes and risk of mass discontent and enhances stability of democratic order. This study examined the performance of various governments in Borno State since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999 to 2015 and whether the expectations of the electorates have been met. The study also looked at the reasons why the performance of these governments are as discovered as well as ways of improving on the situation with a view to meeting voters' expectations.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Nigerians thought that the return to democratic rule in 1999 would have changed their lives for the better and pave the way for a prosperous future. Therefore, the problem of this

study is to identify and explain the relationship between democracy and good governance. The central question of concern here is whether democracy has the capacity to provide good governance, and in which specific ways it can do so. In essence, the study sought to locate and explore the factors and forces that shape the interplay between democracy and good governance using Borno State as case study.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i. What is the nature of democracy and good governance in Borno state?
- ii. To what extent has democracy promoted good governance in Borno state?
- iii. What are the challenges of democracy and good governance in Borno state?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The study aimed at assessing democracy and good governance in Nigeria with reference to Borno State, with a view to achieving the following objective.

- i. To examine the nature of democracy and good governance in Borno State.
- ii. To evaluate democracy and good governance in Borno state.
- iii. To identify the challenges of democracy and good governance in Borno state.

### **1.5 Assumptions of the Study**

The study was based on the assumptions that:

- i. Democracy increases the likelihood of citizens' influence on the decisions and actions of regime leaders..
- ii. The greater the likelihood of citizen influence on the decisions and actions of regime leaders, the greater the likelihood of good governance.
- iii. The greater the likelihood of good governance, the greater the chances of decline in the causes and risks of mass discontents.

## 1.6 Justifications of the Study

Much has been written about democracy in Nigeria, but to the knowledge of the researcher, no study has been done on democracy and good governance in Nigeria 1999-2015 with specific reference to the Borno State. It should be noted that most of the literature are on democracy and democratic transition in Nigeria; democratic transition in Africa; the challenges of democracy and democratization in Africa and Middle East; politics of democratization and military dis-engagement in West Africa as well as Nigeria's contested elections and unstable democracy (1996; 1998; 2007; 2008 and 2010). Other literature include, *Rentire Politics, Extractive Economics and Conflict in Global South* 2010, *Hegemony and Subordination; Governing Class, Power and Electoral Democracy in Nigeria*; 2010 *Democracy and Political Governance in Nigeria*, 2010 *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria*, 1999, *Democracy and Democratic Practice in Nigeria*, 2011, *Democracy and Development in Nigeria*, 2007 *Democracy and good governance: Nigerian's Dilemma* 2010, *Democratization and disempowerment in Africa* 1996 among others. It is easily noticeable that the topic under study differs from the literature listed above.

Therefore, the study can be justified on a number of grounds. Firstly, the study has the potential to enrich the understanding of the nature of democracy and good governance in Borno state through assessing the extent to which democracy promote good governance and the challenges of democracy and good governance in Borno state.

Secondly, the study has the potential to bridge the gap in the existing body of literature on the democratic governance in Nigeria with reference to Borno State given the urgency of the need for good democratic governance in the State. This calls for intellectual effort that

affords policy makers, stakeholders, politicians and citizens the opportunity to understand the need and importance of good democratic governance in the State.

Finally, the justification of the study lies in its potential to provide solution to the problem of democratic governance. The study would help in understanding that bad democratic regime leads to mass discontent and democratic instability and above all state failure. Furthermore, the outcome of the study would serve as reference document to students of political science and other social sciences for future research.

### **1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The subject of democracy is a broad one and the concept of good governance as a desired political system could shape the modern world. As many scholars have established a nexus between democracy and good governance, it is believed that development challenges in nation states like Nigeria are brought about due to the absence of good governance in the practice of democratic rule.

Against this background, this study as its scope discussed good governance on the citizens of Borno State in Nigeria. The study is also restricted to the different democratic regimes in Borno State from 1999 to 2015 with the view to deciding whether the citizens of Borno State have enjoyed good governance through the practice of democratic rule. As man live by such values as security of life and property, poverty reduction, economic opportunity and empowerment, employment, rule of law, accountability and transparency, health-care delivery, education, protection of fundamental human rights among others. It is expected that the citizens of Borno State should enjoy these values as products of good governance through democratic rule. It should be noted however that Nigerians and indeed

the people of Borno State have been grappling with democratic governance challenges since the return of democratic rule in 1999. These challenges have brought about unfavourable debilitating effect resulting into insecurity, lack of economic development, poor education, unemployment, poor health delivery system, and unsatisfactory social transformation and reduced desirable human activities in the state and the country at large.

Nigerians thought that the return to democratic rule would have changed their living conditions for better as hope has been rekindled among the electorates. In Borno State, however, deeply rooted negative challenges of democratic governance have persisted since the return to civilian rule in 1999. The living conditions of the people have not changed significantly despite more than decade of uninterrupted civilian rule in the state.

Secondly, as its scope, the study assesses the common grounds between democracy and good governance, measuring the performance of three (3) democratic regimes in Borno State i.e. 1999-2015 (sixteen years of democratic rule). It also assessed the outcomes and acceptability of the processes of four (4) democratic elections in the state. Nine (9) local government areas were selected three from each of the three senatorial districts of the state which constitutes thirty percent (30%) of the twenty-seven local government areas of the State.

The study therefore, is limited to the assessment of good governance through the practice of democratic governance of the State from 1999 to 2015.

## **1.8 Methodology of the Study**

The study employed the use of both primary and secondary sources of data collection. The primary sources includes: population and sample, research instrument, procedure for data collection and method of data analysis.

### 1.8.1 Research Design

According to Ogunjimi (2003), research design refers to the plan structure and strategy of investigating into the problem of study. It also refers to the entire layout of the study from the beginning to the stage where analysis of data is done. Survey research design is considered appropriate for the purpose of this study considering the fact that it involves a large population of respondents.

According to Kunle (2002), survey research design is an act of collecting data by sampling individuals with relevant experiences of what is being surveyed or asking relevant questions from a representative or cross-section of population who are referred to as respondents.

### 1.8.2 Population of the Study

The target population of the study includes Maiduguri (MMC), Konduga, Bama, Biu, Hawul, Damboa, Gubio, Kaga, and Mobbar. The population is estimated to be 2068342. It is from the population that a sample size was drawn using 2006 National Census figure.

**Table 1.1 The Population of the Study Area**

<b>LGA</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
Maiduguri	BC	540,016	540
Konduga	BC	157,322	157
Bama	BC	270,119	270
Biu	BS	276,568	277
Hawul	BS	233,200	233
Damboa	BS	233,200	233
Kaga	BN	89,996	90
Mobbar	BN	116,635	117
Gubio	BN	151,286	151
<b>Total:</b>		<b>2,068,342</b>	<b>2,068</b>

Source: NPC (2006)

Key: BC – Borno Central, BS – Borno South, BN – Borno North

### **1.8.3 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques**

According to Ogunjimi (2003), a sample is defined as a subset of measurement selected from the population of interest. A total of 2,068 respondents representing the total population of the study were drawn from the local governments mentioned above. Based on the nature of this study, the researcher used stratified random sampling technique; the justification for using this type of sampling is that the study used urban centres, semi-urban centres and rural areas. This technique ensures that specific elements are included in the sample. The specific element here refers to respondents that are concerned and affected with the issue of good governance in their locality.

### **1.8.4 Instrument of the Research**

The main instrument for collecting data for this study was questionnaire. A self-developed questionnaire containing twenty-five (25) questions was administered to the respondents. The questionnaires consist of two sections. Section A contains the demographic characteristics of the respondents while section B contains the twenty-five item questions designed to elicit responses from members or indigenes of the local governments mentioned. The items were rated on a scale to determine the extent to which the respondents look at the nature of democracy and good governance in Borno and in their locality. The structure of the rating scale includes five response categories of Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Undecided (UD), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD).

### **1.8.5 Procedure for Data Collection**

The researcher administered the questionnaire to the respondents through recruiting research assistants on a face-to-face basis. A total of 2,068 questionnaires were administered to 2,068 individuals from the mentioned local governments in Borno State.



The items on the questionnaire covered the following areas which form the basis of research questions. Out of 2,068 questionnaires distributed, only 1,877 are retrieved others either not filled or not returned.

#### **1.8.6 Method of Data Analysis**

The data collected for the study was analyzed using descriptive analysis. The researcher answered the research questions by using simple percentage, frequency distribution, and graphical analysis.

The secondary source on the other hand involves extensive data collection, such as government publications, non-governmental reports, opinion of the press, library books, conference proceedings, articles in journals, magazines, newspaper, internet materials and news bulletins which were qualitatively analyzed.

In addition, the study conducted in-depth group interview (IGI) with chairmen of various political parties, women leaders, youth leaders, party elders, ward chairmen and secretaries, traditional rulers of the selected local governments i.e. (3) which is 9 in each of the senatorial districts of the state.

### **1.9 Organization of the Research**

The study is divided into six chapters, chapter one is the background to the study which includes; statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, assumptions of the study, justification of the study, scope and limitation of the study, methodology of the study and organization of the research. Chapter two is the literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter three of the study is on the overview of democratic and political governance in Borno State while Chapter four of the study is on democratic rule and political participation in Borno State from 1999-2015. Chapter five is on the data presentation and analysis and chapter six is the last chapter which is the summary,

conclusion and recommendations. The chapter also contains contribution to knowledge, suggestion for further studies. Lastly, the study ended with references and the appendices.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 Literature Review**

To squarely reflect and examine available previous works, the literature review is divided into two parts; the first part is on the conceptual clarification of democracy, types of democracy, theories of democracy, characteristics of democracy, agencies for measuring democracy. Good governance; conceptual clarification, characteristics of good governance. While the second part is on the nature of democracy in Nigeria, democracy and good governance nexus in Nigeria, implications of good governance for stability of democratic order, citizens' influence on the actions and decisions of the regime leaders, the challenges of democracy in Borno state and the theoretical framework of the study.

##### **2.1.1 Conceptual Clarifications**

The end of the Cold War brought about liberal democracy globally as the most credible form of government and basis of governmental legitimacy Huntington (1996). Diamond (1992) sees democracy as a government in which power and civil responsibility are exercised by all adult citizens directly or through their freely elected representatives. Democratic rule rests upon the principles of majority rule and individual rights. It is accessible, responsive and responsible to the people (Heywood 2011). Democratic form of government upholds and promotes enhanced basic human rights such as freedom of speech, religion and the right to equal protection under the law and also the opportunity to organize and participate fully in the political, economic and cultural life of society. Citizens in a democratic state have not only rights, but also have the responsibility to participate in the political system that in turn, protects their rights and freedom, (Diamond, 1997).

Democracy depends upon a literate and knowledgeable citizenry whose access to information enables it to participate as fully as possible in the public life of society and criticize unwise or oppressive government officials and policies. In a democratic state, citizens and their elected representatives recognize that democracy depends upon the widest possible access to uncensored data, ideas and opinions. For democratic governance to succeed, citizens must be free to express themselves openly, publicly and repeatedly both in speech and writing (Augie, 2004).

Democracy is a form of government based on popular rule or popular control over collective decision-making where citizens are entitled to their opinion on public affairs both through the association of civil society and through participation in government (Beetham, 1994). In democratic governance, citizens freely make political decisions by majority rule; democracy rest upon the principle that government exists to serve the people. In other words, the people are citizens of the democratic state, not its subject (Tijjani, 2007).

Democracy is a form of government for entrenchment of fundamental rights, such as inalienable rights of citizens which include freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of assembly and the right to equal protection before the law. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the rights that citizens enjoy in a democratic state but it does constitute a set of the irreducible core rights that any democratic government must uphold, (Augie, 2004).

In democratic governance, the sovereign power resides in and is exercised by the whole body of free citizens directly or indirectly through a system of representation as distinguished from other forms of government. Democracy could also be described as a political method that is to say, a certain type of institutional arrangement for arriving at political, legislative and administrative decision-making. It is also a method by which the

individual acquires the power to participate in decision making by means of a competitive struggle, for the people's vote (Makinda, 1996). Democracy ensures meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups in political participation in the selection of leaders and policies through regular and fair elections, such as no major (adult) social group is excluded and level of civil and political liberties, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations, sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation (Diamond, 1992).

Diamond (1997) analysed democracy as the form of government where equal opportunity to participate in decision making and the entire governance process is given to all citizens irrespective of class, political party among others. Democracy is a political practice where governance is based on the principle of popular sovereignty, rule of law, accountability, popular participation, fundamental human rights and the right of resistance to unlawful or tyrannical rule (Augie, 2004). Democracy is the form of government in which every citizen in a state has political investments of political participation and trust. This system of government is owned by the peoples whom it governs. It is this ownership that makes it tenable and acceptable to the people... it is marked by the continuous dialogue and interaction between those who govern and are ruled.

The basic characteristics of democracy include the existence of the mechanism for political and economic choice, balanced political structure and stable political system where periodic elections are held in which the people renew their mandate of those they love and accept or terminate those they are dissatisfied with through the succession of a new government. It is therefore owned and deployed by them at will. Thus, it is only when government is adjudged by the people as having fulfilled their wish that it could be

considered democratic. Thus democracy allows mutual exchange of views and opinion through freedom of association and worship, among others.

There are various forms of democracy and these range from the socialists to the liberal democratic variants practiced mostly in the communist and western capitalist states respectively. There are other democratic forms in the world which are not strictly in line with those practiced by western countries but have contributed immensely to the socio-economic and political development of these areas. Such one includes the peculiar cases of democracies in Japan, India, some South East Asian, Middle East and some African countries (Diamond, 1997).

### **2.1.2 Types of Democracy**

There are abundant literature relating to different perspectives of democracy with countless definitions of what democracy should be and what democracy is all about. All of them are contested and differ according to the preferences of their proponents.

Democracy is a participatory form of governance where the citizens are involved in the decision making process. In other words, democracy is a form of government by which the individual, require power to participate in decision making by means of competitive struggle for the people's vote (Schumpeter, 1942).

There are many types of democracies and these among others include; liberal democracy, socialist democracy, direct democracy, representative democracy, deliberative democracy, the radical democracy, the minimalist democracy, maximalist, procedural and substantive democracy.

However, among the various types of democracy listed above, this study seeks to analyst the minimalist, the maximalist and the procedural and substantive types of

democracy, because the above four are more relevant to the research variables i.e democracy and good governance with specific reference to Borno State.

### **2.1.3 Democracy the Minimalist Perspective**

The minimalist perspective sees democracy as a means of protecting citizens against arbitrary rule. It could be argued that the minimalist democracy is elitist type where citizens elect skilled representative elites capable of making public decision and protecting individual liberty. The people are seen as the final instance that decision in which representatives govern for a predetermined periods of time.

Furthermore, minimalist democracy is the type where elections serve to express and aggregate people's interest. Beside electoral participation, the demos are perceived as passive and government by representatives. The minimalist democracy is the elitist democracy, because, they perceived government as the representative of the people (the elite) for effective governance.

Although, the kind of democracy that aims at effective governance embraces the ideas of classical republicanism in its protective vision Hyden and Bratteon (1992), the classical model of democracy and it is more modern democracy of the pronounced version is Schumpeter's elitist model,

### **2.1.4 The Maximalist Perspective**

The maximalist version of democracy entails the characteristics of the representative and participatory types of democracy. The maximalist considers the social prerequisite of citizens is also essential for fair and meaningful democratic participation. The maximalist argued that their democratic perspective based on social democracy comprises all three prepositions of Abraham Lincom's "Gettysburg formular" of, by, and for.

Furthermore, the maximalist argued that their perspective of democracy focuses on the reduction of social and economic inequalities among citizens in a nation state. The maximalist criticise the minimalist that in democracy, the legal guarantee of civil and political rights does not suffice to make democracy work. The maximalist assets that government has the duty to guarantee the resources that is necessary for the use of these rights. The resources have to be allocated to the citizen equally.

The maximalist perspective concludes that equality implies the complementing of civil and political rights with social rights. Social democracy for the maximalist is described as “government for the people”. The roots of the social type of democracy can be found in liberalist, socialist and social democratic.

### **2.1.5 The Procedural Perspective**

The procedural democracy is the type where emphasis or regard is on the practice of democratic institutions that characterized democratic regimes such as democratic content and quantity, without concern to the benefit or dividends of the democratic regime.

The procedural democracy is concerned with the presence of procedure of democratic regime such as periodic election, political parties, universal franchise right, political equality among others.

Hyden and Bratteon (1992) argued that procedural democracy requires to adopt certain features of democracy such as effective participation, free and fair election, periodic election, voting right, freedom of expression, freedom of information, associational autonomy among others.

Furthermore, the proceduralists see democracy from the perspectives of:

- i. Equality in voting
- ii. Inclusion of all adults



- iii. Political participation and right to contest
- iv. Participatory in decision making process by all members

#### **2.1.6 The Substantive Perspective**

Substantive democracy lays more emphasis on the dividends or benefit of the democratic rule. The substantivist argued that procedures only are not sufficient to bring desired result to the society. The substantive asserts that the benefit or outcome should take precedence over mere procedure in a democratic state. They argued that democratic governance could be evaluated on the basis of substance of government policies, programmes or content of what government does but not the mere procedure of democratic government.

Furthermore, substantivist argues that periodic elections are necessary in democratic state but are not sufficient. Rather, the democratic state requires among others the guarantee of civil, political economic right and liberties. The principle of substantive democracy could improve the efficiency, viability and availability of democratic system of government and it could be argued that, the substantive type would bring about dividends of democracy directly to the citizens, because the theory sees democracy as more than the procedural process of government, but rather is all about providing essential needs or services directly to the citizens.

#### **2.1.7 Theories of Democracy**

The classical social scientists and political thinkers, founded theories of democracy that guides the political leadership and founders so as to shape the new government of the United States in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Singh, nd). Four theories of democratic rule was

introduced and have taken shape over time, each addressing the questions of who holds power and influence over public policy and decision making at the various levels of government. These theories are:

### **I. Majoritarian Theory**

The Majoritarian theory of democracy is sometime called the traditional theory. The Majoritarian theory argued that government depends on the consent of the governed, which may be directly or through representatives. The theory promotes majority government or rule without violating minority rights, maintaining the willingness to compromise and recognizing the worth and dignity of all citizens Singh(n.d) this political and governance participation can occur either directly or indirectly through representation vote. For voting to be effective at any level, citizens need access to information in order to make informed decisions. Every citizen has the right to participate in government and every citizen has a voice in the government.

### **ii. Pluralist Theory**

The pluralist theory argued that interest groups compete in the political activities with each promoting its policy performances through organized efforts. The pluralist theory posits that people with common interest form organized groups to promote their interest, causes and influence the agenda of government.

Moreover, the theory also argues that a healthy competition exist in the development of the policy agenda and in the selection of the policy makers. Organizations and special interest groups that represent the needs and agendas of the public may have conflict of interest and these may require, requiring bargaining and compromise so that opposing views are

represented in the public policy. The theory posits that no single group, industry, government agency dominates the political arena and the agenda of government.

### **iii. The Hyper pluralism Theory**

The hyper pluralist theory of democracy argued that democracy is a system of government where many groups have so much strength that government is often “pulled” in different and numerous directions at the same time. The theory further argues that people who share common interest form groups to advance their interests, demands or causes from the agenda of government. Groups are very strong that sometimes the government is weakened. It is an extreme exaggerated form of pluralism where many groups wield power and influence on the agenda of government.

### **iv. The Elite Theory**

The elite theory of democracy posits that in a country or nation state, a small number of powerful elite such as the top military officers, political regime leaders, corporate industrial leaders form an upper class, which rules in its own self-interest. The elite theory maintains that the majority of political power and influence in the state is held by a small number of individuals, groups and industries.

The theory argued that government policies disproportionately favour the elite over the majority citizens. Democracy is not based on the will of the people, but for the interest of a relatively small, elite class and regime lenders that makes almost all the important decisions for the nation.

## **2.1.8 Characteristics of Democracy**

Democracy as a form of government proved to be the best and the most acceptable globally as a result of its essential features or characteristics. These characteristics without

which, democracy would not have the global command and respect as the best form of government.

**i. Fair and free election**

Periodic fair and free election is one of the most essential of the democratic system of government. Election is the process where citizens vote or elect their political leaders or representative either directly or indirectly into political office (Ismail, 2002). Success of the democratic form of government depends on the periodic free and fair election, election without any electoral malpractice or irregularities by either the political parties or the electorates and the agencies that are responsible for the conduct of election (Ismail, 2002).

**ii. Freedom of Expression**

Democracy as a form of government goes beyond holding periodic election (Augie, 2004). Augie went on to argue that in a democratic state, the fundamental human rights such as freedom of expression and speech are equally important prerequisite of democratic governance. In democratic state there shall be no restriction on citizen's freedom to express their views and opinions on government policies and programmes. Freedom guarantees citizen's right to speak and write openly without government or state interference, including the right to criticize government. It guarantees right to inform the public and to offer opinions of any kind, to advocate change to give the minority the opportunity to be heard and become the majority, and to challenge the rise of tyranny or authoritarian regime by the force of words. The freedom of expression or speech is among the fundamental human rights of citizens in a democratic society.

### **iii. Universal Adult Franchise**

Democracy is a form of government where every adult citizen has inalienable right not only to participate in the process of decision making, but also have equal right to vote and be voted for. Elections in democratic state guarantee every adult equal right of voting and the vote will be given equal weight in the decision making process.

### **iv. Vibrant Civil society**

Strong and vibrant civil society organization's makes government accountable to its citizen because democratic and accountable state ensures fundamental freedom to its citizens. Democratic society is inherently pluralistic and respectful to the rule of law. Civil societies play a significant role in the working of democracy.

Furthermore, in a diverse pluralistic society, civil organizations provide an opportunity for communities to come to common platform and work together. The existence of strong civil society is necessary enabling condition for democratic form of government.

### **v. Participation**

Citizens in a democratic state have not only rights, but also have the obligation or responsibility to participate in the electoral and political process of the state that in turn protect their rights and freedom. Participation may involve voting in election, debating on issues, attending community meetings, becoming involved in private, voluntary organizations, and even protesting.

Democracy is the form of government where citizens require to become informed about public issues to monitor the conduct of their political leaders and representatives, and to express their own opinions. However, political participation must be peaceful, respectful of the law, and tolerant of the different views of other groups and individuals.

## **vi. Rule of Law**

In a democratic state, every citizen is equal before the court of law. The three indices of the rule of law which are; the supremacy of the law of the land; equality before the law; and inherent or inalienable rights of citizen are among the pre-condition of democratic governance. Human rights of citizens must be upheld and protected by the state. Laws and procedures should apply fairly and equally to all the citizens.

Under the rule of law, all citizens are treated equally under the law. No one is above the law. No one can be discriminated on the basis of race, religion, sex, gender or cast, etc. and also, no one may be arrested, imprisoned, or exiled arbitrarily without due process of law.

### **2.1.9 Agency for Measuring Democracy**

Perhaps, the democratic rule, governance and leadership in the modern world are monitored by different agencies, organizations, civil society and non government organizations in order to achieve the democratic contents, quality, values, norms and the principles and tenants of democratic governance. These agencies among others include; Freedom House, Polity IV, Vanhanen's, Index of Democracy, Failed State Index, Democracy Index, Afrobarometer, Economic Intelligence Unit Index, World Bank World Wide Governance Index, Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, Ibrahim MO Index of African Governance, Bertelman Index, UNECA, among others.

#### **i. Freedom House:**

Freedom House is a US-based organization that has taken an active role in advocating and analyzing the state of liberties and democracy in the world. Founded in 1941, it first published its most famous and frequently cited Freedom in the World Report in 1973. Since the inception, the report attempts to grade, track and provide analysis

of democracy throughout the changing world on an annual basis. It is probably the most popular and widely used measure of democracy today. The unbiasedness of the Report has been disputed due to its alleged pro-US inclinations. The issues regarding methodology based on the opinions and judgments of “experts and scholars” have also been raised. The organization itself claims that it “does not maintain a culture-bound view of freedom”, but does, however, proclaim the stand that “freedom for all peoples is best achieved in liberal democratic societies”. It must be said that, although the Freedom in the World Report has had its critics, it remains an indispensable tool in the analysis of democracy for both academia and a wider audience.

The Report separately assesses the state of political rights and civil liberties using scales from 1 to 7, with 1 representing the highest degree of freedom, and 7 the lowest. According to the obtained rating, countries and territories are categorized as “Free”, with the average score ranging from 1.0 to 2.5, “Partly free” with the average score between 3.0 and 5.0, or “Not free”, if the average score is above 5.5. This method of classification was introduced in 2003; one could say that, prior to this, categorizing was somehow more lenient, since the limit for “Partly free” stretched to 5.5, while the combined average score had to exceed 5.5 in order for a country to be proclaimed “Not free”. In addition to the above mentioned rating and classification, the Freedom in the World Report observes whether a certain country satisfies the minimum requirements necessary to label it as an “electoral democracy”. These criteria are:

- i. a competitive, multiparty political system;
- ii. universal adult suffrage for all citizens (with exceptions for restrictions that states may legitimately place on citizens as sanctions for criminal offenses);

- iii. regularly contested elections conducted in conditions of ballot secrecy, reasonable ballot security, and in the absence of massive voter fraud, and that yield results that are representative of the public will;
- iv. Significant public access of major political parties to the electorate through the media and through generally open political campaigning.

The label pertains to the last election(s) held, and is removed if the entity fails to meet the said criteria. By contrast, in order for a country to be called a “liberal democracy”, it has to portray a far greater scope of civil liberties. According to the Freedom House methodology, all countries that are categorized as “Free” satisfy the demands set for both “electoral” and “liberal” democracies, while some of the countries from the group of the “Partly free” can be called “electoral democracies”, but they do not reach the standards set for “liberal democracies”.

## **ii. Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index:**

Starting in 2006, the Intelligence Unit of the popular weekly magazine “The Economist” has been conducting a study of its own. The Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index aims at assessing the state of democracy in 167 countries in the world. Finding some democracy assessment tools, namely Freedom House’s Freedom in the World Report, to be too narrow in their view of what democracy encompasses, The Economist Intelligence Unit uses 60 different indicators, and centers its index around five categories:

- i. Electoral process and pluralism;
- ii. Civil liberties;
- iii. The functioning of government;
- iv. Political participation;



v. Political culture

The study used a scale from 1 to 10, with countries being classified in four categories, depending on the score. The countries averaging 8-10 are in the category of Full democracies, followed by Flawed democracies whose mean score is 6 -7.9, Hybrid regimes ranging 4 -5.9 on the scale, and Authoritarian regimes with an average score under 4 on the scale. The countries in the first three categories are considered to be democracies, while the last category is labeled as dictatorial.

Sub-Saharan Africa reflects a grim image. Out of a total of 44 countries observed in both 2006 and 2007, only one is in the category of Full democracies (Mauritius). The number of Flawed democracies decreased from seven to six between the two reporting periods, with Mali being demoted to the group of Hybrid regimes. Sierra Leone represents an addition to the latter category, since it improved its status from Authoritarian to Hybrid regime. Thus, 15 Sub-Saharan countries have scores that classify them as Hybrid regimes, and the remaining 22 have scores that put them in the group of Authoritarian regimes. Unsurprisingly, it ranks at the bottom of the list comparing seven different regional scores, with only North Africa and Middle East showing poorer democratic achievement.

**iii. Polity IV:**

The Polity Data Series is another widely used instrument among political researchers. Originally started in the '70s and periodically updated ever since, it aims at providing “data resource for studying regime change and the effects of regime authority” by “coding the authority characteristics for purposes of comparative, quantitative analysis”. The Polity Series uses a 21-point scale which encompasses a wide scope of regime authority, ranging from the lowest scoring hereditary monarchies (-10) to the highest

ranking consolidated democracies (+10). The obtained scores are converted into three categories: autocracies, ranging from -10 to -6 on the used scale, anocracies, explained as “mixed, or incoherent authority regimes”, with assigned values of -5 to +5 and, finally, democracies, scoring +6 to +10

#### **iv. Vanhanen’s Index of democracy:**

Vanhanen’s Index of democracy or Polyarchy Dataset was first produced by Tatu Vanhanen in the early ’70s, and is maintained by the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo, Norway. The Index covers 187 countries and territories in the period between 2001 and 2003. Drawing on election data, it uses Dahl’s two-dimensional model as the departure point, measuring competition and participation.

#### **v. Afrobarometer:**

Afrobarometer is a regionally oriented research project conducted cooperatively between two African-based institutions – the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) and the Center for Democratic Development (CDD) from Ghana, on one side, and the Michigan State University, USA, on the other. It is based on surveys of public opinion and attitude in the political, economic and social sphere. The standardized sets of questions pertaining to democracy, markets and civil society are conducted in regular cycles, allowing for the possibility to compare results between different countries within the region of Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as to track changes that occur over time for a specific country.

The Afrobarometer has thus far released results of three rounds that have been completed since the initiation in 1999. Round 1 was conducted in 12 countries, Round 2 in 15, and Round 3 in 18 countries. Round 4, encompasses the largest number of countries so far – 20. As far as countries of particular interest are concerned, Ghana and Nigeria were

subject to all three completed rounds of surveys, while DR Congo is not included in the project

Diamond (1997) argued that it is not democracy that the world lacks today, but governance. Apart from this scholar, the significance of governance has also been recognized by numerous practitioners. Realizing the magnitude of the problem, the African Union has made good governance one of its priorities as a necessary element in developing The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) program was thus supplemented with the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance in 2002, which reiterates the commitment to adhere to democratic values and, in particular, good governance New Partnership for Africa's Development.

According to the World Bank, governance is broadly defined as traditions and institutions by which authority is exercised. This includes:

- a. Processes by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced;
  - b. The capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies;
- the respect of the citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them New Partnership for Africa's Development.

Thus, governance is of essential importance for the development and entrenchment of democracy on the continent, as well as vice versa. The good governance agenda is routinely linked to the arrangements with the World Bank as well as with the majority of other donors as a prerequisite for awarding assistance. As the issues that rise in relation to good governance represent significant factors, and are crucial to democratization processes, the assessment of governance is valuable to citizens and civil societies.

#### **vi. The World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators:**

The World Bank has developed Worldwide Governance indicators that first appeared in the year 1996. The Indicators were published bi-annually until 2002 and on yearly basis ever since, providing valuable data for over 200 countries around the world. The Indicators draw on a large number of sources of data retrieved from over 30 different organizations across the globe. These are then assigned to categories that measure six dimensions of governance, constructing an equal number of aggregate indicators New Partnership for Africa's Development.

These six dimensions of governance are:

- i. Voice and Accountability, which attempts to measure “perceptions of the extent to which the country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media”;
- ii. Political Stability and Absence of Violence, focusing on “measuring perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically-motivated violence and terrorism”;
- iii. Government Effectiveness, centered around ‘measuring perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies’.
- iv. Regulatory Quality, with the goal to measure perceptions of the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development.

- v. Rule of Law, measuring perceptions of the extent to which agencies have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.
- vi. Control of Corruption, aimed at “measuring perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as ‘capture’ of the state by elites and private interests” New Partnership for Africa’s Development.

#### **vii. Failed State Index**

This is United States (US) based organization founded in 1957, has been publishing its Failed State Index since 2005, supported by the prestigious Foreign Policy Magazine. Using an original methodology, Fund for Peace uses a powerful data collection system to index, scan and evaluate a large body of open-source documents of various nature. The results, collected from May to December of the previous year, are then scored against twelve social, economic and political indicators, each bearing between 0 and 10 points, with 0 signifying the most stable, and 10 the least stable possible environment. The obtained results, ranging from 0 to 120, are then used to compile a list of states, with the highest ranking being the least stable ones. The research started by encompassing only 76 countries in 2005, but reaching a figure of 177 by 2007.

#### **viii. Bertelsman Transformation Index**

The Bertelsman transformation index is one of the index of measuring governance and democratic development. Bertelsman index measures the effectiveness of a countries transformation to democracy and equitable market economy of non-liberal countries. It is

made of three sub-indices; political transformation (“stateness”, political participation, rule of law, stability of democratic institutions, political and social integration, economic transformation, the level of socio-economic development (organization of the market and competition, currency and price stability, private welfare regime, economic performance, and sustainability) and the management index (management performance; steering capability; resource efficiency; and consensus building), (UNDP, 2007).

#### **ix. The UNECA African Governance Report**

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2007) discussion paper titled “Measuring Democracy and Democratic Governance in a Post 2015 Development Framework” asserts that UNECA is one of the regional democratic governance indicator that measures and monitors the state of governance in African countries.

The UNECA African Governance Report measures and monitors the state of democratic governance, in 35 African countries. The UNECA indicators are political representative, institutional effectiveness, service delivery and taxes and corruption. The UNECA methodology for the study consists of a research instrument with three components. These components are; a national expert opinion survey, a national household sample survey and desk research. The African governance indicators are derived from the data collected in the expert panel study which contains 83 measures of the perception of the nation’s elite in each of the 35 countries covered in the study clustered in 23 groups (UNDP, 2007).

#### **2.1.10 Good Governance: Conceptual Clarification**

The concept of governance like democracy is a contested one. The range of definitions that have surface on governance could be subsumed into two broad categories.

On the one hand are those who view governance in a technical sense. In this case, the concept borrows directly from its usage in the corporate world. It implies the efficient management of state institutions. Issues of public accountability, transparency in government procedures of rule of law, and public sector management are emphasized. This is the restricted view of governance adopted by the World Bank. The essence of this approach to governance is to instil discipline in the state and its institutions for economic purposes. The second perspective to governance is a holistic one that transcends the state and its institutions. Governance is seen as the process of steering state and society towards the realization of collective goals. It points to the dynamic but problematic and often times, contradictory relationship between the state and the society.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2007) view governance as “the totality of the exercise of authority in the management of a country’s affairs, comprising of the complex mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, and mediate their differences. It encompasses the political, economic, legal, judicial, social and administrative authority and therefore includes: government, the private sector and the civil society. It should be noted that while there are variations in this holistic perception of governance, there is consensus on the major actors or agencies of government. These are the states, the civil societies and the private sectors.

However, the rural population that constitutes the bulk of Africa’s population does not feature overtly in this conception of governance, whereas the civil society that is urban based, and the private sector that is small and limited in Africa are prioritized from the above, it could be deduced that good governance flows logically from the concept of governance. According to Mohideen (1997), governance becomes “good”, when it is

operated in accordance with legal and ethical principles as conceived by society. In other words, good governance is a normative concept by which society seeks to provide a guide and direction through standards and norms embedded in the practice of governance. The urge to steer state and society according to defined rules and procedures, and ensuring that governance in all its ramifications serves the interest of the greatest number of people in society through a collective participatory is the essence of good governance.

According to Diamond (1997), while modern democratic government offers the best prospect of good governance, democratic governance is not synonymous with good governance. Good governance therefore implies the following:

- i. The promotion of the best wishes of the majority represented in the actual policies and programmes of constituted authority which best serve and promote those wishes.
- ii. The accommodation and tolerant of the yearnings and aspirations of the majority and discordant groups.
- iii. The principle of consultation whereby the wishes of the majority are not simply assumed but a policy strategy which involves consultation with the widest spectrum of society for the purpose of obtaining consensus over policy at all times is pursued.
- iv. The strict adherence to the rule of law at all levels of all society. The adherence to the practice of accountability and transparency by leadership and others in political authority.



### **2.2.11 Characteristics of Good Governance**

Good governance is one of the most important elements of democratic rule. Democracy proved to be best form of government but would be mirage without the application of good governance. In other words; democracy is accepted by the global community as a result of the benefit which could only be achieved through the practice of good governance. Without good governance, there would be no substantive democracy. Democracy as a form of government commands a popular appeal and acceptability among countries of the world as a result of good governance. The United Nation Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific report (1992) in UNDP (2007) assert that good governance has eight (8) major characteristics. And these characteristics are;

#### **i. Participation**

In a democratic State, the participation by both men and women is a cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively in a governance or decision making process.

#### **ii. Rule of Law**

Good governance requires fair legal framework that enforced impartiality. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly minorities and opposition or vulnerable groups. Impartiality enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and impartial and incorruptible police institutions. In other words, the application of rule of law requires legal frameworks that should be fair and enforce impartiality, especially on human rights.

iii. **Responsiveness**

The practice of application of good governance requires responsiveness. The institutions and processes of government activities and all stakeholders should be responsive and responsible within a reasonable time frame.

iv. **Transparency**

Transparency is one of the characteristics of good governance is built on free flow of government activities, programmes and policies through information process, institutions directly accessible or available to the citizens. And also, enough information and understanding, monitoring should be provided.

v. **Consensus Oriented**

The United Nations (UN) asserts that, good governance requires mediation of the different interest in the society to reach a broad consensus in society on matter in the best interest of the whole, and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development.

vi. **Equity and Inclusiveness**

All men and women in the society have equal opportunities to improve or maintain their well being. A society's well being depends on ensuring all its members feel that they have a stake and not excluded from the main stream of the society. This requires all groups especially the oppositions and the most vulnerable have opportunities to improve or maintain their relevance and well being.

vii. **Effectiveness and Efficiency**

Good governance requires governance processes and institutions to produce best results that meet the aspirations, expectations and needs of the society at the same time, making the best use of the available resources at their disposal. The concept of

efficiency in the context of good governance covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of human environment.

viii. **Accountability**

Accountability in the context of good governance is to hold officials responsible for government behaviour and makes it imperative for them to be responsible to the needs of the citizenry. In other words, accountability is the flexibility of structures that would allow beneficiaries to improve programmes/project design and implementation. It also entails the establishment of criteria to measure the performance of officials and the creation of oversight mechanisms to ensure that standards are met. On the one hand, financial accountability involves a properly functioning government accounting system for effective expenditure control and cash management, an external audit system which reinforces expenditure control exposure and sanctions against mis-spending and corruption (World Bank 2013).

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1992) report argues that, the above eight characteristics of good governance are ideals which are difficult to achieve in totality. The UN reports assert that very few countries and societies have come close to achieving good governance in its totality. However, nation states are advised to encourage the attempt to achieve in order to ensure sustainable human development.

### **2.2.12 Nature of Liberal Democracy in Nigeria**

The return to democracy and the democratic governance to Nigeria in May 1999 have brought about many changes, including sustained efforts to build effective institutions of governance. The return of the democratic rule was welcomed with joy, happiness and

great expectations by Nigerians especially by the people of Borno State. This is because they expect their suffering, misfortune, hardship; poverty and income inequality among others would be solved with the democratic rule. The nature of democratic rule in Nigeria is said to be facing a serious problem, because of the state's zero sum power politics and electoral democracy appear to have huge implication for the sustenance of democratic rule Tar, (2007), observed that the nature and dynamics of Nigerian democracy is where the political elites continue to exploit, plunder and collaborate with external forces to make the common citizens live in misery. Nwankwo's assertion is a true reflection of the life of the electorates in Nigeria specifically the common man, whose relevance is only at the eve of election. Also, to the late king of Afro juju beat Fela Anikulapo-Kuti analysed the nature of the Nigerian leadership, Borno inclusive as 'old wine in new bottle'. In line with the above assertion, the nature of Nigerian democracy is recycled attitudes and characters of the political elites that continuously exploit the electorates and the peasantry to the benchmark of the mere onlookers rather than to participate in the governance of the State.

Schumpeter (1942) argues that democracy could only make sense based on its electoral imperative under which the people periodically elect among elites their rulers in a competitive electoral process. Schumpeter's view in democracy is what could have been practiced by Nigeria and Borno political elites where the common man is free in the election process to select their leaders.

Lamidi and Bello (2013) argued that the nature of democracy in Nigeria is the type where the political elites dominate both the electoral and political process. Adejumobi's assertion on the hegemonic power domination of the political elites is the true reflection of the nature of democratic rule or the political process in all states in Nigeria with particular

reference to Borno State. Consequently, representative democracy in Nigeria is replaced by elitist politics.

In Nigerian democracy, poverty, illiteracy, insecurity, oppression and disempowerment combined have reduced the political potency of the electorate, Shehu (2010). It could be argued that in Nigerian democracy, the political elites and the political leadership have taken the state of poverty of the electorates as an advantage to silence them in the entire political and electoral process, Borno State inclusive. Moreover, the structural imbalances between the political elites and the electorates make it possible for the domination of the political process by the elite class which also determines the possibilities and probabilities of the outcome of the elections, (Bello, 2012).

The above assertion by Bello has captured the nature of democratic rule in Borno State. Ismail (2002) sees the nature of democratic rule in Nigeria where the power struggle and mistrust engendered by the contradictions between those identified as incumbent authorities and the opposition. Democratic rule or governance involves the opportunity to participate in the decision making in political process. It repudiates arbitrariness and authoritarianism, it entails the consent of the governed and it protects human personality and values, (Ake, 1996).

Furthermore, Ake (1996), argued that democracy whether liberal, African or modern, recognizes popular sovereignty, equal opportunity for all, representativeness, minority right of choice between alternative programmes, popular consultation consensus on fundamental issues and more essentially periodic elections. Ake's assertion is the ideal nature and character of liberal democracy.

Omotola (2007) argued that democratic rule confers the opportunity to participate in decision by all adult citizens. Democratic governance in the Nigerian fourth republic is in

dilemma. Because important national issues such as security, poverty and unemployment among others remained topical and indeed constituted a serious course for concern not only to private but also to public Agbaje (2004). Similarly, Anthony (2006) argued that despite successive attempts by Nigerian government to address the cankerworm of Nigerian problems through public policy alternatives such as regional and state mechanisms, federal character principle, inter-alia, the security problem still remains a theoretical issue in the country and a great challenge to democratic setting in Nigeria.

The above argument reflects all states in Nigeria, particularly Borno state, because the democratic rule in the state is said to have failed to provide solutions to the problem of insecurity of the state and it still remains a thorny issue to the entire country, and a great challenge to democratic rule in Nigeria. Bello (2012) attributed the failure of Nigerian democracy to her abysmal failure of the management strategies of the country. It could be argued that Bello's postulation on the failure of democratic governance in Nigeria is the inability of the leadership to strategize the political and economic policies.

Shettima (2012) argued that the nature of democratic rule in Nigeria and Borno in particular is the political struggle among the political class, politics of rancour and bitterness, ethnic based politics and intimidation of opposition groups, the use of state apparatus to undermine others are the major sources of challenges to democracy.

The above analysis of Shettima on the Nigeria and democratic rule in Borno state is the true picture of political and democratic governance in Borno state. Because the political elites or the regime leaders in the Nigerian fourth republic use every government apparatus or power to win election and capture state power. Perhaps one of the major issues confronting the present democratic rule in Nigeria is how to promote the substance and content of democracy and not its infrastructure or form. As Ihonvbere (1994) once noted

that the strategy of African's experience of the third waves of democratization lies in the fact of its non-transition to the ideal tenets of democratic norms and values.

The above assertion could be proved on the basis of the nature of democratic enterprise in many parts of Africa. It could be uncharitable to dismiss Nigeria's current democratic experience as transition but certainly it is not yet democratic governance. Because the Nigerian democratic governance with specific reference to democratic governance in Borno lacks the capacity of democratic rule.

Ake (1996) described the nature of African democratic governance as;

The version of liberal democracy reduced to the crude simplicity of multi-party election. The type of democracy not on the least emancipate especially in African conditions, because it offers the people the right they cannot exercise, voting that never amount to choosing, freedom which is patently spurious and political equality which disguise highly unequal power relations, Ake (1996).

Drawing analogy from the above analysis by Ake on the nature of democratic governance in Africa is the type, where there is no freedom in reality, no equality. What are chosen by the electorates during elections were often not the winners. In other words, there is a high rate of poverty in the state with an alarming rate of unemployment (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012).

Poverty and income inequality have been a great setback to democratic rule in Nigeria. Emeh (2007) observed that poverty, hunger, inequality, malnutrition, low life expectancy, exploitation, alienation, diseases, illiteracy and abuse of power among others are great impediments of democratic rule. The political leadership is capitalizing or taking the poverty situation and other societal challenges of the people as advantage to exclude

them from participation in programme of the state, above all, hijacked democratic dividends.

Democracy could not thrive in an atmosphere where people live in abject poverty and inequality; because the masses or citizens are supposed to enjoy a good life, that is, basic necessities of life such as good health delivery, quality education, portable drinking water, security of lives and property, etc. However, when such basic needs are not met it could result to conflict and social vices. The high rate of crime especially the insurgency and deadly acts by the terrorist sect of group Jama'atul Ahlil Sunnah Lil Da'awatu Wa Jihad (Boko Haram) could be attributed to poverty, frustration and form of marginalization, above all ungovernable space in the State (Shehu, 2010).

Balogun (2004) posits that man's privacy and engaging concern has been that of survival or protection from the vagaries of nature, natural disasters and from the ill-intensions of misdeeds of his fellowman (politicians). In Nigerian democracy, politicians have been said to have betrayed the trust of people. Suffice to say, however, Balogun's (2004) assertion is the need and concern of every electorate but the regime leaders failed to provide the primary desires and needs of the electorates.

Tar and Shettima (2010) argued that as African communities continue in their march towards neo-liberal democracy, elite power politics has assumed new macabre heights. The continent's governing class is demonstrating dramatic behaviours in achieving and sustaining power by all means possible. Perhaps, in line with the Tar and Shetima's argument, Nigerian political elites and the regime leaders use government power, resources and all available means to stay in power.

Diamond (1997) argued that democracy as a political practice has institutional, procedural and behavioural dimensions involved in a complex network of institutional



mechanisms that includes the executive, legislative and judicial arm. The procedural dimension involves adherence to rules, procedures and norms of democratic practice, rule of law, due process, electoral regularities and constitutionalism among others. The behavioural dimension is the attitudinal disposition supportive of democracy. However, in Nigeria, democratic governance is facing a serious problem, because of the country's zero-sum of power politics and the electoral democracy appear to have hinged implications for the sustenance and consolidation of democratic governance (Tar, 2007).

It could be argued that Tar's above analysis on the problems of the Nigerian democracy has affected governance at the national or federal level. Osewa (2015) observed that Nigerian democratic rule and nation building is characterized by corruption, militancy, vote rigging, thuggery, religious and ethnic clashes, unemployment, poverty and income inequality, crime and insecurity, among others.

The dilemma of Nigeria's democracy is compounded and seemed to be even greater since 1999. Onyinyechi and Ayuba (2011) argued that democracy and electoral activities in Nigeria have assumed a crisis level because almost every attempt to conduct a free and fair election in Nigeria to ensure transition from one leadership to another has often ended up with serious political violence and conflict because every democratic regime in the state is compounding the problems of governance than to pull the nation and the entire people out of their predicament.

Bamisoye and Awefeso (2011) analysed Nigerian democracy as the type where the attitudes and behaviour of the political class and the regime leaders have negatively affected the democratic governance. In line with Bamisoye and Awefeso's analysis in Nigeria, the political elites more often deviate from the constitution and the electoral rules to fulfill their personal ambitions. In Nigeria, political analyst, commentators and

observers attributed the political and economic problems of the country to the political elites particularly the regime leaders.

Tar (2007) posit on the nature of the democratic rule in Nigeria as the type where the political and electoral process and the voters are influenced by the political elites and the regime leaders. Furthermore, another common feature of democratic rule in Nigeria and which is more disturbing is lack of regime-change (incumbency continuum); a sustained tradition of political change regime continuity. The incumbency factor has affected the democratic governance in Nigeria where almost all political leaders in the country irrespective of the political status, do not want to lose election and could use all available means to stay in power.

Nigerians ought to ask themselves about what went wrong with their political freedoms and autonomies. This situation has generated a question as to whether the Nigerian state had a clear sense of strategic purpose of development through democratic governance. One would also rightly ask whether there was a strong commitment with strategic intervention intended to raise the hope of the people generated by the achievement of political independence. Put another way, did Nigerian state develop a vision for democracy and good governance for improving the well being of the citizens of the country?

Since the end of colonial rule, Africans have suffered constant and serious setbacks in which neither the political institutions that were bequeathed to African nations by their colonial rulers nor the leaders lived to expectations, (Ndulu and Achille, 1995). However, these institutional reforms have failed to explain their obvious and unavoidable consequences because most African states' economic performance has been equally disappointing. Some African states are indeed poorer today than they were on the eve of

independence; Nigeria is a typical example, (Dambisa, 2010). Moyo goes further to argue that the economies of various African states are now in deep crises as a result of bad democratic regimes. It could be argued that Moyo has brilliantly captured the nature of the political economy of the African states. For instance, as a result of bad governance or leadership failure, Nigeria and indeed almost all states are bedeviled with social problems such as poverty, crime and insecurity among others as a result of bad democratic regimes.

Independence has brought about many changes in Nigeria including sustained efforts to build effective institutions of governance. However, several decades later, Nigeria is still struggling to consolidate these institutions of governance as evidenced by the political, economic and social turmoil prevalent in many parts of the country which brought about very low political participation and decision making. It is increasingly understood that success of governance requires cooperation of states and non-state actors. The challenges of governance are the root causes of Nigeria's current political and economic problems. Jonah (2008) asserts that it could be right to argue that Nigeria's democratic governance is a failure. Because poor or bad democratic governance in Nigeria has led to a situation where people cannot make the right choices in electing and dismissing their leaders, a situation which makes the leaders unable to decide on the proper development process, mode of survival and the way forward for both present and the future generations, (Jonah, 2008).

Writing on democratic governance in Africa, Jonah cited by Shehu (2010) argued that since independence, African states have failed to meet the developmental needs of the African people as a result of ineffectiveness of the democratic leadership and the institutions of governance. Drawing analogy from the above assertion, Nigeria since the return to the democratic rule in 1999, could be said to have failed in meeting the needs and

aspirations of the people... Moreover, it could be argued that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century the Nigerian political leadership is not ready to provide the essential needs of the citizens, (Thomas 2005) argue that governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's political, economic and social resources. However, governors in Nigeria's democratic rule are different from the way Thomas sees it.

Kofi Annan, the former United Nations Secretary-general conceptualized democratic good governance as a mechanism of ensuring respect for human rights and the rule of law, strengthening democracy, promoting transparency and capacity in the management of public resources. However, Anan's analysis is different with democratic rule in Nigeria, because there is no respect for human rights, no free and fair elections at all level, politics is based on ethnicity, religious sentiment, patro-clientalism and prevendalism. Sach (2006) colourfully described the governance of Africa like eighteen century medicines which doctors used stitches to draw blood from patients, often killing them in the process. Meaning Africa remained a sick continent lying hopelessly in the emergency ward and waiting for comprehensive political and economic surgery.

Sach (2006) analysis on the nature of democratic governance in Africa has underestimated the level of the sickness of the African states, especially Nigeria. John & Forj (2006) brilliantly captured the historical events which affected the democratic governance of African states. John & Forji (2006) posit that:

African continent is ridden with conflict, failed or weak states incapable of providing the needs of the people. At the same time, Africa remains the richest natural resource continent with most its population living under squalor or abject poverty. No other continent has suffered like Africa

However, John and Forji's (2006) argument is not good enough to analyse the political and economic failure of Africa because, African political leadership or democratic regimes have themselves to blame for their inabilities and incapacities to develop the continent rather than shifting the blame to the colonial masters. Moreover, it is as a result of the attitudes and behaviours of the regime leaders in Africa that the continent has become the land of poverty, conflict, insecurity, under-development and all forms of social problems, (Shehu, 2010).

Africa's return to multi-political pluralism has not earned the acceptance and respect of the citizens as a valid pattern of governance. Governments have ruined the economy and generated dissention and political instability through mass rigging of elections which brought about violent conflicts that resulted in the destruction of property and above all, insecurity of lives of the citizens. The political sociology of most African States after the 1990s, like in the 1960s has also acquired a mournful guise of respective failure, (Davison 1992). It could also be right to argue in line with the above assertion that most Nigerians have attributed the economic and political under-development of the country to the regime leaders. It could be argued that since the return of the democratic governance in Nigeria, the citizens are yearning for good democratic governance that could improve their conditions of living and welfare, demands for political participation and involvement in the choice of their political leaders and decision making. However, Nigerians are not part of decision making process and their welfare and demands are not in the agenda of the regime leaders.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Africa's post-colonial states continue to experience diverse forms of political and socio-economic crisis, (Abubakar 1997). One of such crises which

since 1990s pre-occupied the political agenda of almost all African states was the crisis of democracy and good governance, (Wiseman, 1995).

Taking the above assertion of Abubakar and Wiseman into consideration, it could be argued that majority of informed opinions and scholarly works on the African post-colonial states tend to uniformly emphasize the fact that over five decades of independence did not produce the anticipated socio-economic and political development in the continent. The general euphoria that greeted independence has vanished, because African post colonial states were turned into instruments of violence, repressing and coercion instead of evolving democratic norms, values and culture. African leaders adopted authoritarian and personalized leadership (Tar, 1998).

Tar's description of the personality of the African post-colonial leadership attitude is the common nature of leadership and democratic governance in Nigeria because the political leadership or the regime leaders have turned the machinery of government and public resources into their personal belongings, instead of providing the needs and demands of the general public. In other words, many people have doubted even the democratic governance as the best form of government as is claimed. Because since 1999, democratic governance in Nigeria has not yielded positive impact on the needs of Nigerians. Nigerian democracy is characterized by post-election violence, lack of independent electoral body to conduct free and fair elections, poverty and income inequality, gender inequality, abuse of rights of women, children and vulnerable group, corruption and absence of separation of power among others. These have exacerbated towards state power, a trend that has widened the differences which produced tension in inter-relations and successfully visited organized anarchy on the political system as a whole, (Abubakar 1998). It could be argued

that, it is as a result of the above assertion that Nigeria's democratic rule is far away from the expectations of the citizens and yet to achieve democratic values and good governance.

Similarly, Tar (2007) argued that Nigeria as a country has faced intermittent political turmoil and economic crisis since gaining independence in 1960. Political life has been scared by conflict perpetrated along ethnic, religious and geopolitical lines and misrule or bad governance undermined the authority and legitimacy of the state. Because, the authority and the legitimacy of the state is questionable and undermined as result of the bad democratic governance in the state.

Tar (2007) went on deeply to analyse the democratic rule in Nigeria and posit that:

Nigeria, despite its wealth remains highly under-developed and its citizens live in abject poverty, Poor governance has severally limited infrastructural development and the provision of school services, hindering economic growth and leaving much of the country marred in ethnic, tribal, religious, regional or geographical, sectarian conflict and poverty. The government's human rights record has been poor, (Tar, 2007:130).

Elections held in the decades after the transition were both flawed by Nigerians and the international community with each poll progressively worse than the previous ones according to Domestic and International Observers (Tar 2007). Nigeria's political elites both the civilian and military have failed the country. Politics is based upon patrimonial inclinations where access to political office normally translates into corrupt access to the nation's wealth. Elections are routinely and blatantly rigged (Burnell, 2005).

Furthermore, Tar (2017) on Nigeria's democracy and power structure argues that in Nigeria, access to state resources and power has been a subject of fierce contestation between different factions of the ruling class and components of the federation. Given the

contentious nature of Nigeria's federalism, democracy and nation-building have proved elusive in the aftermaths of independence. The Nigerian ruling class failed to deliver a functioning and viable democracy resulting in military intervention in the nation's affairs.

Shehu (2010) argued that the fundamental problem and trouble of Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of the regime leaders to rise to their responsibilities. Perhaps, in line with the above argument, every Nigerian or non-Nigerian has realized that in spite of the natural endowment in the country, Nigeria is taking three steps backward and one step forward because of bad governance or leadership.

Tar (2007) on the nature of the democratic governance in Nigeria brilliantly posits that:

Nigeria's zero-sum nature of power, politics and electoral democracy appear to have huge implication to the substance of liberal democracy and good governance. The key questions are if democracy is all about participation, rule of law and legitimate negotiation for power, how could it work in a country where elite have appropriated ethnicity, wealth and religion, regionalism to outwit one another and remain in power? How could democracy thrive in a state where stakeholders hold on to the state's power while official corruption and abuse of state resources are elevated to mere state polity? How could democracy thrive in a system where elections are abused through commercialization of votes, ballot box stuffing, buying of the election officials and manipulation of election result, (Tar, 2007:134).

Taking the above assertion of Tar, it could be rightly argued that the Nigerian political elites often use wealth, religion and ethnicity as instruments or machinery of winning elections and exclude the electorates in the governance of their own state and community until another election. Moreover, Shehu (2010)) similarly, analysed that bribery, use of thugs and weapons continue to be part of the political development in Nigeria and the country's electoral politics since 1999. Elements of money politics, use of



thugs and dangerous weapons were effectively used by the political class to alienate the electorates and have a firm grip on the machinery of government. The trends help to sustain the phenomenon of ‘godfatherism’ which assumes a portent force in Nigeria. The Nigerian electoral system which thrived on patronage made the illegal use of money and weapons the surest option available to the political elites (Shehu 2010).

The above analysis on the nature of democratic rule and electoral process is the order of the day in the Nigerian political system. In Nigeria, almost every politician or candidate has recruited thugs to win election at all costs and had given them protection, above all to intimidate oppositions. Moreover, it could be argued that as a result of the failure of leadership or state failure in Nigeria, the coercive power and sovereignty of the state is in question, because every Nigerian felt that there is no government and governance in the lives of the citizens because, the security and basic needs of the people are not provided by the so-called government. The former President of South Africa, Mbeki as cited in Amoako (2003) argued that in Nigeria, the patterns of exclusive politics, political centralization and alienation and the authorization forms of governance are so evident and these constitute the root of internal conflicts and the state of underdevelopment.

Nigerian governments to Ake (1996) have failed to provide services to public but only to private interest and dominant factions of the elites. The Nigerian democratic leaders give precedence to political domination over social transformation and thus to be in conflict with the majority of their populations. It is as a result of the political domination argued by Ake, that the Nigerian populace are always in socio-economic and political crisis with their leadership.

Utomi cited by Augie (2004) on the nature of democratic governance in Nigeria argued that it is clear that Nigeria has a crisis of democratic rule because it could be seen

clearly that the social services and basic needs of the citizens are in short supply. As a result of these, the gains of democratic governance continue to elude Nigeria. Conflict and ethnic wars, post-election violence, religious, tribal and sectarian conflict, poverty, among others, are the constant companions of Nigerians. Taking Utomi's assertion into consideration, it could be argued that in Nigeria, majority of the people are living below poverty line, income inequality, insecurity of lives and property are constant companions of the people.

### **2.2.13 Democracy and Good Governance Nexus in Nigeria**

One of the foundations of democracy is how it contributes to the material well being of particularly the marginal elements of society. According to Awa (1991), democracy must be made to deliver some economic empowerment and a higher state of living for the people. This makes one to have no argument than to affirm Awa's assertion, who argued that a democracy that could not deliver the basic needs of people would be short lived, (Awa 1991). This is borne out of the fact that it is only in a democracy that people could be empowered to demand and shape better policies, express grievances, seek justice and hold leaders and the private sector to account. Thus, if democratic rights and liberal values of liberty and equality are to have any meaning in the politics of Nigeria, there must be concrete; actually realized rights, and it is not only to enjoy equality before the law, but also to have the capacities, the material and cultural resources to be able to pursue desired courses of action. As rightly argued by Abrahamsen (2000), political equality could not be attained without a measure of economic equality and without it democracy is likely to become a vehicle for the maintenance of elites dominance. In this context, democracy and good governance are mutually reinforcing.

A report by Edigheji (2005) found out that the majority of African countries lack basic social and physical infrastructure. As a result, most people on the continent have no access to basic services such as portable water, electricity, sanitation, sound and qualitative education, roads and health care. The lack of access to basic medical care occurs against a backdrop of ravaging diseases; a situation which has become exacerbated with the increasing prevalence of HIV and AIDS epidemic on the continent. Thus, one ought to concur with Edigheji's report that the prevalence of diseases, poverty, and high rate of unemployment, coupled with the lack of good standard of living is rampant in Nigeria.

Africa's state of underdevelopment has been exacerbated by widespread civil, ethnic and religious conflicts. These include civil wars in Nigeria, the ethnic cleansing among the Jukun/Taraba, the Zangon-Kataf crisis, the Ife/Modakeke crisis, and the Boko Haram insurgency of recent, among others. It is in this context that Kofi (2005) is of the view that by generating and extending broad commitment to the public welfare, a high-quality democracy with good governance or what one would just call liberal democracy – increases the likelihood that public resources would be used to generate public goods that stimulate investment and commerce and raise the quality of life. This arises from the fact that extensive corruption discourages private investment, distorts resource allocations, deforms policies, proliferates irregularities, enervates institutions, and diverts resources from productivity (wealth-generation) activity and squander large amounts of resources.

Thus, in examining the nexus between democracy and good governance in Nigeria, it suffices to affirm that liberal democracy based on electoral competition has failed in the political and socio-economic contexts of Nigeria to guarantee real access to rights and proper development outcomes to Nigeria's poor and vulnerable masses (Tar 2007). Mohideen (1997) analyzed that:

African continent is ridden with conflict, failed or weak-states incapable of providing the needs of the people. At the same time, Africa remains the richest natural resources continent with most of its population living under squalor or an abject poverty. No other continent has suffered human humiliation as Africa (Mohideen, 1997).

Therefore, drawing from the above analysis of Mohideen (1997), one ought to believe the reality that the search for good governance seems to be Nigeria's most urgent need at this point of its history. As the country staggers from one crisis to another specifically the Boko Haram insurgency that had bedevilled not only Borno State, but also North-Eastern region as a whole, nobody is left in doubt that a lot of homework still remains to be done on how to fashion a more effective and acceptable way of managing public affairs in the country, Gurumka, et al. (2014). Hence, one ought to contend that politics in Nigeria is not a game but a battle. This is borne out of the fact that, within the period under review the youths in Borno have become very restive and flippant; they got engaged in violent political thuggery. In most of violent attacks which the various thug groups (named ECOMOG) have waged, the youths are the primary executors, wielding offensive and dangerous weapons killing political opponents, maiming others and snatching electoral boxes. To these set of youths, the issue had gone beyond that of politicking. To them, it is now a means to an end, a lucrative business from which huge money and influence is made. (Tola, 2007) argues that the youths are ready weapons in the hands of political warlords, who often equip them with dangerous weapons as said earlier with which they unleash reigns of terror on perceived political opponents. In most of this situation, the youths are often used as cannon folders.

As rightly postulated by Shehu (2010) that good governance requires responsible and responsive political leaders at the grassroots. These leaders ought to not only be

elected but also be held accountable for their actions by their electorates. This is the missing link in Nigeria, regarding the nexus between democracy and good governance. This arises from the fact that, good governance promotes accountability, entails the tolerance of divergent view for the accommodation of political opponents and the widening of the frontiers of politics through the inclusiveness but not alienation and exclusion by the regime leaders. Consequently, as rightly observed by Gurumka et al. (2014) good governance ought to involve institutionalized mechanisms for holding leaders accountable to the people, for renewing or withdrawing the mandate of such leaders and for ensuring probity and transparency in public affairs. It has been stated that governance focuses on the state and institutions and the relationship between them and the people (Gurumka et al. 2014). In line with this, also emphasizes how rule are made and implemented and also embraces the values that one caught by individuals and groups within a society (Tunde, 2000).

Good governance accords the welfare of the citizen's top priorities, promotes accountability and establishes a new partnership between the government and the people. As rightly put by Gurumka et al. (2014), good governance is an essential ingredient of and tool for creating an enabling environment for sustainable development (Gurumka et al., 2014). These are the tenets of democratic features found in the western democracies; which Nigeria and Borno in particular sought to have imbibed. This according to him leads to equitable distribution of wealth and resources thereby narrowing gap between the rich and the poor. However, in Nigeria the story is entirely different in terms of the relationship between democracy and good governance where political leaders regard leadership responsibilities as personal affair instead of governance as a hallmark of a democratic process and specifically guided by the principles of transparency and accountability.

In other words, the degree to which the leadership believes that it is responsible and answerable to the generality of the people for actions and decisions it take is the most important principle of democratic rule (Abubakar, 2003). There is no gainsaying the fact that these principles are quite important when it comes to resource allocation and critical decision-making exercises. Therefore, it is imperative in a democracy that the generality of people participate fully in the decision-making process. Moreover, the people ought to be provided with the available reliable information. According to Iyayi (2002), democracy and good governance exist when grassroots members participate fully in decision-making, the leadership does not arrogate itself all wisdom in decision-making, members of the leadership do not manipulate or hoard information but rather share information so that it becomes a source of group power (Iyayi, 2002).

#### **2.2.14 Good Governance and Stability for Democratic Order**

May 29, 1999 marked a watershed in the political annals of Nigeria and Borno State in particular. It was the dawn of the fourth republic, a return to democratic rule after several years under the yoke of military misrule which was marked by much suffering, infrastructural decay and institutionalized corruption. The hope of the common man for a just and an egalitarian society becomes rekindled with the institutions of a democratic government (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012). Nigerians greeted the return to democratic rule with widespread jubilation and optimism as they looked forward to a new era of stability, peace and prosperity. However, fifteen (15) years after, Nigerians (Borno state inclusive) are still anxious to see and enjoy the “democratic dividends” – social welfare, justice, equity and equal access to resources and power.

A reflection on the above calls to question certain issues that stand as impediments to democratic governance in Nigeria. The issues remain critical governance problems:

leadership challenges, corruption, lack of transparency, constitutional and electoral reform, poverty, unemployment, godfatherism, lack of human security and human rights among others.

UNDP (2007), in its report, “Governance for Sustainable Human Development”, acknowledges the following as core characteristics of democratic governance:

- i) Participation
- ii) Rule of Law
- iii) Transparency
- iv) Responsiveness
- v) Consensus Orientation
- vi) Equity
- vii) Effectiveness and Efficiency
- viii) Accountability
- ix) Strategic Vision

The above highlighted characteristics of good democratic governance were glaringly deficient in governance during the military interregnum, thus making good governance as an element of constitutional government to be in its infancy in Nigeria (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012). Good democratic governance could therefore be acknowledged as the term that symbolizes the paradigm shift of the role of governments.

Nigeria’s fundamental approach to leadership is troubling. In Nigeria, the primary goal of assuming leadership position is self-enrichment. Nigerian leaders have the power to educate, inspire and provide the people with the resources to advocate for the causes they believe in, but like bad parents, they failed in their responsibilities to lead by good examples (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012). Similarly, Chinua Achebe concludes that Nigeria’s

problem is bad leadership and evidence on ground has consistently shown that he is correct. Thus, in examining the implications of good governance for a stable democratic order in Nigeria, one ought to concede to the views of the above scholars, that it is the leaders and not the poor rural dwellers that are responsible for the nation's under-development. It is based on that, Olu-Adeyemi, was of the view that "in every country, it is the responsibility of the leadership to protect the political, social and economic interests of the citizens (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012).

Olu-Adeyemi (2012) went on to argue that leading a country involves making policies and finding solutions to problems, ensuring stability of the polity, and guiding the leaders, but leadership in Nigeria lacks the vision, the passion and the character to effectively govern the state and deal with the crumbling economy. They do not have a clear understanding of their responsibilities, as some of them are insensitive to the people's suffering. Thus, the reason behind the implications of good governance in Nigeria, where societal ills such as: poverty, unemployment, lack of basic social amenities like water, electricity, sound and qualitative education etc, are order of the day. Olu-Adeyemi (2012), argued that leaders who listen are, however, known to respond well to criticism and crisis, build more loyalty that increase the morale of the followers listening is a way of showing that a leader cares about others.

Furthermore, power belongs to the people, no political leader in the advanced democracies would function effectively without the support of the people. Thus, they constantly have their ears on the ground for information (signs of shift in public opinion) that often guides them in policy formulations and implementation (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012). Similarly, Larry and Ebere (2004) contented that, the world's leading democracies are what they are today because their leaders are innovative and always searching for solutions to



their social, political and economic problems. But that is not the case with Nigeria (Borno State, in particular); where evidence of bad leadership is all over the landscape as the leaders have not gone beyond a verbal promise for change. They are only good at drumming the country's problems without finding their solutions. The institutions and infrastructure that are the bedrock of the economy are allowed to rot away leading to weak economy, rising unemployment and inflation, poverty, insecurity and crime.

The major implication of good governance for the stability of democratic order in Nigeria lies in the process for electing public officers into leadership positions. The National Assembly members at the National level, the Governor and Deputy Governor at State level and the Chairman and Councilors at the Local Government level and all the members of the legislative house at the State House of Assembly – all came to office by elections. However, the electoral process and political party system are all corruption ridden and not sufficiently participatory (Azinge, 2004).

In line with the above, Olu-Adeyemi (2004) argued that in Nigeria, an understanding of what constitutes corruption transcends officialdom and discussing corruption broadly as a perversion or a change from good to bad would not be inappropriate. Also, citizens thrill at the non-enforcement of the rules that define the institutional basis of social, political and economic exchange, as corruption has become the dominant social norm and reflections on the first four decades of political independence no doubt indicate, that citizens themselves are instrumental to the nation decay, however, they are receptive to corrupt friendly regimes, thus, celebrating the potent force of mal-governance and under-development (Olu-Adeyemi, 2004).

Specifically, this trend occurs during electoral processes, when political office seekers dash out money for the electorates. Thus, corruption permeates every sector of the

Nigerian society, from millions of scam e-mail messages sent each year by people claiming to be Nigerian officials seeking help with transferring large sums of money out of the country, to the police officers who routinely set up roadblocks, sometimes every few hundred yards, to extract bribes from drivers (Bello, 2012). However, the most disturbing and damaging form of corruption is made manifest in the succession of kleptocratic governments, which have produced extremely wealthy generals and political leaders (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012). Succinctly, this is where the regime leaders in Borno fit in perfectly. It is an avenue for the corrupt leaders to graciously enrich themselves in the name of serving the people, while leaving the masses in squalor and abject poverty without meaningful developmental projects.

Similarly, electoral corruption is prevalent. This is a situation that includes the purchase of votes with money, promises of offices or special favours, coercion, intimidation and interference with freedom of election, sale of votes, killing and maiming of people in the name of election, and a situation where losers' end up as the winners in elections, and votes turn up in areas where votes were not cast Olu-Adeyemi (2012).

After several years of military dictatorship, Nigeria found herself again in the main stream of civil governance. While this development was seen by some people as an avenue to explore dividends and goodies of democracy, others saw it as an opportunity to express grievances (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012). Since the re-emergence of democracy in May, 1999 not less than one hundred politically, ethnically and religiously motivated conflicts have occurred in Nigeria. Similarly, Borno had also her own share of the menace – especially during the period under review – the state had seen the worst of civil strife in the name of the Boko Haram Insurgency. The democratic opening presented by Nigeria's successful transition to civil rule in May 1999, unleashed a host of hitherto repressed or dormant

political forces. In line with this, Ramiah (2015) opines that in the face of the evolving Boko Haram insurgency, instability has continued to manifest itself in Nigeria, as more and more civilians fall victim to terror-related violence. The Islamic militant group's activities have forced hundreds of thousands to flee their homes and communities into neighbouring areas" (Ramiah, 2015). It is at this juncture that one ought to concede to Olabanji and Ese's arguments that Nigeria is a classical illustration of a poor country in the midst of abundant human and natural resources. This scenario has contributed to security challenges that have bedevilled the country with grave consequences of not only democratic stability and order, but also for socio-economic development. Ramiah, (2015) went further to conclude that "there is no nation that can achieve socio-economic development in an environment of socio-economic and physical insecurity (Ramiah, 2015).

Similarly, Lamidi and Bello (2013) argues that the increasing challenge of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has also been linked to failure of leadership to deliver good governance and secure the welfare of persons on the principles of freedom, equality and justice. Likewise, Adagba, Ugwu and Emel (2012) argues that unemployment/poverty among Nigerians; especially the youth is a major cause of insecurity and violent crimes in Nigeria. Moreover, to put in another dimension, different reasons and circumstances were also attributed to these violence and conflict in Nigeria. Some of these reasons are the weak character of the Nigerian state and the inability of its weak institutions to engender order and security, Ayodele (2004); poverty, military intervention in politics, citizens apathy to the state, elitist greed and manipulation Olu-Adeyemi (2008) and land, space and resource, jurisdictional disputes between monarchs, disregard for cultural symbols and pollution of cultural practices argued to be the impediments to democratic rule with specific reference to Borno State (Adeniji, 2003).

In spite of the great endowments in both human and natural resources, particularly the huge oil wealth and revenues, Nigeria still remains a poor country with per capita income average of \$350 as of 2003. Oshewolo (2010) argues that since independence, majority of its population has remained poor in the midst of abundance. The UNDP has classified the country as 141 poorest nation of Human Development Index. In its report, Nigeria is considered one of the 20<sup>th</sup> poorest countries in the world with 70% living in abject poverty (Ugoh and Ukpere, 2009). Similarly, about 70.2 percent of Nigeria's population lives on less than \$1 a day while 90.8 percent lives on less than \$2 a day Oshewolo (2010). The state of poverty in Nigeria is often compounded by the widening inequality between the rich and the poor as "up to 95 percent of this great wealth is controlled by about .01 percent of the population Oshewolo (2010). This situation has been clearly highlighted by Oshewolo (2010) that the total income earned by the poorest 20 percent is 4.4 percent.

Oshewolo (2010) rightly observed that the major impediment to democracy in Africa is poverty. Masses are easily cornered, brainwashed and their rights of choices manipulated to a point that some of them are susceptible to bribery and could be used as political thugs to cause confusion, harassment or intimidate an opponent during elections (Maiangwa, 2009). Poverty decreases both participation in democratic life and popular support for democracy (Mattes et al, 2003). Since the return to multi-party democracy in 1999, the political space has been the exclusive preserve of the elites as majority of the population have been excluded from the political process.

The high level of poverty in Nigeria and Borno in particular has promoted in the same measure a high level of inequality, social justice and consequent political apathy. The poverty situation in Borno during the period under review included a dimension of

powerlessness. This is characterized by dependence on others and lack of voice and options (Ngara et al, 2014). More precisely, analysts conclude that poor people lack information about and access to government (especially the police and courts) and that they see the state as ineffective, irrelevant and corrupt (Mattes et al, 2003). Similarly, Mattes et al. (2003) argues that the poor are regularly victimized by public officials and encounter higher levels of crime. As a consequence, they are forced to rely on informal networks and associations for survival. Thus, in line with this, it suffice to mention that, as the state constantly violates the right of the citizens and denies them social justice including economic opportunity, the people have come to perceive the state as predatory and evil that ought to be avoided and feared. This categorically defined the true real life situation that the citizens (masses) of Borno State are experiencing. Thus, Ihonvbere (1994) averse that the masses in Africa relate to the state as an exploitative, coercive and alien structure whose custodians lack credibility and legitimacy thus incapable of mobilizing or leading the people and confirms the assertion that poverty decreases both participation in democratic life and popular support for democracy. Based on this, it could be right to say that poverty

in Borno state has various manifestations including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure livelihoods, hunger and malnutrition, ill-health, limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illnesses, homelessness and inadequate housing, unsafe environments and social discrimination and exclusion. Similarly, Mattes et al. (2003) observes that absolute poverty is a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs including food,

safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to services (Mattes et al., 2003).

The implications of limited participation of the people in democracy removes such a system from the realm of true democracy and prevents it from engineering people's centered development as well as the loss of its essence and meaning. Such regime could also easily transform or relapse into autocracy and dictatorship. This is not to talk of other implications for violence, conflict (Boko Haram insurgency) that are already germaned in Borno State during the period under review. In addition, political apathy arising from mass poverty in Borno has also hindered and contributed to the stifling of the growth and development of vibrant civil societies as well as the cultivation and growth of democratic value and civic culture.

#### **2.2.15 Citizen's Influence on the Actions and decisions on the Regime Leaders**

Democracy in Nigeria has failed to translate to effective leadership; cases of corruption and nepotism still plague governance structures despite the end of military rule in 1999. Several reasons might be responsible for the apparent failure of leadership which as impacted Nigeria's development negatively. Some of these reasons include the under-development of the education sector which affects the quality of leaders and public servants generally; the culture of impunity which formed part of military rule, the remnants of which still plague democratic governance, the high cost of participation in the political process which excludes the middle class and the intelligentsia from participation and the complex nature of the geo-political dynamic in Nigeria and Borno State in particular.

The lack of good governance in Nigeria has manifested in various ways, the most obvious being poverty, crime, insecurity, economic deprivation and increased income disparities. Leadership failings could take the form of dysfunctional leadership or the

inability of leaders to meet up with the expectations of the followers or masses. Kelloway et al. (2004) summarized poor leadership as abusive, aggressive or punitive and simply the absence of appropriate leadership skills. Eims (1996) viewed poor leadership as one that weakens the morale and motivation of citizens. His study reveals that in situations where the followers sense a failure of leadership or lack of responsibility of the leaders, they would become resentful and in some cases choose not to be submissive to authority (Sope, 2014).

Eims (2006) study is an apt reflection of the situation in Nigeria where many citizens are demotivated by poor political leadership and this could be seen by the lack of engagement of citizens in the political process and this clearly depicts actions of the followers in Borno. Ebegbulem (2012) argued that Nigeria as a society has never been well governed since independence in 1960 because “good, strong leaders” have never been in charge. He highlighted that leadership failings could be seen in the lack of direction, neglect, insensitivity to the plight of the citizens, fraud and corruption that characterizes Nigeria.

Similarly, Shehu (2010) was of the view that political power in Africa is ‘seen as an end in itself, rather than as a means in development and nation-building’. Consequently, African leaders failed to develop institutions that would translate independence into popular democracy and liberty (Sope, 2014). This, therefore, led to the concentration of power in the hands of individuals, thus breeding inequality, injustice, abuse of human rights and repression of the citizens. It is in line with the above argument that Agbor (2012) contended that the result of poor leadership in Nigeria (Borno inclusive) is manifested in consistent political crisis and insecurity (Boko Haram), extreme poverty experienced by the majority of the population, rising unemployment and debilitating corruption at all levels.

Ogundiya (2010) reveals that the consequences of leadership failure in Nigeria include human rights abuses; political and bureaucratic corruption, which have resulted in increased poverty levels, insecurity and a high crime rate. Moreover, Ezukamma (2009) and Agbor (2012) both highlighted the incidence of crime as a function of poverty, unemployment, under-development and the criminality that the citizens witness on the part of the leaders whilst the majority of the citizens languish in abject poverty and hunger, squalor, disease and destitution; Nigerian leaders enjoy a mind-boggling abundance, obtained through theft of state assets, cronyism and fraud.

Thus, from the above assertions, one ought to affirm to the fact that citizens' influence on government actions and decisions is crucial in any country as it evinces the extent to which citizens participate in government and hold leaders accountable. Citizen's responses play a significant role in the progress of governance. The reaction of citizens to leadership failure influences the present and future conduct of office holders. Thus, appropriate citizens' feedback should affect the quality and nature of decisions made by the leadership and on a large scale, the quality of democracy in the country as a whole and Borno State in particular where these tenets were left minimally to the detriment of civil society groups and human rights groups. Conversely, lack of appropriate feedback could also mean that the quality of leadership does not significantly improve overtime. According to Armstrong (2013) community and citizen participation is a critical element of strengthening local, national and regional governance. It increases the bonds and restoring trust between governments, service providers and citizens.

Since the introduction of a democratic governance in 1999, citizens' efforts at influencing the actions of their leaders have increased over the years and changed to reflect technological changes. Nigeria has experienced series of citizens' movement that are in



response to government actions and/or inactions. These movements have taken different forms to include riots, strikes, protests and demonstrations. In the 1970s, for instance, nationwide movements such as the Ali-Must-Go protest rallied against the increase in the cost of student meals by military government. Also, in the 1980s and 1990s, the Ekpan and Oharafe Women's Uprising, Anti-SAP (Structural Adjustment programme) riots were organized to either call for the practice of true democracy in the country or campaign for the formulation and implementation of favourable policies as well as efficient management of the country's resources. Social and economic issues usually aggravated the different forms of civil disorder and disobedience before and since the return to democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999.

Yio (2012) had argued from its Athenian origin that democracy is viewed as government by the people with full and direct participation of the people. But democracy in practice even in Athens was not inclusive in the absolute sense as it excludes women and slaves who were integral components of the Greek city states. Thus, drawing reference from Yio's assertion, one could rightly argue that the selective tendencies of the vocals of the society in Borno state only favours the few (the elites) and excludes the majority (the masses who constitute the whole).

Huntington (1996) is of the view that a political system in democratic governance is the most powerful collective decision making processes or leaders chosen through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote. It also implies the existence of all those civil and political freedoms to speak, publish, assemble and organize necessary political debate and the conduct of electoral campaign. Also, Cohen (1971) noted that democracy is a system of community government in which by and large the members of the community

participate or would participate directly or indirectly in making decisions which affect them. This means that democracy could be seen as any system of government that is rooted in the notion that ultimate authority in the governance of the people rightly belongs to the people; that everyone is entitled to an equitable participation in the actions and inactions of the regime leaders and share equal rights; and where equitable social and economic justice are the inalienable rights of individual citizens in the society. From Cohen's analysis, it suffice to argue that the regime leaders in Nigeria not only sideline the electorates to the role of electoral process – especially during campaigns and voting proper, but also, dictate and determine government's policies and programmes on behalf of the masses without their consents nor views.

Chafe (1994) on the other hand, opined that the citizens' influence on regime leader's actions and inactions means the involvement of the people in the running of the political, socio-economic and cultural affairs of their polities. As discussed earlier, leadership failings in Nigeria (Borno inclusive) have been blamed for low living standards and the failure to achieve key socio-economic goals like the vision 2010 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

However, it could be argued that citizens' pressure in Nigeria is proving to be an effective mechanism to check the actions and/or inactions of the regime leaders and in some cases hold government accountable. Although, the 2002 medical and health workers/the Ministry of Water Resources strike in Borno could not have resulted in total adherence to citizen's demands, these events have continued to show that citizens could set change in motion. They have also proven to be one of the effective methods of conveying the citizens' demand to the government. Be this as it may, the traditional role of civil society groups being always at the forefront in checking the actions and inactions of the

regime leaders, ought to be galvanized by a vibrant electorates and the academia, religious and traditional institutions, the “elders forum” the Committee of Elders in the state, towards not only checkmating the actions and inactions of the leadership but also calling them to order when necessary.

The discourse on citizens’ influence on the actions and inactions of the regime leaders in Borno would improve when citizens understand that they have an active and obligatory role to play in governance, not only during elections but also in the conduct of leadership and it is the responsibility of the people to hold their leaders to account. Although, substantial changes may not occur overnight, an improvement in leadership may result when and if a critical mass of Borno citizens comprehend the importance of citizen action. Although, citizen action in Borno cannot ultimately change the system from within –specifically due to the low level of political culture.

Finally, citizen engagement with the government in Borno must evolve from a constantly reactive one to a proactive approach – an approach that influences the decisions of government before they are made and one that spurs the government into making good decisions. That is, the true essence of a democratic government: where a synergy exists between the government and its citizens and citizen participation is a permanent feature of governance.

As a state with a larger lower-class base, citizen-led engagement must extend to the majority of individuals. Citizen-led movements should aim to bolster the level of masses inclusion through advocacy, education and enlightenment of the populace on their rights as citizens. Closing the language and literacy barrier would also improve the rate at which information reaches the masses and would significantly improve the effectiveness of citizen action in the state.

### **2.2.16 Challenges of Democracy in Borno State**

In Nigeria access to state resource and power has been a subject of fierce contestation between different factions of the ruling class and components in Nigeria democracy and nation building proved elusive. The Nigerian ruling class (political elites) failed to deliver functioning and viable democratic governance. Elected representatives became local champions drawing support from their disparate religions and ethnicities, effectively transforming the state into a theatre of ethnic, religious, clan and family politics.

Democracy is a universal value; it varies in its forms and application from culture to culture and country to country. Democratic governance is not linear; it is a long and often bumpy process. Democracy is about much more than elections it is about providing security of life and property, protecting fundamental human rights, free and fair elections, rule of law, separation of power, transparency and accountability, upholding the rights of women and children, providing basic human needs, fair distribution of resources and above all nation building and development. Credible election or polls are critical, unfortunately; democracy and democratic governance suffered a reverse in Nigeria. It is evident that Nigeria is one of the richest countries in Africa and the citizens are poor and the present situation shows backwardness typical of the 19<sup>th</sup> century while others are already in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

One of the basic conditions for democratic rule is the acceptance of constitutionally infused limits to the holding of elective office. As many political philosophers have argued over the ages, such limitations are necessary in order to safeguard the sovereignty of the people by constantly reminding those who offer themselves for public service that they are servants of the people not monsters. Democracy in Africa has faced many challenges; these include the reluctance of political leaders to share powers, to build consensus and

show respect to those who criticise them. African leaders are guilty of centralization of power and inability to build legitimacy by promoting the principle that emphasizes that “the people participation must find expression in the political process” (Mohammed, 2006:8).

Thus, the concept of democracy and good governance are essentially alien to Africa. These concepts are adapted to Nigeria’s local condition and target to her peculiar problem. While democracy provides a platform for peace and good governance, it is also an imperative phenomenon for sustainable political system. Hence, the greatest challenge to democracy and good governance in Nigeria (Borno in particular) is the political class in government and the political arena where they operate from, where they see democracy only in instrumental terms. Indeed, for a sustainable democratic polity and national development, a democratic culture of tolerance and accommodation, hard work and ensuring the value of justice, fairness and equity as guides for all activities are imperative. Democracy is a form of government based on the acquisition of authority from the people, the emphasis on the legitimacy of rulers, the availability of choices and cherished values including freedom, transparency and accountability.

In essence, good governance deals with how those who have and use state power make efforts to achieve the goals or objectives of the state through the maintenance of law and order, the provision of welfare for citizens and the pursuit of national interest in the global arena. Governments, therefore, exist to achieve these objectives. Western democracy insists that “good governance” include participation, equity, the rule of law, transparency and accountability, as well as the effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of public goods and services.

There could be no viable democracy without relative peace; which is often assured by “good” governance. Both ‘good’ governance and peace are therefore imperatives for a

durable democratic polity. Thus, between May 29 1999-2015 Borno State and Nigeria at large has been engulfed with challenges of different kinds and magnitude. Amongst the problems encountered was electoral fraud where elections were fraudulently conducted and fictitious results were declared igniting unprecedented violent crisis in the country and in the state. Others include corruption, poverty, income inequality, illiteracy, leadership problem, sectarian violence, tribalism/ethnicity and many more. Hence, politics in Nigeria is not a game but a battle. The political exclusion of political figures has been a source of conflict. These and many more challenges were examined as undermining factors that not only hinders the development of the state in terms of “good governance” but also the consolidation of democratic governance.

#### **I. Electoral Irregularities**

With the blowing of the wave of democracy on May 29, 1999, Nigerians celebrated the return to democratic rule with widespread jubilation and optimism as they look forward to a new era of stability, peace and prosperity. However, a reflection on this call to question the issue of electoral fraud that remains critical governance problem. This made political analyst and commentators to argue that the lack of free, fair and credible election in the country (Borno inclusive) is not unconnected with the long history of military rule which hurriedly handpicked its cronies into elective positions, specifically, the then elected President Olusegun Obasanjo, that was sworn in on May 29, 1999 under the platform of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP).

It was known from the past that turbulent elections have been a source of political crisis in Nigeria (Borno State inclusive), controversies surrounding elections have serious potential and have undermine the legitimacy and stability of democracy. Regrettably, since 1999 every election conducted was a step backward in the conduct of elections. The

political gladiators in Borno State are accused of not only determining the outcome of every election but also buying their ways through bribing the electoral officers to do their biddings and the frequent use of political thugs, under their payroll, to indiscriminately engage in assassinations of political foes, ballot box snatching and other evils (Bello, 2012).

Furthermore, the conduct of elections has brought to the fore the question of whether free and fair elections could be successfully conducted by the political class in Borno. The elections have shown that instead of guaranteeing citizens' basic rights to vote freely, the political or regime leaders with their electoral officials have actively colluded in fraud and violence that the whole electoral process/exercise becomes vague, as officials close their eyes to human rights abuses committed by supporters of the ruling party and others (Bello, 2012).

In line with the above, Tar (2012) argues that since 1999, every election conducted in Nigeria is worse than the previous. He went further to assert that the conduct of the elections is symptomatic of a deeply rooted malaise within the political economy of Nigeria, a policy that depends on prevendalism and patrimonialism. The political exclusion of political figures has been a major source of conflict in Borno state during the period under review. In addition, the blatant rigging of elections creates a reservoir of ill-will for the so-called winners. Seeing no prospects of peaceful changes, the aggrieved often take the violent means. The November 2006 conflict between party thugs that led to the death of supporters from both circles of All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD) is a good example. Similarly, in 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections in Nigeria were reported to be marred by irregularities which the foreign observers noted. In fact, most of the results of the elections of 2007 have been reversed (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012).

However, within the period under review the Nigerian youths have become very restive and flippant; and got engaged in deadly acts. To these sets of youths, the issue had gone beyond that of partisanship but thuggery becomes another turf where youths in Borno State have excelled. The youths are ready weapons in the hands of political “warlords” who equip them with dangerous weapons with which they unleash reigns of terror on perceived political opponents. In most of this situation, the youths are often used as cannon fodders. Some of them go out of their ways to form primordial groups that help politicians to win elections and secure campaign grounds all at a fee, (Gurumka, et al. 2014). In Borno state, these sets of youths are called the “ECOMOG” who came to prominence during the fourth republic.

There could be the most serious consequences for democratic consolidation and development if political leaders are unable to reach consensus on rules of political conducts and if the Nigerian public therefore becomes alienated from the electoral process. Even late President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua acknowledges the fact that the Nigerian electoral system needs reform. It was on the basis of this that Yar’Adua made the issue of electoral reforms an integral part of his seven-point agenda although unfolding events continued to question the credibility of that remark (Olu-Adeyemi, 2012).

## **ii. Weak Democratic Institutions**

Since Nigeria’s return to democratic rule in 1999, democratic institutions such as the legislature, judiciary, political parties and the electoral management body have remained essentially weak in terms of response to the political, economic and social needs of the citizens. In Nigeria, (Borno inclusive) where the executive have pocketed the legislative arm into a ‘rubber stamped” legislature that always does their bidding. Importantly, the regime leaders also handpicked whosoever they wished to contest a pre-



empty election. Similarly, electoral institutions created to manage and conduct free and fair elections failed to stop massive electoral fraud that characterized the 2003, 2007 and 2011 general elections in Nigeria which was described by both local and international observers as inadequate and below democratic standards Shehu (2010), Tar (2010), Ayuba (2014).

Omotola (2008) notes that the institutional weakness and failure in Nigeria has led to high level of disregard for constitutionalism, flagrant abuses of citizens' rights and rule of law. He further argues that institutional failure has also accounted for the proliferation of plethora of ethno-religious intolerance and violent conflicts. It is worthy of recognition of that a weak state produces politics that make violence a prime means of political action.

The Nigerian weak state institutions have failed to contain rising incidences of violence, since 1999. Furthermore, the monumental failure of police as state institution to ensure security and maintain law and order in Borno during the emergence and rising up of the Islamic sect, Boko Haram is evidently proved by commentators and argues that in Nigeria police extra-judicial killing of Boko Haram leader Mohammed Yusuf and many of his followers after the aftermath of the July, 2009 mayhem said to have provoked the group to re-group for further assault on not only the constituted authority but so also on the citizens of the state and the Northern region in general. These institutional failures and inadequacies in Nigeria and indeed in Africa were described by Nzungula (1997), as one of the greatest challenges to the consolidation of democracy and good governance in Africa.

Furthermore, in line with the above assertion, Ojo (2004) observed that the weakness of the democratic institutions have raised a fresh problem for the state especially in the areas of legitimacy and good governance and present a formidable challenge to the Nigerian democracy.

The regime leaders in Nigeria have subjugated the people for too long through economic emasculation and perpetual pilfering of natural resources. In the people's bid to

escape unabated bashing by the regime leaders, they have become desperate for alternative means of survival, through unthinkable machinations that vary from corruption, advanced fee fraud, ritual killing religious violence and the like (Gurumka et al., 2014).

The former chairman of the defunct National Electoral Commission (NEC), Professor Humphrey Nwosu has stated that the emergence of political leaders through ‘consensus’ hinders democratic process. He observed that “a situation where few individuals impose candidates of their choices on the majority through consensus would in the long run lead to chaos and conflict in the polity”. Furthermore, this would ignite convulsive protest and bloody conflict between opposition groups within the party, as witnessed in Borno in the 2006, when political thugs of the ruling party (ANPP) engaged in violent acts leading to many deaths on both sides – thereby justifying the fact of extensive use of thugs by the political class to achieve their political ambitions. Thus, lack of internal party democracy accentuates the problems of thuggery in Borno politics. Many politicians often resort to ‘self-help’ when they are convinced that party rules and regulations in primary elections and other vital issues would be subverted by the clique that has hijacked the party, (Shehu, 2010).

Political parties in Nigeria’s fourth republic are un-institutionalized as they revolve around some prominent and influential individuals instead of establishing strong institution driven by values and ideologies. Rather, the political gladiators and regime leaders are known for exclusion of the larger membership in decision making.

### **iii. Poverty, Unemployment and Illiteracy**

Poverty, unemployment and illiteracy have become a cradle and nursery for various forms of violence in Nigeria with a large reservoir of unemployed and unemployable youths who are prepared to kill or be killed for a given course for a token. Nigeria is in the

sludge of governance predicament (Agbor, 2012). Fifteen years after the end of military rule, the conduct of many public officials and government institutions is so pervasively marked by violence and corruption which more resemble criminal activities than democratic governance. Indeed, the high level of poverty in Nigeria has promoted in the same measure a high level of inequality which remains significant despite high economic growth. The rising levels of poverty in Nigeria have been underscored by the National Bureau of Statistics report (2007) that the numbers of people living in poverty have increased from 39.07 million in 1992 to 70 million in 2004. Shehu (2010) observes that 70.2% of the population in Borno lives on less than \$1 a day while 90.8% lives on less than \$2 a day. This depicts or portrays the picture of citizens in Borno, who live in abject poverty. The total income earned by the richest 20% of the population is 55.7% while the total income earned by the poorest 20% is 44%. Since the return to democratic governance in Nigeria, poverty level of the country has increased (UNDP, 2007). Poverty reinforced by mass unemployment constitutes a barrier to Borno's quest for a secured and stable polity that seeks for democratic consolidation. An impoverished fellow is a potential, if not an actual thief, mendicant, armed robber, sex hawker, cultist, kidnapper, suicide bomber or even murderer (Shehu, 2010).

The Boko Haram violent conflict in Borno could be attributed to the high level of poverty and unemployment in the state (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Ihonvbere (1994) notes that in African states, the masses perceived that states are exploitative, coercive and alien structures that lack credibility and legitimacy and are thus incapable of mobilizing or leading the people. This underscores the high level of political apathy by significant segment of the Nigerian population and it is exactly what resulted to massive followership of the Boko Haram sect.

Poverty and inequality decrease political participation, thereby posing a threat to democratic governance and democracy. Tar (2010) posits that poverty is a great challenge to democratic rule, in a state where there are scarce resources such as in Borno. Electorates could be persuaded and even forced to abandon democratic processes. At worse, citizens could be ‘bought’ to vote for wrong choices. Poverty makes it difficult for states to afford or maintain ‘state democratic institutions’ such as well resourced legislature, independent judiciary, effective political parties (oppositions), independent mass media and strong civil society organizations. A poor person is therefore not a full-fledged social individual because he/she lacks the basic needs of life that would provide enjoyment. It could be argued that poverty is a great hindrance to democratic rule in Borno since 1999.

#### **iv. Leadership Challenges**

Many Nigerians are of the opinion that the greatest problem of the nation is leadership. Both the democratic and military regimes have failed in the governance of the country. Adeyemi (2012) argues that in Nigeria, the primary goal of assuming leadership position is self-enrichment. Whereas, Nigerian leaders have the power to educate, inspire and provide the people with the resources to advocate for the causes they believe in, but like bad parents, they have failed in their responsibilities to lead by good examples. He concludes that leadership is Nigeria’s problem. Achebe argued that the Nigerian land, climate and everything have no problem, but Nigeria’s problem is bad leadership. This makes Tijjani (2008) to observe that the trouble with democracy in Borno is simply arrogance of power based on complete lack of accountability from its leadership.

Elitism is the order of the day in Borno State. Political leaders and business class practiced the “politics of vendetta” and exhibiting non-challant attitudes towards one another. Borno has turned into what is called the “egalitarian” society where the masses

have lost confidence in the leadership of the elites. (Ogundiya, 2010) posits that despite all the social and economic policies that have been implemented by successive regimes, Nigeria has remained a laggard in social, economic and political development. Subsequently, abject poverty, acute youth unemployment, heightened crime rate, poor health prospects, widespread malnourishment have been the main feature of Nigeria's political economy. (Ogundiya, 2010) he further argues that the political elites in Nigeria are responsible for the above predicaments.

The above scenario outlined by Ogundiya (2010) clearly presents the true picture of leadership role and crises in Borno State. The fundamental challenges of democratic rule posed by leadership in Borno is that the ruling elite do not respect democratic values such as rule of law and human rights, opposition parties and pressure groups, have forced or induced the characteristics into abandoning their role of checking the excesses of state officials.. Another challenge of democratic rule attributed to the leadership is the lack for regime change (incumbency continuum), a sustained tradition of limited political change, regime continuity, and oppression of dissent (Tar, 2008).

In every country, it is the responsibility of the leadership to protect the political, social and economic interest of the citizens. Ojo (2004:12) provides an insight in Nigeria which helps us situate governance and democracy in Borno during the period under review. According to him:

The basic problem of democracy and development of the political actors in Nigeria as framed by the nature of the Nigerian state is that it is not conducive for democratic governance. The political actor either as a ruler or an opposition member is concerned with his self-interest. He is less concerned with what constitute the interest of the state. As a ruler, does not serve the interest of the state except the survival of the system only to perverse his interest. Indeed, as a ruler, he does not serve the interest

of the state except when the state is seen as an instrument of oppression and exploitation. As an opposition member, he is concerned with how the system will collapse, not with how his criticism will improve the system for preservation. (Ojo, 2004:12)

The above is the true reflection of leadership crises in Borno. The leadership is self-serving, greedy, corrupt and excessively wicked. The egregious leadership problems in the country could be clearly seen in Borno. Democracy presupposes leadership accountability to the people but the situation in the country is such that the 'leaders' are the 'masters' and therefore too big to render their stewardship to the people, they claim to be serving (Omotosho, 2013).

One of the problems associated with leadership in Borno is leadership recruitment. Most of these leaders were forced on the people by their various political godfathers, not on the basis of performance but by their ability to serve the interest of these godfathers. Omotosho (2013) observed that in most cases, the political elites take the advantage of the poverty ravaging the land to bribe their way into power.

Godfatherism is threatening good governance and democracy in Borno, frustrating the people and affecting the capacity of the government to develop the state. What should have been used for development is misappropriated to maintain and appease these godfathers. This phenomenon engendered between the godfather and godson has been seriously affected the stability and development of the state. For example, the unfriendly relationships between former Governor Ali Modu Sheriff (godfather) who single handedly sponsored former Governor Alhaji Mala Kachalla (godson) in which the former was fingered as responsible for trying to bring down the government of the later, when health and water resource workers went on strike. These crises shook the state to her foundation,

thereby polarizing the state not only along godfather and godson/governor camps, but so also distracting government and destroying governance, hence having the masses to feel the effects of lacking desired health services and accessible water.

**v. Corruption**

The greater issue triggering governance crisis and democratic problem in Nigeria is corruption. In Nigeria, corruption is ripe and very endemic. It is afflicting and ravaging all sectors of the Nigerian state. All tiers of government are equally culpable. Corruption has, among others, been defined as an act of “requesting, offering, giving or accepting directly or indirectly a bribe or any other undue advantage or the prospect thereof, which distorts the proper performance of any duty or behaviour required of the recipient of the bribe, the undue advantage of the prospect thereof”.

In line with the above, Olu-Adeyemi (2004) argues that in Nigeria, an understanding of what constitutes corruption transcends officialdom and discussing corruption broadly as a pervasion or change from good to bad will not be inappropriate. The issue of corruption is deep-rooted because of the tolerance of the political class of the cankerworm. It is obvious in the actions, utterances and body language of the political class and elites generally that they are hostile to the anti-corruption crusade. Transparency is sacrificed and accountability is discounted. Tar (2012) goes further to argue that the use of money and thugs in the politics of Borno, helped to sustain the phenomenon of “godfatherism” which assumed a potent force during election period. The fact that the electoral system in Borno thrived in patronage made the illegal use of money and weapons the surest option available to the political elite Tar (2010). In Borno, political thugs are given names by the politicians and electorates, for instance, they are called ECOMOG.

Mustapha (2010) categorically identified new ramifications of corruption and prevandalism in Nigerian political culture. In Nigeria, there are formal and informal dimension of corruption. The formal dimension of corruption is seen to be existing side by side with informal one such as financial fraud tagged “419” oil bunkering, among others, operating at the micro and indeed unofficial level of the state. Mustapha (2010) argues that both kinds of corruption impact negatively on democracy and good governance.

Similarly, on the effect of corruption on Nigerian democratic rule, Mustapha also argues that in Nigeria, corruption is characterized by looting of public funds and wealth kept secretly, i.e. misappropriation and mismanagement of public, money laundering (acquiring money through fraudulent ways), drug and child trafficking; illegal arms deal, gratification which involves monetary, material or favour as a condition for reward or performing official duty, official abuse of office in which an official capacity suppresses and violates oath of office and nepotism which is granting undeserved favours to one’s relations and friends, are all common features of democratic regimes in Borno.

## **V. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)**

One of the major challenges to democratic governance in Borno is the massive internal displacement of persons – mostly women and children. Since the eruption of the Boko Haram insurgency, in 2009, there were an estimated 2 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) in and around the Lake Chad region. Over 700,000 of the IDPs in Maiduguri (state capital) and Jere Local Government Area are living in either state designated camps or with host communities. Refugees, mostly women and children, lose family members in their desperate clash for safety. The conflict has had a devastating effect on children, many of whom were forcibly recruited by insurgents in Borno while



others have experienced attacks on their schools argued that, one of the consequences of the Boko Haram insurgency that posed a threat to democratic governance in Borno, is the deepening poverty and rising income inequality because average income has plummeted as a result of disruptions of economic activities by the armed conflict. This scenario has contributed to the security challenges that have bedeviled the state (Borno) during the period under review, with grave effects for socio-economic, political and human development. This arises from the fact that, there is no society (state) that can achieve socio-economic and political development in an environment of social and physical insecurity. The ruling elites in Borno during the period under review are dependent, parasitic and very corrupt in nature and mal-administration (Bello, 2012).

It suffices to mention that Boko Haram has become a disaster of unimaginable proportion. The terrorist activities of the group have not only retarded socio-economic and political development of Borno, but, have also led to an impact of decreasing the demographic structure of the state, hence it poses a major challenge to democracy and good governance. Since insurgency is inimical to democracy and good governance, the only way to remedy the situation is to fight it to a stand-still. Thus, mustering the political will to pursue a frontal attack on Boko Haram is no longer an option. It is the most desirable course of action argued by Oke (2010). Many Nigerians are unable to come to terms with, why a so-called Africa's best army has been unable to bring to an end this horrendous situation. However, the military approach must be backed by a political will which can address the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment in Northern Nigeria and Borno to be specific.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

Theoretical interest on democracy and good governance in Nigeria started in the 1960's and has continued in recent years after the return of the democratic rule to the country. The study uses three theoretical perspectives with respect to democracy and good governance in Nigeria from 1999-2015.

The first theory is the Elite Theory. The Elite theory rejects the pluralist view concerning the distribution of power in the society. The main trust of the theory is that, when there is concentration of power in the hands of the minority group they perform all political functions, monopolize power and enjoy the advantages that power brings at the expense of the majority.

The prominent proponents of the elite theory among others include, Vilfredo (1991), Gaetano (1939), Thomas Dye (15<sup>th</sup> Ed.), James, (1932) and Wright (1939).

The core of the elitist doctrine is that there may exist in many societies a minority of the population which takes the major decision in the society. Because these decisions are of such wide scope, affecting the most general aspect of the society, they are usually required as “political decisions” even when the minorities taking the decisions are not politicians.

The main trust of the elite theory among others include;

- i. The few who govern are not typical of the masses;
- ii. The elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of the society.
- iii. The elites have consensus on the basic values and the preservation of the social system.
- iv. Public policies do not only reflect the demand of the masses but also upholds the prevailing values of the elites.

The elite theory demonstrates self-value and cleavages towards classes in the society; this interplay among the ruling class elites aid in subjecting and subverting state power to attain economic, social and political ends. By this the elites perpetrate official corruption to influence and use power to their advantages. The elites are people of high ranking influence generally favoured and they consider themselves as deserving economic and political power.

The second theory is the democratic theory. The proponent of the theory among others includes; Emmanuel (1795), Dean (1964) and Michael Doyle (1983). The democratic theory holds that the existence of domestic political culture base on peaceful conflict resolution encourages peaceful international and domestic relations, because, democratic government are controlled by citizens who would not advocate or support wars. (Shehu, 2010).

Another element of the democratic theory is that democracies hold common moral values which lead to the formation pacific union. The union is not a formal peace treaty; rather, it is a zone of peace based on common moral foundations of all democracies. Peaceful ways of solving domestic conflict are seen as morally superior to the violent behaviour. Freedom of expression and free communication promote mutual understanding internationally, domestically and could help to ensure that political representativeness act in accordance with citizens view, respect for the rule of law, constitution and the fundamental human rights (Shehu, 2010).

The third theory is the failed state theory. The failed state theory asserts that country leaders time and again rejected stewardship of the public good in favour of zero sum political games and accumulation of personal and family wealth. (Ghani and Lockhart, 2008) argues that state simply fail both to perform the basic function that allow their

citizens life of dignity and opportunity to fulfil the obligations of statehood both at national and International level as a result of accumulation of wealth by the political leadership.

The theory posits that sub-nationalist and domestic conflict such as those of South Sudan, Republic of Central Africa, fundamentalist or extremist terrorist conflict like Boko Haram in Northern Nigerian Chad, Cameroon as well as political squabbles such as in Nigerian Niger Delta region, among others are disturbing conflict that occurred as a result of politics of failed states. The failed state theory argues that state failure increases intra-ethnic, tribal, clan, sectional religious and country tensions and risk to both national, regional, sub-regional and international peace and stability, which may result into outbreak of frequent reversion to conflict.

Therefore, as a result of the devilish and devastating effect of the governance problem in Nigeria, the study is inspired by the Elite Theory and opted to use the theory (Elite theory) as its theoretical framework considering the variables of the study i.e. democracy and good governance in Nigeria 1999-2015 with reference to Borno State.

The theory argues that a small minority consisting of members of the economic elite's policy network hold the most power that is independent of the state's democratic election. The theory concludes that majority of political power and influence is held by a small number of individuals groups and industries, corporate leaders, top military officers, political elites and regime leaders forms an upper class, which rules the state in their own self interest than the interest of the general public.

### **2.3 Critique of the Theory**

Even though each of these theories has some utility in understanding the problem under investigation, that is, the democratic and failed state theories, none of them has the capacity to capture the nature and dynamics of the relationship between democracy and

good governance in Nigeria with specific reference to Borno State from 1999 to 2015. This may help to explain why the study decided to use the elite theory as the theoretical framework that guided and informed the dimension and analysis on the study and the theory (Elite) has the capacity to capture the nature and dynamics of the relationship between democracy, the nature of democracy and the extent to which democratic governance promote good governance in Borno State from 1999 to 2015.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **OVERVIEW OF DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICAL GOVERNANCE IN BORNO STATE**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Borno State was created in February 1976 and until the democratic government of the Second Republic in October, 1979, the state was ruled by the military. “The home of peace” is the Borno State other name, and truly it was. This is because people of different ethnic groups and religions from within the country and even beyond find the state a heaven where they go about their businesses without any qualms. The state is situated within latitude 11.30E and 14.45E. Borno State has an area of 61,435 square kilometers and it is the largest state in the federation in terms of landmass. It is located in the north-eastern region of Nigeria. The state occupies the greatest part of the Chad Basin and shares borders with Republic of Niger to the North, Chad to the North-East and Cameroun to the East. Within the country, its neighbours are Adamawa State to the South, Yobe State to the West and Gombe state to the South-West. Based on the 2006 census figure, Borno State has a population of 4,151,193 and population density of approximately 60 inhabitants per square kilometer. The state has a climate which is hot and dry for a greater part of the year although the southern part is slightly mild.

The capital Maiduguri was sometimes known as “Yerwa”. The state was created in 1976 by the split of the North-Eastern State. Until 1991, it contained the present Yobe state. The State is dominated by the Kanuri ethnic group and others such as Babur Bura, Marghi, Shuwa-Arab and Guduf (Gwoza), among others, and the state suffered an endurance of traditional political institutions in Africa. With a rich and diverse historical and cultural heritage, Borno State is pluralistic in ethnic composition. About thirty

languages are considered autonomous whose speakers have lived for a long time in the state. Twenty-six of the languages spoken in Borno are classified by linguists as Chadic languages, Alkali (2010). There are 27 Local Government Areas in the state. These are: Abadam, Askira/Uba, Bama, Biu, Bayo, Chibok, Dikwa, Damboa, Gubio, Gwoza, Guzamala, Hawul, Jere, Kaga, Kala-Balge, Konduga, Kukawa, Kwaya Kusar, Maiduguri, Mafa, Marte, Magumeri, Monguno, Mobbar, Ngala, Nganzai and Shani.

Political governance in Borno state started since the period of pre-colonial Nigeria, to colonial period and to post colonial. The democratic and political governance of the state have undergone many changes, ranging from the governance of traditional rulers (institutions) before colonial penetration to the colonially controlled traditional institutions to the post colonial or post-independence Nigeria. Moreover, Borno was governed by democratically elected leaders and military administrators from independence to date. Infact, Borno has experienced cycles of military and civilian rule.

Borno state was governed by nineteen (19) governors and democratically elected leaders, thirteenth (13) were military governors/administrators, while six were democratically elected governors. Musa Usman, as Military Governor governed from 28<sup>th</sup> May 1967 to July 1975 during the North-Eastern state; Muhammadu Buhari, from July 1975 to March 1976 as military governor in the North-Eastern state; Group Captain Mustapha A. Amin, March 1976 to July 1978 as military governor of Borno State. Tunde Idiagbon, July 1978 to 1979 as military governor; Mohammed Goni, October 1979 to October 1983 as the first democratically elected governor of Borno State under the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP) in the Second Republic. Others are Asheik Jarma, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1983 to 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1983 under the platform of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) also in the Second Republic; Abubakar Waziri, January 1984 to August 1985 as a military

governor; Abdulmumini Aminu, August 1985 to December 1987 as military governor; Abdul-One Mohammed, December 1987 to December 1989 as military governor; Mohammed Maina, December 1989 to June 1990, as a military governor; Mohammad Buba Marwa, from June, 1990 to January, 1992 as military governor; Maina Ma'aji Lawan, from January 1992 to November 1993, as elected governor under the platform of Social Democratic Party (SDP) in the Nigerian third Republic; Ibrahim Dada, 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1993 to 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1996, as military administrator. Another set include Victor Ozodinobi, from 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1996 to 1997, as military administrator; Augustine Aniebo, from 1997 to August 1998 as military administrator; Lawal Ningi Haruna, August 1998 to May 1999, as military administrator; Mala Kachalla, from 29<sup>th</sup> May 1999 to 29<sup>th</sup> May 2003 as elected governor under the platform of All Peoples Party (APP) in the Nigerian Fourth Republic; Ali Modu Sheriff from 29<sup>th</sup> May 2003 to 29<sup>th</sup> May 2011 as elected governor under the platform of All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) the first democratic governor that was elected twice in Borno, and Kashim Shettima, from 29<sup>th</sup> May to the present time as elected governor under the platform of All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) (Borno State Ministry of Information year 2014). Therefore the study sought to conduct a general overview of democratic transition and consolidation in Nigeria, examining the various military to civilian transition programmes from Murtala – Obasanjo to Abubakar Abdulsalam in terms of their structures and dynamics and also, the study reviewed and examined the various democratic era in Borno State.

Moreover, the study sought to adopt a historical descriptive approach in examining the various democratic regimes in the state. The study also focused on the policies and programmes, achievements, challenges and problems of the regimes in relations to democratic dividends and good governance (G.G) in the state.



### **3.2 Democratic and Political Governance in Borno State in the Nigerian First Republic 1979- 1983**

The issue of leadership is very important in every society. Success or failure of any government centres on the leadership problem. Human beings by nature are rational; their activities are systematically planned and goal oriented. For ages, Africans have been waging wars to have patriotic, honest and competent leaders to pilot their affairs. The need to have a competent leader is of paramount importance for the success and overall development of any society. Ability plus opportunity is progress, for opportunity without ability is a failure. Known authorities on leadership is all about knowing oneself, having a vision that is well communicated, building trust among colleagues and taking effective action to realize self traits.

After the demise of the Nigerian First Republic in 1966, the political activities in Nigeria were in coma. And after series of coups and counter-coups, the Murtala/Obasanjo regime organized an election to handover the mantle of leadership to democratically elected government in 1979. It was the 1979 election that gave birth to the Nigerian Second Republic.

Mohammed Goni was the first democratically elected civilian Governor of Borno state. He was elected to office in August, 1979 and sworn in on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1979. Mohammed Goni resolved to make Borno state a place “where everybody has enough, gives enough and takes enough”. (Izekor, 1979)

Goni’s actions, policies, programmes and utterances have provoked in no small measure reactions and counter reactions from the elites of Borno especially the top business class. For the down trodden masses, it was a positive opportunity of solving their decayed social problems. Above all, for the masses, Goni was a legend and hero. To Nigerians

outside the state and country, who were called in by Goni to come and help in the task of building a solid state, to non Nigerians who took up appointment in Borno State without molestation; Goni remains a great true patriot, statesman and nationalist (Izeko, 1979:15).

### **3.2.1 Policies and Programme of Goni's Administration: An Overview**

The old Borno state which included the present Yobe state had suffered a long period of neglect in the provision of social infrastructural facilities. Since it was created in 1976, nobody can precisely put a finger on the reasons for the grave abnormality, because the essence for the creation of state is generally to enhance even development.

The government of Mohammad Goni, between 1979 and 1983, delivered the dividends of democracy to the citizens. It was full of landmark projects, most of which are still in perfect use. However, three decades later such projects include schools, hospitals, housing units, industries, water projects, road construction and Maiduguri Monday Market among others. The programme of action of the administration was deliberately constructed to give greatest concern to self governance at the grassroot level. Democracy is all about providing a great happiness to the greater number Bentham (1989). The vision of the administration is given priority attention in the firm conviction that Borno state cannot hope to take its place in the ranks of the more advanced parts of the country, where masses of the stated continued to languish in illiteracy, poverty and squalor. However, the people of the state continued to remain victims of their circumstances simply because, no government had in the past seen it fit to cater for their essential needs. It is pertinent to point out that what happened was in conformity with the motto of the then Great Nigerian People's Party (GNPP), "that is justice to the people", and it was also in line with the pledge made by the Goni's administration towards programme of purposeful, meaningful, just and even developmental policies that would liberate the people of Borno state. Goni's civilian

administration had vividly and confidently, with the positive co-operation of the legislative and all the other arms of the government has taken decisions and initiated developmental programmes towards the fulfilment of the highest aspirations of the people for good governance and meaningful development both at human and infrastructural level (Izeko, 1979).

The achievement of Goni's regime among others include water supply for human and animal consumption in the state; although there was ecological disadvantages in the field of water supply. The government's first objective was to provide cheap and clean/hygienic water in abundance, certainly it was provided in great quantity than ever before for both human and animal consumption. The state water board developed the capacity to drill boreholes to deal with the urgent need to provide clean water to the people in the state. The rural areas were not left out. Cement wells were sunk in small communities, while local government headquarters and neighbouring towns were provided with pipe borne water supply; these projects were located in Gwoza, Damboa and Fune areas (of present day Yobe state); towns like Nguru, Gashua, Damaturu, Geidam, Potiskum, (Yobe state), Bama, Konduga, Benisheik, among others, in present Borno state. Integrated water supply system in the urban centres not only supplied, but also connected the rural areas (Bintube & Ibrahim, 2001:34).

In addition to the water resources development, dams were constructed in Biu, Daura (Yobe state), Alau etc., which became the sources of water supply under the Goni's administration of the Second Republic from 1979 to 1983 had really proved the recognition of the enduring effort in terms of good governance and delivery of dividends of democratic rule that turned to be the envy of present day politicians in the state.

Closely linked with water development is agriculture. The agricultural sector is the main sustainer of the greater percentage of the population of the state. And appropriately, large amount of resources were invested in the sector. Under this programme, the Goni administration provided extension services that further strengthened and intensified a state-wide accelerated development area programme that ensured the betterment of rural population. Agricultural inputs and services were provided within the close proximity of consumers and a network of feeder roads were constructed that connected the inaccessible areas of the state. Thus, the administration appreciated the great demand for tractor hiring services from the local government areas; therefore, tractors and equipment were procured and distributed to farmers. Borno being an agrarian state with majority of her citizens, being farmers, significantly utilized the great gesture of good governance offered by the administration of Goni (Bintube & Ibrahim, 2001:42).

Large workshop for the repairs and maintenance services of agricultural machines and tractors were established in Maiduguri, the state capital. Trained personnel were also in place to man equipment, while training was provided to staff of the ministry as part of human resource development at Damaturu, now capital of Yobe State. At no time was the state blessed with abundant food supply than the Goni's era Izeko (1979). Infact observers and historians called it the "time of plenty". Similarly, in order to provide more centres for distribution of inputs and services by the administration of Goni towards the provision of good governance resulted to the award of contracts to establish additional farm centres at various service centres in the state.

True to the campaign promise to rid the people of diseases and squalor, the administration's efforts in the health sector were not less spectacular. The administration laid the solid foundation of the health sector as backbone of the administration through the

construction of the State Specialist Hospital, Eye Hospital, Comprehensive Health centres, and General hospitals in all local government areas of the State; and also other important health institutions such as School of Nursing, School of Midwifery in Maiduguri and Potiskum (Yobe state now) Biu and Nguru (Yobe). There was also the provision of the art equipments and trained medical staff to manage these institutions at hand. All these spirited efforts by the Goni's administration helped in improving the life expectancy of the citizens, especially the rural dwellers, thereby leading to a productive life and sound mind of Borno citizens.

There is no gain saying the fact that road networks are a pre-requisite for the economic growth and development of any society, thus, the construction of road networks linking villages with the state capital were constructed. These not only transformed the lives of the people around it, but so also made the transportation of people, goods, especially farm products, possible. The Goni's administration constructed about 204 kilometers from Ngamdu to Damboa, from Gwoza to Uba, and from Uba to Askira, among other roads, Nevertheless, Goni's administration's efforts intensified Federal Government involvement in the construction of Federal Highways in and out of the state were also commendable. In the course of delivering good governance he had improved the life of the citizenry of the state.

As usual, construction of roads goes hand in hand with that of drainage which was equally pursued to ensure better life span and good maintenance of the roads. It is paramount to applaud the effort of Goni's administration in the construction of road networks totaling to over 950 kilometers during the period under review. Housing/shelter as a basic need of life, was also provided to satisfy the yearnings and aspirations of the people who were mostly civil servants and low income earners, the construction of housing

estate such as the State Low Cost of 300 three hundred bedroom types' houses as an extension of the other estates in the metropolis were affected. And also, in all the local government headquarters "low cost estate" was equally constructed under the scheme of Borno State Housing Corporation. Furthermore, in the area of transportation, the north-east line transport system was re-introduced to the benefit of the masses.

The flow of information and educating citizens/electorate is one of the greatest elements of democratic governance. Moreover, good governance cannot be achieved in the absence of communication. To this end, a television station was established by the administration in order to intimate the people of its policies and programmes. This gave birth to the Borno Radio Television (BRTV).

The Goni's regime in the history of Borno politics witnessed gigantic educational development activities, which included programmes such as the establishment of science-oriented secondary schools, adults and non-formal education (including education for the disabled and mass literacy campaign) were vigorously consolidated. This included further establishment of Teachers Training colleges, and primary schools around the state. Moreover, another aspect of the educational development of Goni's administration was the issue of pupil environment into post-primary schools which registered a substantial increase of 85.5 percent, which was a mark of good governance. Technical and commercial secondary schools were also established to improve the much needed scientific, technological and secretarial skills.

Moreover, girl-child education was actively and adequately encouraged. Girls and artisan training centres were established which provided more trained skillful hands to handle minor technical jobs and improve human resource development in the spirit of the

motto of the regime i.e. “justice to the people”, it is the human person that the administration hold dear in her development programme.

For the regime to deliver good governance in the education sector, an inspectorate service division in collaboration with the education centre was established. This was done in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning more effective in the school system. Above all, government had recruited more teachers at various levels to educate the future generations in the state. Moreover, the regime has sponsored many students to Europe to further their educational career.

Borno state is one of the least developed states in Nigeria in the field of industry. Great efforts were geared towards the establishment of industries across the state that attracted foreign investors, offered employment opportunities and enhanced the revenue base of the state.

The vision of the regime towards industrialization policy resulted in the establishment of industries in the state, such as the Borno Neital Shoe and Tannery factory, Maiduguri Flour Mills, Borno Clay products, Maiduguri International Sheraton Hotel, Borno Ceramics, Biscuit and Confectionaries, among others. Therefore, the regime had set the pace for a new industrial revolution not only in Borno state, but also in the northern region.

The idea of establishing the shoe and leather company was well and positively conceived because Borno state is the leading supplier of hides and skin from its millions of cattle. This high quality leather could not only be used domestically for making shoes, but it could be exported to earn foreign exchange. Unfortunately, these gigantic prestigious projects were among those neglected, which negatively affected the economy and income distribution in the state by the subsequent regimes.

The promotion and development of industries during the Goni regime had received continued attention. In the industrial sector, the regime had not only provided employment opportunities and infrastructural development, but it had generated revenue to the government.

Another field worth assessing good governance during Goni's regime is the rural electrification project. In its desire to provide basic social amenities to the rural populace, the regime rated rural electrification as of great concern. The provision of energy in rural areas helped to reduce the rural drift to urban areas of young and able bodied persons. Moreover, the project encouraged the setting up of small-scale industries in the rural areas within the state.

Training of technicians for the Rural Electrification Board was intensified by establishing a school which was capable of even absorbing students from other states, in order to facilitate human resource development.

### **3.2.2 General Administration of Goni's Regime**

It was the policy of the regime of Goni that the rule of law, accountability, transparency and freedom, equality, among others as great elements of democratic practice must be strictly adhered to. The Goni's regime was not found wanting of any corrupt practice. Those who were in the state or outside have testified that the regime was free of corruption. In spite of the strong oppositions posed by the elite supporters of the National government (NPN) the regime did not take the law into their hands by victimizing opposition and inflicting vengeance or politics of exclusion in the state. More so, it was the policy of the administration to inject vigour as much as possible as an ingredient that makes for dynamic, progressive, equalitarian democratic governance (Izeko, 1979).



Public administration during the regime had tried to internalize the attitude and practices essential for democratic governance through the involvement of political institutions in the private sectors. The private sector made known its problem to the government either through the private bill or the mass media. The regime paid attention to the way government affect citizens and seeks ways to expand popular participation in government. The creation of more local governments affirmed to this. The regime evaluated the needs and demands of the populace because the essence of every government is to provide the needs of her citizens. It is important to note that both private and public organizations benefit from Goni's regime which essentially involves translating of ideas into actions in order to deliver the dividends of democracy and the enhancement of the quality of human life. Bargaining and compromise is the root of the administration, as practiced in Borno during the regime of Goni in order to achieve the goals of government through organized effort.

Goni's regime came in for radical changes, in order to lift the morale of the common man, the labourer, the disposed and the down-trodden to whom hitherto justice had always been mystical, euphoric and unattainable paradise on earth from the morass of exploitation and dictatorship. Thus, in his inaugural speech in 1979 Goni affirmed that.

.....Those with vested interest in the perpetuation of the entrenched ills of solitary will find the stand of this incoming administration at best uncomfortable and at worst downright objectionable. This administration wishes it be known right from the start, that it has not been status quo. It has been elected because people want change.....

As has been the administrative outfit of Goni, the regime did not condone indolence and inefficiency among civil servants, neither did it allow for the civil servants red-tapism which would obstruct the effective and speedy implementation of government policies and

thus all-out-model and time consuming? Activities should be kept aside. For the regime, justice knows no bounds. It could then be concluded that the public sector of the regime was a Weberian bureaucratic model (Alkali, 2010)

Public policy is a purposive action taken for the public. It is also what actually happens to the people as a consequence of what the government does. Policy making is not a monopoly of government in Borno state in as much as any policy process which operates like a network of sub-systems and not a linear fashion. Public policies are often complex and fragmented; this is due to the multiplicity of participants who form the controlling force that guides administrative action, while administration is concerned with programme implementation. Goni's regime policy formulation was based on what the policy environment offered. For the regime, the common man was the main object of public policies and decision. Such policies aimed at the realization of the democratic right and aspirations for socioeconomic development of the people of Borno state. The policy of the regime seeks to solve the puzzle of the interdependence of the respective social, political and economic problems of the state

### **3.2.3 Challenges of the Goni Regime**

It could be argued that the state does not possess power without conditions; it possessed power because it has duties. Government exists to enable citizens, at least, potentially, to realize the best in themselves. It is judged not by what is in theory but what it does in practice. In spite of the fact that Goni's regime came into power through the masses' massive votes, the regime was on tight rope battling with problems especially from the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) federal controlled government, its agencies, the police, some members of the Kaduna mafia, individuals and the elite class in the state that belonged to NPN. Just as Balarabe Musa of Kaduna and Abubakar Rimi of Kano were

being hunted, Goni's regime was subjected to smouldering fire by the vicious posture of NPN.

The Goni regime took the greatest step to reduce drastically the insidious onslaught of the NPN government on his administration. The regime made sure that the vocal minorities were well represented in the regime. For example, he appointed the minorities into the cabinet and the same applies to the distribution of board membership and other agencies which was contrary to the interest of the elites in the State.

Another factor which played in favour of the regime was the sympathy of the government of other oppositions in the country: UPN, NPP and PRP coupled with the goodwill of Borno State earned as a result of its uncompromising and laudable stand on issues of national unity. These also created a hatred with the NPN government on the top, especially in matters of revenue allocations. However, Goni stood with the progressive governors against the federal government because of the unconstitutionality of the Revenue Allocation Bill passed by the National Assembly which also has affected the state (Borno) negatively.

Perhaps Genevieve Kanu's description of "Nkrumah the man" comes appropriately here. According to her, "late Nkrumah was loved and hated, respected and condemned throughout the world". Equally, Goni was loved by his people especially the down-trodden masses, as he championed their causes and the generality of Nigerians as a result of his decisive actions on national issues and his open door policy. He was hated by the feudal lords and the powerful ones, who perceived him as an obstacle. One of the greatest weaknesses as of Goni's regime was that he was too accommodating and not willing to hurt the feelings of others.

The Goni regime in the Second Republic was able to deliver the dividends of the democratic rule to the populace in spite of the challenges faced from the NPN and from the powerful elites and traditional institutions in the state. The regime is still in the hearts and minds of the people of the state after over thirty years of services rendered to humanity and state development.

Goni is still respected by Nigerian politicians, old and young, for his courage and fortitude in opening the gate way to salvation for millions who would have remained and died in darkness. The regime raised the economic power of the middle class in the state and made the provision of basic and social amenities for the people a right and not a privilege. He was condemned by the plutocrats because he championed the crusade for the emancipation of the people. After over thirty years, the people of Borno still recall the good governance enjoyed in the regime of Goni.

Finally, the Goni regime in the Second Republic was able to deliver the dividends of the democratic rule to the populace inspite of the challenges faced from the powerful elites and traditional institutions in the state.

### **3.3 Alhaji Asheik Jarma Regime, October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1983 - 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1983**

The political struggle, campaign, dream and aspirations of the powerful elites and the feudal lords in Borno became a reality. In the 1983 October election Asheik Jarma emerged the second democratically-elected governor in Borno State. However, the democratic dividend and good governance offered by the Goni regime set a huge challenge to the new regime of Jarma. Unfortunately, for the premature regime, the democratically elected leadership was toppled by General Mohammed Buhari junta. When the Jarma regime came to power, it inherited some basic infrastructures that will certainty effect a

meaningful development in the State. The policies and programmes of developmental elements such as education, housing, water supply, security, among others turned to be the vision of Jarma's regime. With the 1983 military coup headed by General Buhari, the jubilations and hopes of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) elites vanished just after three months of winning election. Thus, in doing justice to the regime of Jarma, it is pertinent to argue that, three month is a short period for a comprehensive discussion of the worth of the regime. However, the regime promised to deliver democratic dividends and good governance, but shortage of time resulting from the interference of military rendered the promise and wishes of the regime and utopia or nightmare. Therefore, the study found it unjustifiable to analyse the regime.

### **3.4 Democratic and Political Governance in Nigerian's Third Republic 1992 – 1993**

The Buhari-led military regime in Nigeria was toppled by another military junta headed by General Ibrahim Babangida in 1984. The international pressure and forces from the super powers, especially, America and allied countries and other international organizations, e.g., the IMF and World Bank, sanction pressurized the military junta to relinquish power to a democratically elected president.

Samuel Huntington (1993) argues that with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the revolution of the globalization of democracy, nation states are forced to practice democratic rule without any condition (the third wave of democratization). The Nigerian military regime of Babangida in order to satisfy the international community manufactured and registered two (2) political parties in the country. National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP), funded by the government, constructed national headquarters in Abuja, and in the states and local government areas party offices were

constructed throughout the country; elections were conducted at states and local governments in the country while presidential election was annulled by the junta.

### **3.5 Maina Ma'aji Lawan Regime and Policy of Progress (January 1992 – November, 1993)**

Maina Ma'aji was the third democratically elected governor in Borno State after Goni and Jarma. Maina was elected in December 1991 and was sworn in on 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan, 1992 as a Governor of Borno State in a peaceful, free democratic election. The policy thrust of Maina Ma'aji Lawan regime in Borno State centered on active reduction in the general level of poverty, hunger, diseases, shortage of potable water in both urban and rural communities for human and animal consumption which he promised the electorates during the campaign struggle in line with the Social Democratic party (SDP) manifesto for the sustainable development and progress in the state.

The strategies of action chosen to implement the integrated rural development policy objectives were built around people oriented programmes on education, food, agriculture, water supply, health and environment as well as infrastructure. Thus, the Maina' regime had been portrayed as unparalleled in terms of achievements in the history of Borno State (Lawan, 1992).

The dynamic and the articulated programmes put in place had epitomized the state as an excellent example in rural transformation. The masses of the state that constituted the rural dwellers and the urban poor had been the focus of the administration in the five freedoms. These are: freedom from diseases, poverty, ignorance, exploitation and oppression, which formed the basis of the regime. The regime of Maina had a complete faith in democracy, fair play and justice to the down trodden in order to deliver good

governance and rule of law, accountability and transparency as pillars of democratic rule (Bislava, 1992).

In the health sector, the regime recorded a giant stride with the construction of seven general hospitals in the headquarters of all the newly created local government areas and equipped them with the most modern equipment. This goes in line with the comprehensive health policy of the regime that guaranteed good health for all citizens, including children, students, aged and the poor. The determination of the regime that accorded the health sector priority stemmed from its belief that no responsible regime could relegate the welfare of its citizens to the background (Bislava, 1992).

The regime offered free drugs for the treatment of leprosy, psychiatric cases and tuberculosis. Similarly, it must be stated that democracy and good governance not only entails holding periodic elections, but equally a need to have a vibrant and strong healthier citizens. These geared the regime to provide a comprehensive health centres for the communities that had over 10,000 people while those with less than 10,000 people got a Health clinic Ola (1992). In the area of preventive health care, the Ma'aji regime offered adequate and timely epidemiological environmental sanitations as well as personal hygiene. All these were to ensure accessibility of health services to the citizens of the state in line with the philosophy of the regime Tapidi (1992). Economic policy of the Ma'aji's regime in Borno State was built on the emphasis on self-reliant economy and just society; Borno, being blessed with arable land suitable for irrigation, farming got massive motivation and encouragement of the regime, and made the state to be not only self-sufficient in food production, but continued to be the food basket of the nation (Ola, 1992).

The introduction of public expenditure programmes that emphasized the central role of economic development were encouraged by the administration. Similarly, economic

strategies that piloted active intervention by the state became necessary and desirable to correct and observe failure of market forces. The development of industrial projects profiles and feasibility studies that viewed the encouragement and establishment of utilizing various local materials in the state was another milestone celebrated by the regime of Ma'aji Lawan. An investment company that served as a vehicle for the state's promoting of industry, commerce and export was established. Borno, being strategically located in the Lake Chad region reaching up to the Central African region, such as Chad, Cameroon and Central African Republic, had added advantage of business opportunities with a comprehensive data base and investment expertise which would delight interested investors from the said neighbours to Borno, not only offer enough revenue, but also job opportunities to the teeming unemployed youths (Lawan, 1992).

The agricultural and natural resources development are potentials of Borno State served as a pre-requisite for improving the living condition of the people. The Ma'aji regime focused on the policies of people oriented programmes on the policy of "one plot small-scale farmer" in its food and agricultural development efforts. This means enhancing the profitability of the produce and providing all required support to rain-fed agricultural cereals and legumes (Tapidi, 1992).

The vision of the regime's towards agricultural mechanization technology that afforded land clearing and preparation services that facilitated the expansion of farm by peasant farmers, revitalizing and strengthening the agricultural extension services, providing fertilizers, insecticides and other agro-chemicals and providing necessary infrastructural facilities to implement these programmes. All the above mentioned services were rendered in order to give the people of Borno dividend of democracy through good governance by the regime.



The provision of water for both human and animal consumption as well as for industries and irrigation agriculture stood out as one of the most important components of the integrated rural development policy of the regime. The determined effort of the regime was to emphasize the provision of portable water to all towns and villages which was worth commendable. The rehabilitation of wells, construction of dams and cattle troughs, and above all, the magnificent stride towards the completion of the multi-million naira surface water supply scheme in Maiduguri and Biu dam projects truly led to the amelioration of the suffering of Borno people. As poor housing condition exposed individuals to all forms of hazards, the housing policy of the Ma'aji regime simplified the process of acquiring land for building purposes established low-cost housing loan scheme for workers, property development agencies, building societies, mortgage institutions and housing estates in urban, semi-urban and rural areas on owner occupier basis.

In the area of rural road infrastructure, the regime supported and complemented the efforts of the Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI) and the local government councils in the provision of feeder roads that connected villages and farmlands throughout the state as well as provided adequate drainage system in the urban areas. In the transport section the mass transit programme was pursued. The Borno Express Limited was also reorganized and its facilities and operations expanded to cover every part of the state that facilitated the movement of not only persons, but also goods, thereby, delivering the good governance to the people of Borno state. Since the philosophies and programmes of the regime are predicated on ensuring justice and fair play for all citizens, the regime ensured absolute autonomy of the judiciary and provided it with all support and tools necessary to carry out statutory duties effectively and efficiently. Democratic governance without effective and just judiciary is like military regime.

The regime of Ma'aji was fully engaged with the proper execution of programmes that are mandated by the people. The success of any administration depends very much on how efficient and predictable, the civil service discharges its responsibilities by offering sound and proper execution of government's programmes. All top level government functionaries in particular developed a total sense of commitment and involvement in the running of the state affairs; thereby offering government departments the streamline of ensuring proper planning, effective monitoring as well as adequate control of their budgetary provisions and realization.

Educationally, apart from Borno being one of the least developed states in the federation, the standard of education has been falling faster than in any other part of the country. Ma'aji regime therefore, viewed the accessibility of functional education opportunities to every citizen as an essential ingredient toward the successful implementation of the objectives of its rural development programme. To these effects, primary and secondary schools education were accorded top priority, while the provision of free education at all levels became another milestone of the educational policy programme in Borno state. The education programmes of both primary and secondary levels were reviewed, in order to make them functional, productive and self-reliant. All existing schools were provided with the basic technique of teaching and learning facilities, while the reviewed condition of service of the teachers were undertaken thereby upgraded, their social and economic status as well as the teaching profession was also enhanced. Similarly, the administration accorded formal recognition and integrated the informal educational sector into mainstream education system and that was dividends of democracy to the citizens both in the urban and rural areas. Ma'aji was loved by the common men i.e. the

masses, hated by the elite. Many among the infrastructural development of the regime are still in use in the state (Lawan, 1992).

Thus, to sum it up, there was accountability, transparency, rule of law, separation of power and equality, among others in the regime. It can be argued that, the regime's democratic rule has delivered democratic dividend through the practice of good governance. In keeping with the regime's determination to improve the well being of the rural population, the provision of electricity to more towns and villages was not only instrumental for the promotion of developing of the rural industries, but also an essential service. Sufficed it to say, that in spite of the tremendous achievement of the Ma'aji's regime within a short period of time the regime faced a lot of challenges like the regime of Goni from the elite both educated and business class in the state. Most of the powerful elite in Borno belonged to the opposition party (NRC), most of the policies and programmes of the regime were vehemently condemned by the powerful class in the state.

Other challenge of the Ma'aji' regime was the financial incapability of the state because, being a rural state without too many industries or commercial institutions, the regime faced the herculean tasks of financial capabilities. Despite the challenges of the regime, the regime was able to deliver the democratic governance dividend, through the practices and application of good governance to the citizens in the state. Since the end of the Ma'aji's regime, the popular support and acceptability of the masses to democratic regime ended in the state. This is because, almost all the subsequent regimes are totally exclusive of the ordinary citizens, the powerful business elites, whose interest is to make money out of the government treasury, rather than service to the citizenry and state building.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DEMOCRATIC RULE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BORNO STATE: 1999-2015**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter is on the nature of democratic rule and political participation in Borno State. The chapter examines various democratic regimes in Borno State since 1999. The study adopts historical and descriptive approach to examine the nature, character and dynamics of democratic rule, since 1999-2015. The study examines the democratic institutions such as the regime's material disposition to democracy in terms of the quality of democratic institutions such as the legislative, executive, and the quantity of democratic institutions such as the number of political parties, political participation and electoral process, On the other hand, the directions of the regimes such as the regimes' democratic contents, such as norms and values were also examined.

May 29, 1999 marked a watershed in the state's political history. It was the dawn of the fourth republic, a return to democratic rule in the state from the military rule which was marked by much suffering, infrastructural decay and institutionalized corruption, Mukhtar (2014). This prompted the fact that, the hope of the common man for just and egalitarian society became rekindled due to the institutions of democratic governance. Borno celebrated the return to democratic rule with widespread jubilations and optimism as the state look forward to a new era of democratic rule, peace and prosperity.

## **4.2 Democratic and Political Governance in Nigerian's Third Republic 1992 – 1993**

The Buhari-led military regime in Nigeria was toppled by another military junta headed by General Ibrahim Babangida in 1984. The international pressure and forces from the super powers, especially, America and allied countries and other international organizations, e.g., the IMF and World Bank, sanction pressurized the military junta to relinquish power to a democratically elected president.

Huntington (1991) argues that with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the revolution of the globalization of democracy, nation states are forced to practice democratic rule without any condition (the third wave of democratization). The Nigerian military regime of Babangida in order to satisfy the international community manufactured and registered two (2) political parties in the country. National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP), funded by the government, constructed national headquarters in Abuja, and in the states and local government areas party offices were constructed throughout the country; elections were conducted at states and local governments in the country while presidential election was annulled by the junta.

### **4.2.1 The Democratic and Political Governance in Borno in the Nigerian Fourth Republic: Mala Kachalla Regime (1999-2003)**

What should be the best form of government that engaged the attention of man since time immemorial? The discovery of democracy as a form of government that guarantees liberty, freedom and equality, was seen as an achievement by man. Thus, the agitations for changes by Nigerians since independence could be regarded as quest for democratic rule and good governance. The demise of the military head of state in Nigeria, General Sani Abacha, in 1998 gave birth to another democratic transition in the country. General

Abdul-Salam who succeeded the Abatcha junta, hurriedly decided to relinquish power in only nine months of his tenure.

At the onset of the fourth republic in Nigeria, in May 1999, citizens were full of expectations that the new democratic project would not only facilitate national integration and economic development, but also political stability after several years of military rule, that was characterized by corruption, inequality, abuse of human rights, non-independent judiciary, under-development, among others. The high expectations were borne out of several factors that most important being the fact that general Obasanjo was credited as the Head of State, who implemented the policies initiated by the late Murtala Mohammed (1976-1979).

Therefore, Nigerian reasons that Obasanjo knew and understood the complete terrain of Nigerian political system, thus, Nigerians were waiting eagerly the much-shouted dividends of democracy could be delivered by Obasanjo. The high expectations soon evaporated into gloomy smoke. Thus, Borno State, being one of the states of the federation, was not left out in the democratic process took up in May, 1999. When in 1999, the present democratic dispensation in the country (Fourth Republic) was ushered in, the people of Borno State were full of expectations and high hopes for a better tomorrow, if not for the present generation but at least for the unborn generation.

Alhaji Mala Kachalla of the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP) was elected as the fourth executive governor of Borno State in 1999. Kachalla's regime was the continuation of the elites supported regime of the 1983 under Jarma which lasted for only three months. Kachalla who belonged to the powerful elite's business class in the state laid the foundation of the elitist and the clientele politics in the state. The Kachalla regime promised to bring development to the door steps of Borno. The regime's policies and programmes were

water supply, health care, agriculture, education, works and transport, commerce, housing and environment among others.

Health, as they said is wealth, turned to be one of the top-most priorities of the Mala's regime. The actions and activities of the regime were geared towards improving the health condition of the people, rehabilitation of general hospitals in the state focus on the creation of zonal specialized hospitals. The objective of this was to spread and extend improved service delivery to the rural areas as well as to reduce pressure on the health facilities in the metropolis. However, some of the above health policies of the regime ended in vain. In the agricultural sector, the regime promised to play a vital role in the lives of the predominantly rural based communities, no serious government can ignore the agricultural sector. The Agriculture since time immemorial has been the major source of income for farmers and rural poor. To cushion the effect of the escalating food price, the regime adopted the federal government's strategic grain reserve and sold at subsidized cost.

The work and transport ministry is basically the technical arm of government. Provision of infrastructures such as construction/rehabilitation of roads, public building, installation and maintenance of street light and other services are being carried out by the works and transport ministry. Borno State is one of the commercial hot beds of northern Nigeria bordered by three (3) countries, namely, Cameroon, Chad and Niger, these countries basically relied on Borno for the passage of goods and products. It is not an exaggeration to say that over sixty (60) percent of those country's market goods pass through Borno i.e. Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Central African Republic.

Knowing full well the position of commerce in the economic life of the state, the regime pursued the establishment of six (6) border free-trade zones to be cited at the border communities of the state in order to boost the economy and revenue generating capacity of

the state. Suffice it to say however, in that spite of the state being bordered by three (3) International countries, the people of the state are among the poorest in the region (National Office of Statistics, 2014). The international market initiated by the regime, has ever functioned. And in view of its vintage location, Borno offers a good opportunity for not only to increase in the economic and commercial activities, but also to provide a window for generating employment.

Education is the bedrock of a society; it is also the take-off point for the continuous progress and development of any society. Qualitative manpower for both public and private sectors is provided through education.

Bearing the above in mind, the Mala' regime had consciously dedicated priority to the education sector from primary to secondary and to tertiary level. The programme of primary schools, rehabilitation and provision of furniture in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning, promoted the increase in enrolment of pupils in the sector. Furthermore, the administration had expanded the provision of instructional facilities and materials in the schools.

Equally, it could be argued that all the construction and renovations of schools, both at primary and secondary schools were concentrated in the metropolis. In the rural communities, the regime failed in its obligations. Another aspect of the regime's education policy was to improve the quality of manpower in the state. The regime sponsored Borno State indigenes to pursue various academic programmes in overseas and allowances were paid to all students within the country.

The overseas scholarship policy of the regime was criticized and condemned by the general public that only the children of the elite benefitted from overseas, and the home scholarship allowance was very small, in that it could not even pay the registration of the



students at home. The universal acceptance of democracy as the best form of government is incontestable premised on the participatory opportunity of the citizenry in the election and dismissal of their political leaders and representatives. It guaranteed some recipe for good governance and fundamental human rights of all law-abiding citizens. However, the envisaged opportunities and hope that democratic rule offered to Borno citizens in Mala's regime seem to be below expectations of the electorates.

Ake (1996) argues that way to ensure social transformation is not to disassociate from the well being of the people but to institute the principles of democracy and social justice.

#### **4.2.2 The Nature of Democratic Rule in Borno State: Mala Kachalla Regime: 1999 – 2003**

The regime of Mala Kachalla marked the beginning of the fourth republic under democratic rule in Borno State. The regime was elected by the people of the state with the high hope and expectations of ushering in development, inclusion and participation in governance, accountability, transparency on the part of government officials and above all deliverance of democratic dividends.

The Kachallah regime in Borno State was characterized by absence of democratic norms, values and culture. The regime was accused of lacking leadership pedigree i.e. knowledge, and this can be trusted to the fact that among the numerous qualities of leadership, knowledge is the top most in terms of priority. Thus, the regime ascended unto political power (governance) ill-prepared without any blueprint or road map for development, as a result of short period of the transition calendar of Abdulsalami regime (Ismail, 2002).

Tijjani (2007) argues that, Nigeria's democracy is one that was forever maintained by godfatherism, garnished with feudal titles and accoutrements. At whatever level, Nigerian politicians had betrayed the trust of the electorates. The nature and characteristics of Borno's democratic experience under Kachalla regime was the type where the people and the state were owned by the regime leaders. This is because, the state was turned to a welfare state, and the resources were spent and shared, distributed by the political office holders as privately owned, Umara (2010). In another essay, Onyegbula (2000:24-25) has pointed out that "the standard of living continued to worsen by the day while the social infrastructure and educational systems are still comatose".

Drawing reference to the regime under review, democratic form of government is said to be the government of the people by the people and for the people. However, assessing Borno under the Kachalla regime, one can authoritatively argue that it was a government for the elites. It should also be noted that some forces which were called "government apologists" have consistently drawn attention to the increase in the awards of juicy contracts, giving rise to a flamboyant life style, more cars and houses to the elites at the expense of the masses. Moreover, the business class in the state was the political gladiators who used government machinery and power as an instrument for self-enrichment and political gain (Tar and Shettima, 2010).

The inception of the fourth republic and Kachalla's regime rekindled the hopes and aspirations of the ordinary man in Borno State. However, towards the tail end of the regime whether democratic rule is better than the military regime or not? This is because it could be argued that democratic regimes in the state compounded the problems of life and security, unemployment, poverty and inequality among others, Shehu (2010). Thus, democratic rule that failed to provide democratic dividends cannot be better than other

forms of government. The electorates in the state only live up to the status of a ‘rubber stamp’ during electioneering processes. They have no influence on the actions and decisions of the regime leaders and failed to show their discontentment because of low level of political education and culture.

#### **4.2.3 The Executive/Legislation Relations in Borno Under Mala Kachalla Regime**

The legislature is a cardinal institution of democracy. Its functions are defined in terms of law making, representation, oversight and constituency related responsibilities, all of which are pivotal to the good health of democracy, if well delivered. After political parties, the legislature arguably offers the most comprehensive of gender, ethnic, religious and ideological differences. It also serves to hold government accountable for its actions and inactions, itself permanently under the watchful eagle eyes of civil society including the media, Omotola (2005:20). Consequently, been a core institution of democracy, the legislature, ideally derives its democratic strengths from its roots, responsibility and responsiveness to the people, Salih in Omotola (2003:20) argues that:

It is obvious that parliaments or legislatures are the heart of governance and national integrity system that citizens entrust with the burdensome task of ensuring that democratic states, aided by the constitution fulfill their functions in the interest of the citizens.

The legislative arm of government in Nigeria at the state level is named the House of Assembly with the introduction of the Presidential system of government in 1979; it provided for a bicameral legislature at the federal level (National Assembly) composed of Senate and House of Representatives. The former is the upper house while the latter, the lower house; state assemblies are unicameral.

The Borno State House of Assembly, like that of any other state in Nigeria, has a role to play in a democratic dispensation. The legislature in all democratic societies has primary function of legislation. It is entrusted with the power to make laws for peace and order, above all, good governance. The members are elected representatives of the people and it is through them that the people participate in the process of governance of the state. Primarily, the major functions of the legislature according to Egwu (2000) are: deliberate on matters of general interest; law making, financial powers, especially in relation to appropriation or proposals for the use of public money; checkmating the excesses of the executives (largely oversight function including the power of impeachment), confirmation of key political appointments, providing political education to the public, as well as leadership selection. The Borno State House of Assembly plays a role in this direction in order to attain the aforementioned functions. The legislative government and constitutionalism in Nigeria, as in most developing countries, has been a chequered one. The British government during 1946, 1951, 1954 and 1960 constitutions produced them through proclamation (Ayuba, 2014:267).

The imperative of legislature in any democratic setting cannot be over-emphasized. It is very central to the sustenance of democracy, it is perhaps where the real representation of the people is made manifest, in the sense that it is the arm of government where majority of the elected representatives of the people are concentrated. It is important because it serves the critical function of checks and balances in a democracy, Anyaegbunam (2003). The legislative powers of the states of the federation are vested in the House of Assembly of a state in line with the provision of the 1999 Constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria; the state Houses of Assemblies are unicameral in nature.

To substantiate the relevance of the legislature, the various Houses of Assembly are vested with the power to confirm the state governor's commissioner's appointees through section 192(2) of the 1999 Constitution. The State House of Assembly also confirms the appointment of the Chief Judge of a state (S.271 (1), the Grand Khadi of the Sharia Court of Appeal of a state (S.276 (1) and the President of the Customary Court of Appeal (Section 281(1)). Therefore, Section 197 (1a, b, and c) in the light of section 198 vested in the State House of Assembly powers to confirm the appointment of chairmen and members of state commissions, boards and parastatals, Anyaegbunam (2003:42). With regards to impeachment and judicial functions, the Constitution contains formidable checks and balances on the executive arm through the legislature impeachment instrument. This was evident in Borno State House of Assembly in 2002 when the legislature threatened to impeach Governor Mala Kachalla over the institutional appointment in the boards of state-owned companies

Similarly, the Constitution provides for approval of the Deputy Governor of the State in a situation where the governor-elect dies or is unable to be sworn in by virtue of Section 181(1) of the constitution by simple majority. Other powers conferred by the constitution includes power to investigate public agencies and review the implementation of government policies i.e. good governance and limit inefficiency; power to approve or reject important appointment among others. The primary function of the legislature as reflected in Section 4 of the constitution includes statute making – this involves the enactment, repealing and revision of laws for the whole state, the legislature promotes the doctrine of separation of powers, they provide for some oversight functions, providing link between government and the governed (people) they are means of channeling demands from below and providing information from above, it provides relevant facts and fancies

before the electorate which does sit-in judgment seat upon governments investigation – the legislature performs investigative functions; representation – the legislature is the very essence of reprehensive government (Ball, 1979:150-151).

Between 1999 and 2003 a total of thirty-one (31) bills were passed into law, together with about 142 resolutions, which touched the lives of the people in the state. Notable among these are provision of relief materials for flood and fire disaster victims, provision of health related materials and services – snake bites, epidemics, cholera, evacuation of drainage and culverts. Other includes renovation of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, construction and renovation/rehabilitation of feeder roads, provision of portable drinking water, among other. Table 1 reflects the performance of the legislative organ for the period under review (four years).

**Table 4.1: Bills Passed into Law (1999 – 2003)**

S/N	Title	Sponsor	Nature	Year of Assent
1.	Borno State Rural Water Agency	Executive	Water supply	1999
2.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal	1999
3.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive		1999
4.	Borno State Order of precedence Law	Executive	Administration	1999
5.	Borno State Housing Corporation Law	Executive	Housing	2000
6.	Implementation of Remuneration of Political and Public Office holders in the State and Local Government (Executive, Legislative and Judiciary) as determined in the Committee's report	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2000
7.	Shariah Administration of Justice in Borno State	Executive	Religious Affairs	2000
8.	Law of the Prohibition of Prostitution, Adultery, lesbianism, homosexuality, fornication and operation of brothels	Executive	Religious Affairs	2000
9.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal	2000
10.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal	2000
11.	Teaching Service Board in Borno State	Executive	Education	2000
12.	Borno State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) Law 2000	Executive	Administration	2000
13.	Borno State Constituency Development Law	Executive	Administration	2000
14.	Repealing and saving of some Borno State Laws	Executive	Administration	2000
15.	Establishment of Borno State Zakat and Endowment Fund Board Law	Executive	Religious Affairs	2000

16.	Prohibition of liquor business and matters related therewith law	Executive	Religious Affairs	2000
17.	Shariah Panel Code Law	Executive	Judiciary	2000
18.	Borno State Law Reforms Commission Law	Executive	Administration	2000
19.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal	2001
20.	Urban and regional Planning and Development Board	Executive	Urban Planning	2001
21.	Amending the Shariah (Administration of Justice Law)	Executive	Judiciary	2001
22.	A law to amend certain provisions in the Borno State Rural Water Supply Agency and other related matters	Executive	Water	2001
23.	Supplementary Appropriation law	Executive	Fiscal	2001
24.	Quick disposal cases Law	Executive	Judiciary	2001
25.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal	2002
26.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal	2002
27.	Borno State Joint Local Government Account	Executive	Fiscal	2002
28.	Numbers of Khadi of Shariah Court of Appeal in Borno State	Executive	Judiciary	2002
29.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2003
30.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2003
31.	A law to amend a provision and Local Government Law (Amendment Law	Executive	Local Government Administration	2003

Source: Borno State House of Assembly

**Table 4.2: Members of Borno State House of Assembly 1999 – 2003**

S/No	Name	Sex	Constituency	Party Affiliation	Post
1.	Bulama Fugu Ibrahim	M	Abadam	ANPP	Speaker
2.	Musa Inuwa Kubo	M	Shani	ANPP	Deputy Speaker
3.	Ibrahim Lawan Umar	M	Mobbar	ANPP	Member
4.	Abdulrahman Abdulkarim	M	Ngala	ANPP	Member
5.	Kolo Bukar	M	Kukawa	PDP	Minority Leader
6.	Kaka Adam Mustapha	M	Mafa	ANPP	Member
7.	Buba Audu Gwoza	M	Gwoza	ANPP	Member
8.	Ularam Medugu	M	Askira/Uba	ANPP	Member
9.	Baba Malah Bukar	M	Bama Central	ANPP	Member
10.	Bello Ayuba	M	Bayo	ANPP	Member
11.	Usman Ali Dika	M	Biu	PDP	Member
12.	Maina Yama	M	Chibok	PDP	Member
13.	.Alifa Bukar	M	Dikwa	ANPP	Member
14.	Gaji Bulama	M	Gubio	ANPP	Member
15.	Ali Mai Sangayama	M	Gulumba/Woloji	ANPP	Majority Leader
16.	Shehu Bukar Fandi	M	Guzamala	PDP	Member
17.	Lawan Kolomi	M	Damboa	PDP	Minority Whip
18.	Dr. Yusuf Gana Balami	M	Hawul	PDP	Member
19.	Baba Gana Bukar	M	Jere	ANPP	Member
20.	Abba Umar	M	Kaga	ANPP	Member
21.	Zanna Musa Agid	M	Kala Balge	ANPP	Member
22.	Usman Umar Auno	M	Konduga	ANPP	Member
23.	Isa Idris Wakirwa	M	Kwaya-Kusar	PDP	Member
24.	Modu Fugumi	M	Magumeri	PDP	Member
25.	Baba Kaumi Liman	M	Marte	PDP	Member
26.	Wakil Bukar Mustapha	M	Monguno	PDP	Member
27.	Mustapha Baba Shehuri	M	MMC	ANPP	Member
28.	Maina Bukar Gajiram	M	Nganzai	PDP	Member

Source: Borno State House of Assembly



Ayuba (2014:217) argues that scholarly researches show that more often than not, there are clashes of interests, rivalries and differences between the executive and the legislature, but it is equally true the two are accommodating and can share enough to force a solution. From 1999 to 2003, the Borno State legislature was dominated by the members from the ruling party in the state that is the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) (see table two). Out of the twenty-eight (28) members in the State Assembly, 17 are from the ANPP while 11 are from the opposition party – the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). However, the ANPP being majority in the Assembly did not prevent the house from misunderstandings and clashes of interests or at loggerhead with the executive. The executive legislatures were stunt in feud that calls for impeachment of the executive governor and imbroglio. This is not unconnected with the fact that the house during the period was divided, composing of ANPP and PDP, which though not of equal strength in terms of membership was a bit short of the required two-thirds to effect crucial legislative business with constitutional ramification. For instance, in 2000 there was showdown between the executive and the legislature over unapproved expenditure amounting to ₦1 Billion in the state. This fuelled the protracted crisis between the executive and the legislature. The legislature alleged “gross misconduct” based on gross violation of Section 126 (3) and fundamental breaches of the Borno State Appropriation Law 2000, Section 120 (1-4) and 121 (4a and b) (Daily Trust 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2002).

Similarly, in 2002 there was another impeachment plot to unseat the Governor. This was as a result of another major crisis between the executive and the legislature. The crisis was suspected to have been masterminded by external forces because of the intra-party conflict. However, the plot was abortive (Daily Trust 20<sup>th</sup> January 2002). The executive became sensitive of the impeachment threat and thus drew the legislative closer

and also granted car and house loans of millions of naira to each member. This singular act prevented the extermination influence of the opposition to the legislative assembly. Suffice to say however, the executive-legislative relations in Borno State under the Mala Kachallah regime was generally not cordial and smooth throughout, but the regime had managed the crisis and prevented the impeachment saga.

#### **4.2.4 Political Participation and Electoral Activities in Borno Under Mala Kachalla**

##### **Regime: 1999 – 2003**

The political stability and development of any political system is a function of the awareness and positive involvement of the citizens in civic and political matters. This makes Appadorai (2004) to posit that democracy demands from the common man a certain level of ability and character: rationale conduct and active participation in the government. In Nigeria, political activities and transition programmes have been marked with turbulence, uncertainties and violence. Right from the first republic, the Nigerian politics is characterized by greed, love of power, violence, assassination, thuggery and election riggings.

In a political system, the citizens can be involved in the political process and decision making by joining political party, voting during election, participating during electoral campaign, community affairs and other political activities Appadorai (2004:17). The level and pattern of political participation of the citizens determine, to some extent, the success of the political system. In Nigeria, politics is seen by a number of people as a dirty game which must be avoided. This is as a result of the undemocratic tendencies, deception, violence and uncertainties that characterize the political system. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Chairman, Professor Attahiru Jega (2001) lamented that:

The voter's apathy in Nigeria is no longer contentious. Voters turn out in the elections had provided a scientific and empirical evidence of the existence of voter's apathy and disinterestedness of sections of the electorates in elections... This ugly scenario has implications for popular participation and governance Jega (2001).

From the foregoing, it is pertinent to argue that Borno state's political participation and electoral process, just like any other state in the country, has its own peculiar scenario. The political process and elections are not the game of the common man or the electorates; it is purely the game of the regime leaders and political elites; political power in Borno resides with the regime leaders and the elites not the general public.

The consequences of this are the inability of the masses to have a link between their state of under-development and their non participation in the electoral process, Fabiyi (2010). Also deceit and unfulfilled promises by political leaders discouraged a number of Nigerians from participating in election and other political activities. Equally, Falade (2008) argues that politicians make series of promises during election campaigns and most of these promises are not kept after they have been voted into power. It is on this line that Abdullahi (2013) posits that the supposed beneficiaries of the democratic rule are typically peasant farmers who have no good roads, food, no good education, no good health, in fact all the essential needs of livelihood. Thus, it could be right to say paradoxically that the democratic rule in Borno state like other states in Nigeria focused on the needs of the political elites, bearing in mind their welfare and that of their families and cronies, who are unfortunately but dominating the political scene of the state solely to enrich themselves from the public funds bestowed under their custody in order to provide good governance and dividends of democratic rule to the populace.

The democratic regimes in Nigeria (Borno state inclusive) is one of the illiberal democracies the political regimes are only ambiguously democratic and function very poorly in protecting human rights, controlling corruption and addressing economic and political problems (Diamond, 1992). Democracy provides the opportunities for the people to freely exercise their voting rights in the selection of their representatives who govern them. Democracy depends on political parties to survive, since the structure of election rights from citizens' participation to candidate selection and participation of competing political parties. It is on this note that political parties occupy a special place in the democratic equation.

Thus, the political participation and electoral activities in Borno State under the regime revealed that the composition of political parties and the politicians in the state did not possess features of political parties such as ideology, patriotism, like-minded people as well as viable opposition and truly, one can concord with Lamidi and Bello (2013) who posits that in Nigeria, all political parties engage in intra-party conflict rather than embark on programmes that would benefit the masses. The result of undemocratic conduct of political parties such as candidate's imposition, unclear manifestoes as revealed, gave rise to political assassination that portrayed Nigeria as one of the most risky nations in the world. This analysis of Nigerian political party participation is not different with that of Borno State, because political activities in Borno state during the period under review were dominated by the political gladiators and political godfathers. The All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) that won the ninety percent of the political positions in the state was solely controlled and owned by the political elites, Tijjani (2002) argue that godsons and loyalists were allowed to contest for political positions; this is because of the interests of the regime leaders. The politics of exclusion or elite domination in Borno politics could be traced back

to the Second Republic where the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in the state despite being in the opposition controlled and dominated the business class, whereas the ruling party in the state the Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP) was the party of the reactionary masses (Tijjani, 2002).

#### **4.3 Nature of Democratic Rule Under Ali Modu Sheriff Regime: 2003-2011**

The election of Ali Modu Sheriff as the chief executive of the state resulted from the intra-party conflict between his predecessors Mala Kachalla, which led to the departure of the later to decamp to Alliance for democracy (AD) in his bid for re-election for second term. The emergence of Ali Modu Sheriff as the governor of Borno State marked a new dawn in the political activities of the state. This is because; it was the beginning of politics of the Borno's kleptocratic elites, Tijjani (2003). The regime under review has completely changed the dynamics of political processes and activities of the state. The democratic rule in Borno State turned to autocratic by nature, the business of governance and political activities became exclusive and belong to "who is who" in Borno. Democratic rule in Nigeria is progressively deteriorating, this is because, governance had become a passion and an avenue for wealth creation than service delivery (Shehu, 2010).

Consequently, political thuggery, abject poverty, acute youth unemployment, heightened crime rate, poor health prospects and widespread malnourishment have been the main features of Nigeria's political economy (Ogundiya, 2010). The nature and character of democratic rule in Borno State under Ali Modu Sheriff is not different from Ogundiya's assertion. Ogundiya (2010) goes further to argue that in Nigeria, bad governance or bad democratic regime is contrapuntal to a nation's socio-economic and political development, Borno state inclusive.

There is a common adage that says, you can fool some of the people some of the time but you cannot fool all the people all the time. This arises from the fact that the electorates have so much believed in him and reciprocated and voted the regime twice to give him second tenure. According to Tijjani (2008), the electorates in Borno state have faith in the regime of Ali Modu Sheriff, he went further to posit that like the king's new clothes, spineless sycophantic courtiers in a vain king's court, who could not tell the king he was naked, even when the king was indeed naked, and was shamelessly parading himself in what he called his "new clothes". Perhaps the electorates are of the view that they are precluded from the governance of their own state and were never part of the government; rather they were always victims of bad governance and refugees in their hometown and community (Shehu, 2010).

Tijjani (2008) argues that in Borno state, the masses were reluctant to show their discontentment to the regime, the electorates believed that only the cyclical and criminal elites have power to rule the state. Moreover, democratic rule in most of the states in Nigeria were a one-man affair, it is autocratic by nature, in the sense that, there were no consultation and accessibility to the executives; infact the states were run as a limited liability company. The people of Borno State whose democratic features portrayed as participants in the political participation and electoral process turned out to be spectators and wondered why the state was mongered by the electorates unconsciously (Tijjani, 2008).

The political scenario of Nigeria's fourth republic regimes was the type where people's hopes, needs, aspirations and demands were not attended to, rather what the regime leaders especially the Governor decides for the state is sacrosanct. This is because, policies and programmes meant for the state as dividends of democracy are rather executed in the interest of the governance than the governed (Ismail, 2010).

According to Adam (2016), Borno state was known for morality, discipline and respect for the constituted authorities in every human endeavour, where everybody respect each other, especially the younger generation to elders. However, he argues that Sheriff's regime destroyed the long existing culture of mutual respect and brotherliness among the people in Borno state for his political interest. The regime was accused of using public funds to buy the hearts and minds of the youths in the state, through the introduction of spraying money known in Kanuri terms as '*yirne*' at public gatherings and functions or even on the major streets of the state. And Sheriff succeeded on his mission mainly because of poor political culture of the electorates and above all, the high rate of illiteracy and abject poverty that bedeviled the state.

Democracy, as a form of government where human value and dignity is upheld, rights and freedom of human being are guaranteed, preserved and respected, turned into to be a state of comatose in the Nigerian fourth republic. The rise of political thuggery and violent politics in the state was attributable to the regime. This is because, it was during the regime's lifespan that the term "ECOMOG" political thugs or private police was introduced, encouraged and propagated. Youths were lured into political thuggery through the setting up of party secretariats (branch) throughout the state, equipped with modern electronic gadgets, inspired by the stimulus of hard drugs, with the availability of sophisticated weapons such as guns, cutlasses, among others at their disposal purposely bidding their master's agenda intently aiming at their political opponents.

The nature and dynamics of democratic governance in Borno State and Nigeria at large does not conform to the ideal, values and norms of the global tenets of democracy. This is because, the democratic rule in Borno State was accused of lacking the principles of

party politics such as, internal democracy, equality of members in terms of rights and privileges, liberation and the entire social system is faulty (Tijjani, 2007).

Jega (2007:38) sees the struggle and perception of democracy by political elites was just a mere transfer of political power to civilian regime through the elitist democratic process. He argued that democracy was perceived by the Nigerian political class (Borno state inclusive) as to remove the military from the governance of the country at all cost.

Consequently, the experience of the people of Borno State was that the democratic regime in the state during Sheriff distanced and disconnected the public from the realm of governance. This is because, the leadership is inaccessible to the average people in the state. Most people bitterly complained that, they do not hear from their government as often as they loved to and accused the leadership of valuing the electorates by reaching out for their votes during election by Osewa (2015). Similarly, it is in line with this, that the Sheriff regime was described as arrogant and insensitive to the plight of the electorates, by political analysts and commentators.

Adeyemi (2012) sees the nature and character or attitudes of the Nigerian leaders (Borno inclusive) where both the military and democratic regime leaders have failed in the art of governance of the country. He furthermore argues that, the primary goal of assuming leadership position by regime leaders is for self-enrichment. God-fatherism is threatening governance and democracy, in Nigeria, frustrating the electorates and affecting the capacity of government to develop the state. What ought to have been channelled to developmental projects in Nigeria is misappropriated to maintain and appease these political godfathers. As rightly observed by Omotola (2007:139), godfatherism in Nigerian democracy particularly its current system of administration is distributive. It is historically deeply rooted based on cultural values of Nigerian society, where it is purely socio-economic in



nature and mutually productive for the beneficiaries. Its politicization appears to have contributed to the criminalization of politics. Thus, one of the most disturbing and damaging influence of god-fatherism in Nigeria was canvassing for a truly free, fair and credible electoral process in which the electorates are expected to freely elect who governs them and represent their interest, Chukwuemeka (2012). The scenario sometimes leads to crisis, and this phenomenon endangers the relationship between the godfather and godson which has been seriously affecting the stability and development of the state and above all to the consolidation of democracy and good governance, (Azeez 2014).

Citing the example of political uproar between political godfather/godson relationships in 1999, Sheriff was said to have influenced the Borno state election. His candidate won the election and was governor of Borno state from 1999 to 2003 but the relationship between him and his benefactor was not cordial. Consequently, in 2003 the benefactor himself decided to contest the election against his godson, Kachalla and he claimed victory. It is on this, that, Omotoso (2013:129) posits that the politics of god-fatherism in Nigeria have shook various states to their foundations, polarizing the states along godfather and godson/governor's camps, distracting government and destroying governance. Most of the states concerned that experience such ill ended up without developmental projects that are commensurate with the quantum of resources available to them.

Similarly, another common nature of democratic rule under Sheriff's regime is non-consultative i.e. the Borno State Elders' Forum have accused the regime of turning down their suggestions and have sidelined them in the governance of the state (Adam, 2016).

Tar and Shettima (2010) on the nature and dynamics of democratic governance in Nigeria argued that the incumbents and their allies used state structures as an instrument to

get an upper hand over the opposition elites. The above assertion is the true picture of Borno politics under Sheriff regime, because it is blatantly clear to argue that the incumbent and ruling party has control the entire political process using state power and resources.

In Nigeria, the regime leaders and the political elites have appropriated ethnicity and sentiment to outwit one another in the race to elective positions and remain in power (Borno inclusive). Moreover, exploring the nature and dynamics of democratic rule in Nigerian states, electoral irregularities such as the use of money, weapons and political thugs by the political elites have negatively affected the consolidation of the democratic rule and good governance in Nigeria.

Borno State democratic rule and good governance during Sheriff's regime was not different from Ogundiya's (2010) analysis on democracy and good governance as Nigeria's dilemma. He argues that the political and bureaucratic corruption stands out to be the main reason for the tragedy of development and political values of Nigeria and maintains that Nigeria's development dilemma is as a result of the nature and attitude of Nigerian elite that continue to loot the national economy at the detriment of the Nigerian general public (Ogundiya, 2012). Politicians and political leadership in Nigeria (Borno state in collusive) did not adhere to the values and ideals of democratic rule and constitutionalism. Harriman (2006) argues that in Nigeria, there are abuse of power by the political actors and leadership, brazen corruption, disregard for due process and the weakening of the opposition.

#### **4.3.1 Political Participation and Electoral Activities Under Ali Modu Sheriff's Regime (2003 – 2011)**

Democracy provides the opportunities for the people to freely exercise their voting rights in the selections of representatives who govern them. Democracy depends on parties to survive, since the structure of elections right from citizen's participation to candidate's selection and participation of competing political parties. It is on this note that political parties occupy a special place in the democratic equation. Thus, it suffices to say that, the engagement of citizens in public affairs is the benchmark of the liberal democratic system. The availability of participation opportunities and the concomitant enabling procession and institutional pre-requisites, allied with positive political orientations to the political system, make it possible for citizens to choose their leaders at elections and also influence the public policy process and ultimately, the longevity of the democratic government (Diamond, 1997).

From the above assertion, political participation and electoral process in Nigeria (Borno State under Sheriff regime) revealed that political activities and the electoral process do not possess features of political parties such as ideology, party manifestoes, like-minded people as well as viable and strong opposition; the regime leaders in Nigeria engaged in inter-party conflict, rather than embarking on programmes that would transform the life of the masses. Lamidi and Bello (2013) argues that the result of undemocratic conduct of political parties such as candidate's imposition, undefined manifestoes, coupled with no ideological disposition, portrayed Nigeria as backward in terms of democratic consolidation. This made Stutzer and Frey (2006) to argue that the relevance of political participation as a source of interaction with the government serves as a platform for

citizen's obligations. They went further to assert that citizens who exercise their rights, for instance, by voting in elections are likely to be more satisfied with their membership of the state, and their own role in it. Civic engagement is consequently, a source of procedural utility – the valuation accorded the political process in its own right rather than its political outcome Stutzer and Frey, (2006). Citizens develop a sense of trust and confidence when they are involved in the political process but become disillusioned and estranged from it where there are limited participatory opportunities,

Thus, one can deduce the fact that, since the return of the democratic governance in Nigeria, Borno State inclusive represented one of the worst in terms of political participation and electoral process. This is because, the political elites, not only control the process, but so also dominated and owned it, to the detriment of the electorates. It is the game and activities of the regime leaders and the political elites in the country. This can authoritatively be likened to Tijjani's version of the argument, who posits that political power in Borno state resides with the regime leaders, where the electorates have no influence on the governance of the State (Tijjani, 2007).

Similarly, in line with this, Verba and Nie (1972) assert that through electoral participation, there abound, an educational device through which civic virtues are learned. Through participation, citizens learn political responsibility; acquire knowledge about the political culture, the organization of the democratic system, its institutions and their functions, and roles of incumbents. It is thus related with political socialization (Verba and Nie, 1972). These attributes and features of electoral processes are the missing link in Borno State under Sheriff's regime. This is borne out of the fact that, the absence of tentative playground for the electorates in the political participation and electoral process denied the citizens of Borno the awareness opportunities about the workings of the

democratic system that determines the level of affective and evaluative orientations which collectively underpin the legitimacy, stability and survival of the political system, (Garuba, 2007).

Thus, it must be argued that the form of government in which the sovereign power resides in and is exercised by the whole body of free citizens directly or indirectly through a system of representation, as distinguished from a monarchy, aristocracy or oligarchy, cannot be said to be obtainable in Nigeria's democratic regimes. This arises from the fact that, the political activities in Nigerian states were dominated by the political gladiators which ushered in, the politics of god-fatherism. Being a party owned and tale-guided by the elites, only the siblings of the regime leaders and their loyalists are privileged to vie for political positions in the State, (Tijjani, 2007).

Tijjani (2007) further argues that democracy is in jeopardy in Borno state. This is because, the ANPP led Sheriff Regime can best be described as the 'follow-my leader' mentality by the electorates and party die-hards. The non-ideological nature of the polity and politicians in Borno State and likewise the "booty sharing" attitude to governance have spelled doomed in Nigerian political landscape and electoral process (Borno State inclusive).

The concept of "public money" for "public good" is a mirage in Nigerian democratic governance. Once regime leader's swine and swindle into power, everything belongs to the leadership, ownership inclusive. The leadership, more often than not, are surrounded by surrogates, neophytes and party loyalists who are glad to work for the leader rather than work with him. Work for is feudal, while work with is democratic, Tijjani (2008). Moreover, it could be argued that at no time since the wave of democracy and democratic governance wind blew in Nigeria, political and electoral activities could said to

have been derailed. To round it up, it suffices to mention that, the politics of god-fatherism in Borno's political process can be traced to the regime of Sheriff i.e. from 2003 – 2011. The activities of godfather in political party participation in Borno State have rendered the political atmosphere ineffective in the process of discharging their responsibilities and functions by the political parties and the electoral process.

Omotola (2007) posits that god-fatherism impacts negatively on the democratic and political activities of a state, because, the restriction of the citizen's participation in the electoral process and voting exercises hinders the actualization and consolidation of democratic governance. Omotola (2007) went further to argue that in Nigeria, godfathers or political leaders, imposed candidates right from the ward level to state level and to national level on the contractual agreement that they surrender the keys to the state treasury. This exactly could be said of Sheriff in the history of Borno politics. He single-handedly bankroll and financed the candidature of Kachalla, to the Borno Government House in 1999, numerous legislative office holders, both at state and national level to the green Chamber during his reign as Governor and presently the anointing of Kashim Shettima – the incumbent Governor of Borno State.

#### **4.3.2 The Executive-Legislative Relations under Sheriff Regime: 2003-2011**

The legislative arm of government is crucial in the consolidation and sustenance of democracy in most part of the world. More specifically our concern here is on how the legislature affected the lives of citizens, taking into cognizance the executive-legislative relations during the regime under review. How has the House of Assembly facilitated these relations in mobilizing support for government policies and programmes, and designing legislation aimed at bringing about socio-economic changes? The desire for strong and vibrant legislature is sine qua non for development (Mezey, 1981).

Legislators do not have much effect on the major decisions regarding allocations, according to Mezey (1981) but can affect their distribution. When relatively free from party control and subject to popular elections they will spend a substantial amount of their time promoting rural development in their constituencies, because it is in their interest to do so. It is also in the interest of the society that they do so because it creates linkages between the rural areas and government. Rural development, therefore, is likely to proceed at faster rate because legislators recognize that such projects will ameliorate some of the hardships under which the rural population lives and render same receptive at changing their condition, Omotola (2003). Suffice to mention that, between 2003 and 2007, there were members in the Borno State House of assembly elected on the platform of Alliance for Democracy (AD), All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP); there were some measures of opposition. Indeed, the legislature certainly was not rubber stamp from the beginning. Ten out of twenty-eight members were of opposition parties. The AD and PDP each had five members (initially PDP had six members before they lost one to ANPP). With share determination of the ANPP, the ten members that hitherto belonged to AD and PDP were swallowed by the majority party in the House. Some members that were able to get re-elected, such as a member representing Gwoza constituency decamped to the ruling ANPP, (Ayuba, 2014).

The situation became worrisome, when members of the legislature were all ANPP representatives. This added advantage to the Governor, Ali Modu Sheriff, for example, by strengthening his leverage to become godfather in Borno polity and financier to bankroll the activities of the ANPP in the state in his favour, Abdulsalam (2007:7). The corollary was that some of the members came to the House through the support of the godfather, Ayuba (2014). This is evident as such patron-client relations affect the performance of the

House, and evidently, the composition of members of the House was all ANPP as can be seen in Tables 3 and 4. Consequently, oversight functions were compromised, with negative impact on good governance and democratic consolidation. This, according to Haruna Ayuba, was unlike the tenure of Mala Kachalla, during which the House was more vibrant because there existed opposition. Analysts argues that strong opposition brings about of good governance, (Ayuba, 2014).

**Table 4.3: Members of Borno State House of Assembly, 2003-2007**

S/N	Name	Sex	Constituency	Party Affiliate	Post
1.	Goni Ali Modu	M	Abadam	ANPP	Speaker
2.	Jibrin Satumari	M	Askira/Uba	AD	Member
3.	Bello Ayuba	M	Bayo	ANPP	Deputy Speaker
4.	Baba Mala Bukar	M	Bama Central	ANPP	Member
5.	Maina Yama Chibok	M	Chibok	ANPP	Member
6.	Rawa Goni Bukar	M	Gulumba/Woloji	ANPP	Member
7.	Asabe Vilita Bashir	M	Gwoza	PDP	Minority Leader
8.	Ibrahim Sani	M	Kwaya-Kusa	AD	Member
9.	Ibrahim Audu Miringa	M	Biu	ANPP	Member
10.	Zanna Musa Agid	M	Kala-Balge	ANPP	Member
11.	Mustapha Baba Shehuri	M	MMC	ANPP	Member
12.	Ali Bulama Yajiwa	M	Konduga	ANPP	Member
13.	Mohammed Zakariya	M	Dikwa	PDP	Member
14.	Shehu Bukar Fandi	M	Guzamala	AD	Member
15.	Ali Darni Abba Saleh	M	Kukawa	AD	Member
16.	Abdulrahman Abdulkarim	M	Ngala	ANPP	Majority Leader
17.	Abba Ali	M	Monguno	ANPP	Member
18.	Umar Gujja Tom	M	Jere	ANPP	Member
19.	Ayemu Lawan Gwasha	M	Damboa	PDP	Member
20.	Mohammed Sanda	M	Kaga	ANPP	Member
21.	Abdul Musa Msheliza	M	Hawul	ANPP	Member
22.	Mohammed Bukar Kolo	M	Magumeri	PDP	Member
23.	Wakil Bukar Lawan	M	Nganzai	PDP	Minority Whip
24.	Musa Lawan Kubo	M	Shani	ANPP	Member
25.	Gaji Bulama	M	Gubio	ANPP	Member
26.	Hursa Bashir	M	Marte	ANPP	Member
27.	Hassan Maibe	M	Mobbar	AD	Member
28.	Kaka Adam Mustapha	M	Mafa	ANPP	Chief Whip

Source: Borno State House of Assembly



**Table 4.4: Members of Borno State House of Assembly 2007 – 2011**

S/No	Name	Sex	Constituency	Party Affiliate	Post
1.	Goni Ali Modu	M	Abadam	ANPP	Speaker
2.	Bello Ayuba	M	Bayo	ANPP	Deputy Speaker
3.	Rawa Goni Bukar	M	Gulumba/Woloji	ANPP	Member
4.	Baba Ali Modu	M	Mafa	ANPP	Member
5.	Engr. Abdullahi M. Askira	M	Askira/.Uba	ANPP	Member
6.	Umar Kaigama (Yerima)	M	Askira/Uba	ANPP	Member
7.	Ahmadu Usman Jaha	M	Gwoza	ANPP	Member
8.	Dala Muta	M	Chibok	ANPP	Member
9.	Ayemu Lawan Gwasha	M	Damboa	ANPP	Deputy Leader
10.	Mohammed A. Zakariya	M	Dikwa	ANPP	Member
11.	Alhaji Fugu Bura	M	Gubio	ANPP	Member
12.	Abdulkarim Adam	M	Guzamala	ANPP	Member
13.	Ibrahim Audu Miringa	M	Biu	ANPP	Member
14.	Pharm. Abdul Musa Mshelia	M	Hawul	ANPP	Member
15.	Mustapha Alhaji Ba'ale	M	Jere	ANPP	Whip
16.	Mohammed A. Sanda	M	Kala-Balge	ANPP	Member
17.	Diege Mohammed	M	Kala-balge	ANPP	Member
18.	Ali Bulama Yajiwa	M	Konduga	ANPP	Member
19.	Ali Darni Abba Saleh	M	Kukawa	ANPP	Member
20.	Bala Mohammed	M	Kwaya-Kusar	ANPP	Member
21.	Mohammed Bukar Kolo	M	Magumeri	ANPP	Deputy Whip
22.	Engr. Mohammed Gambomi	M	Marte	ANPP	Member
23.	Abatcha Umar Modu	M	MMC	ANPP	Member
24.	Mallam Bukar Gana	M	Mobbar	ANPP	Member
25.	Idrissa Jidda	M	Ngala	ANPP	Leader
26.	Wakil Bukar Lawan	M	Nganzai	ANPP	Member
27.	Abba Ali Mangal	M	Monguno	ANPP	Member
28.	Inusa Gamandi Danlami	M	Shani	ANPP	Member

Source: Borno State House of Assembly

**Table 4.5: Bills Passed into Law, 2003-2011**

S/N	Title	Sponsor	Nature	Year of Assent
1.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2003
2.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2003
3.	A law to amend a provision and Local Government law 2000 (Amendment)		Local Government Administration	2003
4.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2004
5.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2004
6.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2004
7.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2005
8.	Borno State Revenue Board district Committee and Revenue Court Law (Amendment) Law			2005
9.	A law to provide for the establishment, function of Borno State House of Assembly Service Commission and other related matters connected therewith	Legislature	Legislative Service Commission	2005
10.	Borno State Compulsory Free Universal Basic Education (Amendment) Law	Executive	Education	2005
11.	Borno State (Grant of pension to Governors and deputy Governors) Law	Executive	Finance	2005
12.	Borno State Environmental Protection Agency (Amendment) law	Executive	Information	2005
14.	Borno State Accelerated Development Programme law, Cap Cases of Borno State	Executive	Agriculture and Natural Resources	2005
15.	Borno State Local Government law, 2000 (Amendment) Law, 2005	Executive	Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs	2005
16.	Borno State Scholarship Board (Amendment) law	Executive	Education	2005
17.	Borno State Small-Scale Industries Credit Scheme Fund (Amendment) law	Executive	Commerce and Industry	2005
18.	Borno State Hotels and Tourism Board (Amendment) Law	Executive	Commerce and Industry	2005
19.	Borno State Local Government pension fund (Amendment) law	Executive	Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs	2005
20.	Borno State Education Endowment Fund (Amendment) law	Executive	Education	2005
21.	Borno State Mass Literacy (Amendment) Law	Executive	Education	2005
22.	Borno State College of Education, Business and Management Studies Konduga (Amendment) Law	Executive	Education	2005
23.	Borno State Environmental Protection Agency (Amendment) Law	Executive	Environment	2005

Table 4.5 (Continue)

25.	Borno State Radio Television Corporation (Amendment)	Executive	Information	2005
26.	Borno State Accelerated Development Area Programme Law, CAAP, Cases of Borno State, Law	Executive	Agriculture and Natural Resources	2005
27.	Borno State Scholarship Board (Amendment) Law	Executive	Education	2005
28.	Borno State Local Government Law, 2000 (Amendment) Law, 2005	Executive	Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs Education	2005
29.	Borno State Endowment Fund (Amendment) law, 2005	Executive	Education	2005
30.	Borno State Mass Literacy (Amendment) Law, 2005	Executive	Education	2005
31.	Borno State Livestock Company (Amendment) Law, 2005	Executive	Agriculture and Natural Resources	2005
32.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2006
33.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2006
34.	A law to provide for the establishment of Borno State radio Corporation (Amendment) 2006	Executive	Information	2006
35.	A law to provide for the establishment of Borno State Television Authority (Amendment), 2006	Executive	Information	2006
36.	Appropriation Law 2007	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2007
37.	Supplementary Appropriation Law, 2007	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2007
38.	Remuneration of political and public office holders in the Local Governments (Executive, legislature and Judiciary) as determined in the Committees' Report (Amendment) law, 2007	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2007
39.	Appropriation Law, 2008	Executive	Fiscal	2008
40.	Supplementary Appropriation Law, 2008	Executive	Fiscal	2008
41..	Maiduguri Trailer Park law, 2008	Executive	Transport	2008
42.	Borno State Local Government Law, 2000 (Amendment) Law 2008	Executive	Fiscal	2008
43.	Borno State Billboard Control and Prohibition 2008	Private	Environment	2008
44.	Borno State Local Government Law, 2000 (Amendment) Law, 2008	Executive	Local Government Administration	2008
45.	Borno State Motor Vehicle Administration Law	Private	Transport	2008
46.	Appropriation Law 21009	Executive	Fiscal	2009
47.	Borno State Agency for the Control of HIV/AIDS and Malaria and other Matters connected therewith Law, 2009	Executive	Health	2009
48.	Borno State Road Maintenance Agency Law, 2009	Executive	Transport	2009

Table 4.5 (Continue)

49.	Borno State Local Government, 2000 (Amendment) Law 2009	Executive	Local Government Administration Finance	2009
50.	Borno State (Grant of pension to Governors and Deputy Governors) Law, 2005 (Amendment) law, 2009	Executive	Finance	2009
51.	Appropriation Law 2010	Executive	Fiscal	2010
52.	Borno State Islamic religious Preaching Law, 1981 (Amendment) law, 2010	Executive	Religious Affairs	2010
53.	Local Government law, 2000 (Amendment) Law 2010	Executive	Local Government Administration	2010
54.	Appropriation Law 2011	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2011
55.	Borno State Housing Corporation Law 2001 (Amendment) Law 2011`Private	Housing	2011	

Source: Borno State House of Assembly

Confrontation between branches of government can also occur but generally only when one party controls the chief executive office and other political parties control the legislature. However, the Borno State House of Assembly was dominated by politicians from the governor's party ANPP. Indeed, all members of the House were from ANPP, especially during the second term of office from 2007 – 2011. The composition was all male affair and without any other party membership (BSHA). The composition of the House could suggest compromise.

Thus, the Borno state legislative could said to have been ‘pocketed’ during the Sheriff’s regime. These challenges among other things had bedevilled the House into politics of cronyism or god-fatherism, which was spearheaded by the Sheriff’s regime. Some members either directly or indirectly secured their post with little or due support of the ANPP chieftain in the state, namely Governor Sheriff, hence tension in the House will negates the mutual understanding of the former (Ayuba, 2014:287).

Fragile opposition in the House with the exception of 2003-2007, negates the principle of checks and balances; hence no much debates and criticism on the floor of the House were observed. A case in point was the inability of the House to compel the

executive arm of government to allocate the 777 and 505 housing estates and distribution of thousands of motor cycles purchased by the governor to the general public, which lasted for years after completion (under Governor Sheriff) (Ayuba, 2014:287).

The House also lacks autonomy, especially in financial terms. Financial autonomy (National daily Newspaper, 2011), by the legislative arm of government ought to be granted. It is never healthy for a nascent democracy that the legislative arm goes to the executive for funding. Independence of the legislature should include financial autonomy (Ayuba, 2014). It is on this note that one could argue for the need of public enlightenment about the activities of the House of Assembly to be put in place. This argument can best be buttressed, bearing in mind the fact that between 2003 and 2011, of Sheriff Regime, no single Bill emanated from the public. Overwhelming majority of the Bills, indeed, all but three (3) of the 55 Bills passed emanated from the Executive. Out of the other three, one was sponsored by the legislature itself and the other two were private bills, (Ayuba, 2014).

The election of Ali Modu Sheriff as Governor of Borno State had made the long-awaited dream of Borno powerful elite a reality. Sheriff who belonged to the elite class became the fifth democratically elected governor of Borno State. The 2003 election had actualized and completed the total domination of Borno politics by the elites. Ali Modu Sheriff was sworn in as the 5<sup>th</sup> governor of the state on 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2003.

The coming on board of Sheriff's regime with laudable and people oriented programmes seems to restore hope of the common man who felt neglected. Being the first executive to have served the state two terms, the first lap of Sheriff's programmes and policies seemed to be for the good of the common man. Refreshingly, things began to happen, as bold steps were taken to address the teething problems of the state and life

began to become meaningful and worth living. Institutions sprang to life again and people rose from their slumber and blood began to flow in the tortured veins of the state.

To improve the general efficiency and effectiveness in the state, the Sheriff administration engaged in various programmes and policies towards improving the living condition of the masses. The justification for any government to govern the citizenry depends on her ability and capacity to safeguard the people's lives and property; the people must feel secured if they are to participate in developmental programmes and policies; the provision of portable water supply for both human and animal consumption was one of the programmes of the Sheriff's regime; because this was due to the fact that the issue of water touches on the survival of the people. Borno State is located on the fringes of the Sahara desert with arid climatic conditions for most part of the year. Indeed, the unique geographical and climatic conditions have been largely responsible for the perennial scarcity of potable water supply across the state.

The approach of the regime, therefore, geared towards procurement of water treatment chemicals used in processing water at the Maiduguri Water Plant for upward usage by people of the metropolis and its surroundings. The programme was commendable in the sense that efforts were also turned to the rural communities in Borno State for portable water supply through drilling of boreholes and the resuscitation of non-functional submersible pumps for both human and animal consumption.

Another area of significance in the regime's programmes was the health sector; the provision of accessible and affordable health care services through the revitalization of the entire sector. Democracy provides a veritable platform for consolidation of good governance through institutional arrangements and citizen participation, (Ake, 1996). Tijjani (2004) argued that the policies and programmes were not designed for the benefit of

the common man even from the beginning. The regime's policy under the education sector received highest premium from the beginning. The regime made efforts to improve the standard of primary education through the disbursement of furniture and instructional materials and at the same time, the prompt payment of salaries and other benefits to school teachers to boost their morale. Similarly, boarding primary schools were constructed in all local government headquarters of the State. And also the institutionalization and launching of the primary school pension scheme which was hitherto non-existent seems to be commendable.

However, the education policy of the regime lacked credibility, because it did not justify its purpose of establishment. The idea of boarding primary schools was condemned vehemently by the populace especially parents. They argue that the regime that failed to feed secondary schools, could never feed the babies in the boarding primary schools. The constructions of these schools were never in the interest of the populace, but according to them a ploy to award contracts to the elite group at very highly inflated rate. Though well conceived, programmes and policies of the regime could have contributed to the educational development and human resource of the state, the erstwhile non-implementation of the policies and project abandonment defeated the aim of the policies.

The above scenario painted a bleak future for Borno State and as well symbolized under-development this contrast sharply to the tenets of democracy and good governance.

Diamond (1997) opines that:

Good governance is important to countries at all stages of development...our approach is to concentrate, on the aspect of governance that are mostly closely related to our surveillance over macro-economic policies, namely the transparency of government account, the public resource management and stability and transparency of the economic and regulatory for private sector activity.

Democracy is regarded as a form of government with certain acceptable universal principles like popular consultations and popular sovereignty, political equality and periodic elections among others, all these attributes and facilitates good governance.

The Sheriff's regime conceived a strong and firm commitment towards developing a virile industrial, commercial and tourism base for the state. The implementation of "Banki Free Trade zone" project aimed at boosting international trade between Nigeria and neighbouring Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Similarly, efforts towards the establishment of border market, so as to increase commercial activities and strengthen relationship with Borno neighbours seemingly became commendable. Furthermore, in line with the regime's declared commitment towards ensuring a rapid and sustained economic development in the state, dormant industries such as the Neital Shoe Factory was been reactivated. In order to change the investment pattern in the state to stimulate industrial growth, the regime adopted the policy of encouraging private sector participation and involvement in direct investment for both domestic and international firm.

The practice and nuances of democracy have never been allowed to germinate in Borno state. Cohen (1971) on the mis-use of state power against opponents lamented that:

In all crises, all available apparatus were employed by the power elite discriminately against their opponents...not only to win and return to power, but to dominate and control the centre which though politically weak had all the dominant resources.

The attitude and style of leadership of the Sheriff's regime were antithetical to the achievement of democratic culture, values and good governance (G.G); they are no doubt immense and daunting. The absence of political will to resolve and overcome the problems of the state for the enthronement of democracy and good governance to the people of Borno, made the Sheriff's regime unpopular, especially towards the tail end of his tenure.



In conclusive terms, the role of the Borno State House of Assembly in sustenance of democracy under the Sheriff regime of 2003-2011, was not an impressive one. This was attributable to the challenges of political cronyism and the teething stage, the House has been assiduous in discharge of its constitutional responsibility. This was evident under the Sheriff administration, which was not only influential and decisive, but also autocratic. He was so powerful that no competent opposition was ready to challenge the domination of the ANPP as a party. The result was that no opposition parties were found to face the wrath of the dread. Hence, opposition party members shrouded their political platforms only to cross-carpet or better still, switch party to the ruling ANPP.

#### **4.4 The Nature of Democratic Rule in Borno State: The Kashim Shettima Regime 2011-2015**

The tail end of Sheriff's regime witnessed the emergence of Boko Haram violent conflict in Borno state, witnessed a mass assassination of politicians including the gubernatorial aspirant, Fannami Gubio of the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP). This prompted a dicey atmosphere towards finding a successor to the late aspirant. Shettima was forced by circumstances as the candidate of the ANPP in the 2011 gubernatorial elections. His candidature was vehemently opposed by majority of the party executive. However, inspite of the internal opposition and lack of support from the party officials (ANPP) Shettima was presented as the party's choice and equally accepted by the bureaucrats, the civil servants, the intelligentsia (where he cut his teeth, as an academic), the educated elites, Borno Elders among others, resulting from his educational qualification of M.Sc. degree and was once a lecturer at the University of Maiduguri. Moreover, his status as a banker and a technocrat of high repute, the position of the regional manager of Zenith Bank, coupled with his financial discipline and managerial skills, made people to

conclude that he is for good because he will transform and develop the state with his vast and remarkable experiences.

The regime of Shettima is the reincarnation of the Sheriff's regime; this is because the regime came into power without blueprint for governance or development, nor road map and agenda. And importantly, amid the security challenges posed by the deadly sect Boko Haram, the electoral processes in terms of electioneering campaign and voting exercises effectively took place. This situation not only threatens the existing peace of the state, but so also resulted in low turnout of the electorates for the fear of the unknown. It is this process that produced Shettima's regime, single-handedly supported and bankrolled by his political godfather Sheriff (Ayuba, 2014).

Against this background, the experiences in terms of the nature and dynamic of democratic governance depict lack of democratic principles, Ayuba (2014). That is to say democratic governance goes beyond periodic elections, it encompass freedom, better human living conditions with better life. It is these principles that the electorates in Borno state were deprived of, however, they were reached out for during the run-down to the 2011 gubernatorial elections amidst tight security challenges due to the ungodly activities of the Boko Haram insurgency. Democratic governance being all encompassing as instrument for meeting the yearnings of the society, must have two-sides of the same coin. In consequence, democracy and development, the sustenance and dividends of democracy is a matter of bread and butter to the populace.

However, poor governance in Borno is said to be most glaringly manifested in the dehumanizing, poverty and inequality, lack of accountability, corruption, and absence of basic infrastructures such as roads, schools, electricity, and hospitals, among others. Over seventy (70) percent of the populations of the state are living in the rural area (National

Bureau of Statistics, 2012). The above circumstances prompted the demand and clamour for good democratic governance in the State. Political democracy must develop side by side with economic empowerment, poverty reduction, employment opportunities and provision of social and infrastructural needs among others. Democracy and democratization entails a qualitative and quantitative human and resource management.

The nature and character of the democratic rule in Borno under the Shettima regime is also accused to be an elitist regime, Adam (2012). The regime's policies, programmes are not different from its predecessor's in terms of carrying out the needs and interests of the political gladiators in the state. In other words, it is the continuation of godfather (Sheriff) regime. The development and economic challenge in the state such as poverty, income, inequality, unemployment, among others are neglected by the regime, Ayuba (2014). It was said to be very unfortunate for the civil servant, educated elites, Borno Elders and the general public who have so much hope and believe in Shettima.

Another feature of the regime is lack of connection between the regime leadership and the general public. In other words, the regime is totally disconnected with the people in terms of policies, politics and programmes. Democratic rule in Borno State is said to be progressively deteriorating in every regime, this is borne out of the fact that each political regime is worse than the previous; the people of Borno state are said to have missed to set the compass of democracy to the right direction (Adam, 2012).

The essence of democratic rule is all about adhering to rule of law, separation of power, constitutionalism and discipline among others. However, the democratic regime in Borno state during the reign of Shettima is said to be lacking rule of law, no clear separation of powers, high level of inequality and gross misconduct and indiscipline by political elites. Moreover, the regime of Shettima is expected to be the regime of financial

discipline, accountability and transparency, as a result of his versatile knowledge and experience of the Governor in the banking sector, unfortunately the contrary is the case.

One of the glaring natures of democracy in Borno under Shettima regime is neither the selection of politicians into important political positions who neither have the qualification nor political exposure worst of all, some were into representative positions, be it at the state or national levels. Another nature of the Shettima regime is non-consultative nature of the regime in decision making, Adam (2012). This arises from the fact that since coming on board, the Shettima regime has been accused of lacking viable project or policy that benefited the public. Also, the regime does not have bureaucratic knowledge, in other words, the rules and regulations of the civil service are abused in terms of promotion, and appointments among others. Moreover, to sum it all, the regime abused the confidence of the public which thought to be a responsive and responsible government, owing to the level of academic qualification of the regime's leader by abandoning uncompleted projects of his predecessor and godfather Sheriff. This is what public commentators attributed to the acrimonious relationship between the duos at the expense of providing democratic good governance to the state (Ayuba, 2014).

Moreover, Borno state is run by the regime leader, that is, the politics of the regime is taken indiscriminately by the executive without the legislative arm of government. In essence, the nature of the regime can best be described more autocratic than democratic rule (Ismail, 2002). There is no adherence to budgetary provisions, governmental practice is carried without due process and out of the scope of the budget, the civil service is not only dysfunction but so also maladministration thrives during the period under review. More so, misplaced priority is order of the regime. The needs and demands of the public

are not attended to or do not go into the agenda of the government, rather, what the governor or regime leaders interests overrides the public needs and demands (Adam, 2012).

Democratic form of government is said to be the government of the majority, where citizens' rights are protected, needs are provided and the public are part of the decision making process of their own affairs through their political representatives. However, the democratic rule in Borno state during the period under review is not participatory not inclusive and does not capture the needs and aspirations of the public (Lamidi and Bello, 2013).

The domination and hijacking of democratic governance dividends by the political elites in the state resulted to high rate of poverty and income inequality, unemployment, hunger and starvation and above all, insecurity, Shehu (2010). According National Bureau of Statistics on poverty level (2012) Borno state is the highest in the whole of the North East region and these predicaments could be attributed solely to the nature of democratic regime where the general public is not the priority of the government.

#### **4.4.1 Political Participation and Electoral Activities in Borno State under Shettima 2011-2015**

Liberal democracy is a form of government whereby eligible adults is allowed to participates in the election, selection and the entire process of governance of the state. More importantly, democracy is said to be government of the people by the people and for the people, Lincoln. But in Nigeria, democracy could be said to be a government of the few kleptocratic political elites who always promote and protect their personal interest as against that of the general public, Tijjani (2007). Democratic governance or rule must derive from constitutional structure which guarantees fundamental freedoms and rights which serve as the only basis of governance for the state. Democratic governance and

political participation in democratic society must be a bottom-up process that allows for popular participation and accountability and must be rooted in the cultural fabrics of the society in a manner sufficiently dynamic to galvanize the process into a positive social force.

Violence has become synonymous with Nigeria's political culture such that virtually all elections held so far in the country are violent-ridden Ojo, (2014). Although, the Nigerian general election which was held in 2011 was relatively peaceful, it was also marked with some irregularities. According to Okpi (2011), although the National Assembly election held on Saturday April 9, 2011 has been appraised by many as successful, some cases of malpractices and violence recorded across the country threaten to dim light on democratic process. During the voting, distribution of money at polling centres, manipulation of voters' register, diversion of electoral materials, ballot box snatching, unlawful possession of firearms and other electoral offences were so glare. This political scenario engendered lukewarm political attitude and participation among some citizens.

The above scenario is typically what is obtainable in the democratic nature and dynamics of Borno state politics during the period under review. This is borne out of the fact that Borno state's political participation and electoral activities portrays such features. Since the return of the democratic rule to Nigeria in 1999 and Borno state in particular, only one political party (ANPP) now APC controls the state and the State Assembly. Borno state's electoral and political activities is dominated by a single party, which leads to the alienation and subjugation of the politics in the state by one party and this is attributed to the weak political opposition in the state as a result of low level of political participation

and poor political culture and also the money politics played a negative role in the entire political process.

The regime leaders and the political elites are taking the poverty level and ignorance of the electorates as advantage to fulfill their political gains and interests. Borno state politics and the electoral activities are controlled by the regime leaders and the political elites. The political elites formed a cabal of some sort, which makes it difficult for penetration or destruction by the public (Shehu, 2010).

Suffice it to say, however, political elective offices in Borno state are more of appointment than electives. The nomination and selection of the candidate's at the party primaries determines the victory of the general election, Shehu (2010). It is at this juncture that one must argue that representative democracy rests on the assumptions that citizens possess and demonstrate some civic capacities. These civic capacities involve three qualities: intelligence, self-control and conscience. The citizens must be able to understand the interest of the community, to subordinate his own will to the general will and must feel his responsibility to the community and be prepared to vote (Appadorai, 2004). In the contrary, the Borno state democratic political participation and electoral activities demonstrates indolence, indifference and political apathy, which impliedly hindered the entrenchment and sustenance of representative democracy in the state. Falade and Shehu (2010) argued that true democratic governance is absent in Nigeria (Borno state inclusive). The political culture in Nigeria is characterized by intolerance, intimidation, thuggery, assassination, bitterness, apathy, indolence, money and ethnic politics. As a result of this, the ingredients of democracy have not been able to thrive after many years of political independence in Nigeria.

In Borno state, there is little or no discontentment in terms of constructive criticisms from the public over the political and electoral activities of the domination, abused and negligence by the regime leaders and the political gladiators. This arises from the fact that public desire for government services and activism has remained stagnant in Borno state during the period under review. Lack of opposition to the regime of Shettima, specifically from the “Elders Forum” a committee of Borno Elders, the academia, the political parties in the state the press, civil society and the general public makes the regime to be lackadaisical and unenthusiastic of its programmes and policies towards the citizens.

#### **4.4.2 The Executive-Legislature Relations in Borno State under Governor Kashim Shettima Regime (2011-2015)**

The legislature is one of the branches, organs or pillars of democratic form of government. Without the legislature, there will be no democratic form of government. Legislature is the branch which has many important roles for the effective existence and functioning of the democratic governance in a democratic setting.

The legislative arm of government which is called the State Assembly at the state level is vital to the governance of the state. The State Assembly members are the representatives of the people from various local constituencies. However, the State Assembly in Borno state during the period under review is accused of lacking legislative knowledge, exposure and equal representation.

The executive-legislature relations in Borno State during Shettima regime is characterized by “superior-inferior relations”. The State Assembly members are accused of not only being “pocketed” by the executive, but so also being used only to approve the state budget, political appointments, rather than engaging in real business of legislative activities. The Borno State members of the House of Assembly, just like any other State Assemblies



in Nigeria, are called a ‘rubber stamp’ by the electorates. This is because the assembly members are said to be representing themselves and their interest, rather than the interest of the public.

Therefore, it suffice to say that, in an ideal democratic settings, the executive interact with the legislature to help ensure that priorities, goals, and accomplishment are accurately presented and positively received during over-sight hearings and other legislative activities that address and evaluate executive branch implementation of legislatively mandated programs and services. However, such is not the experience during the Shettima regime.

Between 2011 and 2013, a total of twenty-one (21) bills were passed into laws, which supposedly could have touched the lives of the people in the state. These include areas such as appropriation, poverty, local government, rural development, security, Shariah, etc. Notable among these are provision of relief materials for insurgency victims, provision of health related materials and services, epidemic, evacuation of drainages and culverts. Others include renovation of primary and secondary schools destroyed by the Boko Haramn insurgent group, construction and renovation of feeder roads, among others. Table 7 reflects the performance of the legislative organ for the period under review.

**Table 4.6: Bills Passed into Law, 2011-2015**

S/No	Title	Sponsor	Nature	Year of Assent
1	Shariah Administration of Justice in Borno State	Executive	Religious Affairs	2011
2.	Supplementary Appropriation	Executive	Fiscal	2011
3.	A law to amend a provision and local government law 2010 (Amendment) law 2011	Executive	Local Government Administration	2011
4.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2011
5.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2011
6.	Court of Appeal in Borno state Appropriation Law	Executive	Judiciary	2011
7.	Borno State Education Endowment Fund	Executive	Education	2011

8.	(Amendment) law Borno State mass Literacy (Amendment) Law	Executive	Education	2011
9.	Borno State Local Government Pension Fund (Amendment) Law	Executive	Local Government and chieftaincy Affairs	2011
10.	Remuneration of public office holders in the Local Government (Executive, legislature and Judiciary) as determined in the report (Amendment) Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2012
11.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2012
12.	Borno state Environmental Protection agency (Amendment)	Executive	Environment	2012
13.	Borno State Road Maintenance Agency Law	Executive	Transport	2012
14.	Borno State Agency for the Control of HIV/AIDS and Malaria and other matters connected therewith Law	Executive	Health	2012
15.	Borno State Motor Vehicle Administration law	Public	Transport	2012
16.	Supplementary Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2012
17.	Borno State Accelerated Development Programme Law	Executive	Agriculture and Natural Resources	2012
18.	Borno State Islamic Religious Preaching Law, 1981 (Amendment) Law	Executive	Religious Affairs	2012
19.	Borno state Small-scale Industries Credit Scheme Fund (Amendment) law	Executive	Commerce and Industry	2013
20.	Appropriation Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2013
21.	Borno State Housing Corporation Law 2001 (Amendment) Law	Executive	Fiscal Allocation	2013

Source: Borno State House of Assembly

**Table 4.7: Borno State House of Assembly Members, 2011-2015**

S/No	Name	Sex	Constituency	Party affiliation	Post
1	Hon. Abdulkarim Lawan	M	Guzamala	APC	Speaker
2.	Hon. Inusa Danlami Kubo	M	Shani	APC	D/Speaker
3.	Hon. Zakariya Moh'd	M	Dikwa	APC	Majority Leader
4.	Hon. Baba Ali Modu	M	Mafa	APC	Chief Whip
5.	Hon. Aminu Foni	M	Chibok	APC	D/Leader
6.	Hon. Abubakar Tijjani	M	M.M.C.	APC	Deputy Whip
7.	Hon. Goni Ali Modu	M	Abadam	PDP	Member
8.	Hon. Fali Wabulari	M	Askira/Uba	PDP	Member
9.	Hon. Abba Jato Moh'd	M	Bama Central	PDP	Member
10.	Hon. Umar Jauro Audi	M	Bayo	APC	Member
11.	Hon. Aliyu Mamman Kachalla	M	Biu	APC	Member
12.	Hon. Ayemu Lawan Gwasha	M	Damboa	APC	Member
13.	Hon. Gubo Moruma	M	Gubio	APC	Member
14.	Hon. Rawa Goni Bukar	M	Gulumba/Woloji	APC	Member
15.	Hon. Ahmed Usman Jaha	M	Gwoza	APC	Member
16.	Hon. Ayuba Stephen Wakawa	M	Hawul	APC	Member
17.	Hon. Bukar Gudusu	M	Jere	PDP	Member
18.	Hon. Mustapha Alibe	M	Kaga	APC	Member
19.	Hon. Dige Mohammed	M	Kala-Balge	APC	Member
20.	Hon. Ali Bukar Dalori	M	Konduga	APC	Member
21.	Hon. Alhaji Haruna Kukawa	M	Kukawa	APC	Member
22.	Hon. Saleh Mohammed Banga	M	Kwaya-Kusar	APC	Member
23.	Hon. Audu Mustapha	M	Magumeri	APC	Member
24.	Hon. Shettima Bukar Kullima	M	Marte	APC	Member
25.	Hon. Mallam Bukar Gana	M	Mobbar	APC	Member
26.	Hon. Maina Mustapha Garba	M	Monguno	APC	Member
27.	Hon. Idrissa Jidda	M	Ngala	PDP	Member
28.	Hon. Wakil Bukar Lawan	M	Nganzai	APC	Member

Source: Borno State House of Assembly

Largely as a result of its late entry into the politics of Nigeria and Borno State in particular and mediated by protracted military rule, democracy as well as its institutions have not gained a firm footing in the country. However, of all the three arms of government, i.e. the executive, judiciary and the legislature, the latter and the former appear to have occupied the back waters of the institutions on which democracy thrives. The reason for this is not far-fetched. The judiciary has always operated under the jack boots and dictatorship of the military while military decrees replaced and stifled the growth and development of the legislature, Ayoade (2014). The role of the Borno State House of Assembly in sustenance of democracy during the period under review has not been an impressive one. In spite of the challenges of political cronyism and the teething stage, the House has unassiduously discharged their constitutional responsibilities under the gripping of the executive. Some members either directly or indirectly secured their post with little or due support of the political gladiators in the state, namely Governor Shettima.

The House also lacks autonomy, especially in financial terms. Financial autonomy by the legislative arm of government ought to be granted. It is not healthy for a nascent democracy that the legislative arm of government goes to the executive for funding. Independence of the legislature should include financial autonomy. Public enlightenment about the activities of the house of Assembly needs to be put in place. Between 2011 and 2013, no single Bill emanated from the public. Overwhelming majority of the Bills, indeed, all but two of the 21 bills passed so far emanated from the executive. The other two were private member bills. The State House of Assembly during Shettima's regime signaled the beginning of opposition, since the legislators were dominated by ANPP members with an overwhelming majority of 24 out of 28 legislators, the process of

legislation was smooth and has little or no challenges, but instead, the Executive Governor obtained standing ovations at all times.

#### **4.4.3 Kashim Shettima Regime 2011 – 2015**

The regime of Kashim Shettima is just like that of his predecessor and political godfather Sheriff. It could be termed as “Siamese twins”. The coming on board of Shettima to the art of governance of Borno State was not different with the regime of Sheriff in terms of policies and programmes. It could be argued that the regime is a continuation of the Sheriff’s regime. Kashim Shettima is the 6<sup>th</sup> democratically elected Governor of Borno State and was sworn in on the 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2011. The election of Shettima was not a surprise to the people of Borno State, because Sheriff was instrumental in winning the election. The outcry of the people is insecurity; the people have no confidence in the federal government to secure their lives from the terror attack. Some people are of the opinion that the federal government has contributed to the insecurity of the state, this is because, and the insecurity is a source of looting the state treasury by the government officials in the name of security vote. Another major area of concern and sympathy is the poverty level of the state; there is high level of poverty in the state, people can hardly eat a single square meal a day. Apart from the civil servants who receive monthly salary, there are beggars in every street, mosque, schools, offices, churches, motor parks, etc in the state (Maiangwa, 2009). Government did not make any effort to reduce the poverty level of the people.

Akosile (2011) argues that leadership should be born out of understanding of the needs of those who would be affected by it. Access to basic social services such as education, health care, electricity, roads among others are pre-requisites for effective human development with a whole lot of wide reaching effects on the citizenry.

Moreover, it is pertinent to observe that good governance is an inclusion of all aspect of human development; it bridges the gap between the leaders and led; the ruled and rulers, the governed and the governors. It also breaks the dichotomy that characterized governance of exclusion in Borno State (elitist club). Shettima's regime is named government of the "elite," that have gone off as lone rangers only considering his cronies and allies whom he put into diverse positions to support his self-selected priorities as against the priorities of the state. Borno State is an agrarian state with vast majority of the population poor, 7 out of every 10 citizen in the state live on less than one dollar a day (National Statistic, 2014).

The exclusion of other ethnic groups apart from the Kanuri's to the most exalted political office, often leads to the emergence of irresponsive and responsible political regimes in the state. Democracy is a game of majority, but in Borno, the majorities were not part of the democratic rule and they were made to believe that they are naturally excluded from the governorship of the state. Another problem of Borno politics is the cabal of the 'elites'. Since the return of the democratic rule in 1999, the political regime in the state is controlled and ruled by the elite class, the democratic dividends that could reduce the poverty, unemployment or empower the common man and state building is high jacked by the regime leaders and their allies.

Moreover, the predicament of the state of insecurity which hitherto never has experienced in Nigeria is attributed to the lack of good governance in a democratic rule. No state in Nigeria has ever suffered like Borno State. Democratic form of government is approved to be the best form of government ever in the history of mankind. Is the form of government where there is fundamental human rights, equality, freedom, rights of the minority and vulnerable, rule of law, accountability, responsive and responsible leadership.

However, these elements of democracy are only nightmare in Nigeria. Political scientists argue that the worst democratic regime is better than the most vonivolent military regime but for the people of Borno, it is not so.

Leadership is central and critical in the advancement of human society. This is particularly true of democratic society where the orientation and behaviour of leaders determine the progress of the society. In under-developed societies like Borno State, where the masses are pre-dominantly illiterate, the elite seem to have greater freedom in what they do and are not necessarily responsive to popular feelings and aspirations. Politics in Borno is seen more as an elite game.

#### **4.5: The Effects Of Boko Haram On Governance In Borno State**

Nigeria has been bedevilled by ethno-religious conflicts with devastating human and material losses since the return of democracy in 1999. But the Boko Haram uprising of July 2009 to date in Borno is significant that has not only set a precedent, but also reinforced the attempts by Islamic conservative elements at imposing a variant Islamic religious ideology on a secular Nigerian state. Whereas the religious sensitivity of Nigerians provided fertile ground for the breeding of the Boko Haram sect, the sect's blossoming was also aided by the prevailing economic dislocation in the Nigerian society (Emeh, 2007).

Insecurity challenges could be traced to the early years of military rule when large quantities of arms were imported into the country for the use of the military during and after Nigerian civil war, some of which got to the hands of the civilians. Soon after the civil war, these arms were used by civilians and ex-military men for mischievous purposes such as armed robbery. There was also the army of unemployed youths some of whom lost their jobs, during the civil war. The level of insecurity assumed dangerous dimensions in

the prolonged years of military rule beginning from 1970 during which people procured arms and light weapons that got into the hands of the unemployed youths who used them for deviant purposes (Ayuba, 2014). The most fundamental source of insecurity in Borno today is terrorism which is traceable to religious fanaticism being spearheaded by Islamic insurgents called Boko Haram that has claimed thousands of lives since 2009, (Armstrong, 2013).

The Boko Haram insurgency emerged from radical Islamic youths in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno State. The group leader Mohammed Yusuf established the Shababul Islam (Islamic Youth Vanguard) that was critical of the Nigerian government and actively involved in the introduction and implementation of Sharia in northern Nigeria. Its principal aim was to create a strict Islamic state in the North (International crisis Group, 2014); the Boko Haram insurgency implications for security in Borno and Nigeria at large. The group's attack have undermined general development aspects and security, in particular across the state and shattered its economy and development. From 2013 up to the first quarter of 2014, daily killings, bombings, kidnappings, destruction of public schools and armed violence against innocent people became the major security challenge that bedevilled Borno State.

#### Effects of Boko Haram Insurgency on Governance in Borno State (2009 – 2015)

Issues bordering on national security are very critical for the material progress of any polity. This assertion is against the backdrop of the truism that good governance and sustainable development is a function of an enabling environment. Eyasu (2006) opines that pivotal to the survival of any society is its law and order which are predicated on national security. Insecurity leaves in its wake a tale of woe which the country and its citizens have had to contend with over the years. Every society across the globe has its



peculiar problems and challenges. Nigeria is not an exception. As a developing country, she faces her own share of social, political, economic and cultural problems which have in no small measure affected the well-being of the populace (Adebayo, 2013).

Contemporary discussions on Nigeria is replete with issues surrounding insecurity, militancy and terrorism, due to the linkages with economic, social, political and governance activities with spiraling effects on regional and international relations (Adewumi, 2014). Since 1999, when the country returned to democratic rule, there has been an upsurge in violent activities in Nigeria with Boko haram insurgency being at the forefront. The Boko Haram sect became a threat to both internal and international security as their activities now stretched beyond Nigeria to her neighbours. With consistent violent attacks on security forces, civilians, Churches and Mosques, farms, media houses, schools as well as international bodies such as the United Nations in 2011. It has further compounded several challenges already faced by the nation particularly in the North-East and specifically in Borno State (Ayoade, 2001). The threat posed by the insurgency is undermining the existence of Nigeria as one political entity and that of Borno State especially when the insurgents in the north-eastern Nigeria intensified attacks and even declared some local government in Borno State that falls under their control as a new Islamic caliphate which is to be governed according to strict Islamic laws.. Undoubtedly, the activities of the insurgents have seriously affected various fields of human endeavours which can be considered under economic, political and social factors. Physically, the attacking of schools, places of worships, market structures, houses and some infrastructures like roads, bridges and electricity cable have led top halting of other developmental projects that have bearing on the lives of the entire community. Socially, the insurgent crisis have resulted to increase in crime rate in Borno State, reduction in the standard of living of the inhabitants

of the study area, increases in number of refugees influxes and a setback in the educational system across the state. Economically, the crisis have affected market linkages between Borno and other neighbouring towns, cities and countries like the Niger, Chad, Cameroun and even Central Africa where dozens of trailers were always en-route to these countries which suddenly came to an end today and many businesses have closed down (Mbaya et al. 2017). These have resulted to drop in the formal and informal sector of the economy compared to what was obtainable some years back.

Insecurity whether terrorism, conflicts and violence are caused by the high poverty rate in most societies (Gurr, 1970, Burton, 1997, Samiento and Bacerra, 1998 and Sarmiento, 1999). These people are the leading scholars on the poverty breeds conflicts hypothesis. Mohammed (2012) and Tar (2007) indicates that poverty was the major cause of conflicts in Africa. For instance, Collier and Hoeffler (2002) examined conflicts in Africa, from their findings, they noticed the interface between income and conflict. subscribed to the notion that poverty helps to extend conflicts once it started. Evidence has shown that when income drops there is tendency for conflict to surface or re-ignited (Mnbaya et al. 2017). Conflict and violence has been blamed on the high rate of poverty in Nigeria. However, some security experts have debunked this assumption. But in the words of experts who persist that whatever argument surrounding the cause of the insurgency, the salient facts cannot be dismissed easily. The most important of this is that, we have to admit that even if the group (boko Haram) has its antecedents in ideology; its swelling rank is a result of a huge reservoir of unemployed youths from many parts of the country, Mohammed (2012). These youths, who have completely become disenfranchised are readily to provide the group with foot soldiers who commit all manners of atrocities including assassination and suicide bombing in the name of religion. Similarly, Ozor

(2002) is of the view that poverty played a major role in luring the youths in joining the group.

Another causes of terrorism, conflicts and violence is the group's breeds of new ideology, the ideology of the Islamic sect is to bring an end to the secular system of government and introduce sharia law in Nigeria (Mbaya, et al. 2017). However, Mohammed (2012) did not subscribe to the notion that insurgency' aim is to Islamize Nigeria through the introduction of Sharia law. According to him, the foot soldiers of the sect are disgruntled youths who have been paid by unscrupulous Northern politicians to cause mayhem in the country because of their selfish interest. This is the assumption from the Southern part of Nigeria where the immediate President (Goodluck Ebele Jonathan) came from, that the activities of the sect was more intensified because of the emergence of the President from the southern part of Nigeria. But one could argue that conflicts and violence of the insurgents is attributed to high rate of poverty, unemployment, politics and corruption have been blamed for the elongation of the crisis, hence the prevailing facts of all these attributes in Borno can never be over-emphahsized. Thus, one must concur with Mbaya et al. (2017) that most of the foot soldiers of the insurgents are youths that are frustrated because of lack of employment, income and have been disclaimed by the politicians after victory. Ozor (2002) asserts that the youths were enlisted into insurgency because of poverty prevalence in the north. The poverty profile of Nigeria that was released in 2016 by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) indicates that the northern region has more people in poverty than their counterpart in the south.

The consequences of any act of violence often despicable and far-reaching. The activities of the insurgents are very glaring and constitute a crime against humanity in Borno, and poses a serious threat to our national security. Since then, the group intensified

its attacks on security agents and their formations, attacking top government establishments, churches, mosques, schools, and motor parks, attacking and kidnapping the general populace (Ajah, 2011). This has claimed lives of more than 15 thousand people (NEMA, SEMA, 2014).

The activities of the insurgents have definitely retarded development initiatives of Borno State Government. The frequent attacks of public structures like the government establishments, shelters, market structures and infrastructures like roads, bridges, electricity cable and the GSM masts are quite devastating argues Ajah (2011). Similarly, it is of importance to note that based on the field survey experience of the researcher, the outcome result revealed that contracts awarded by the state government to the Construction firms for rehabilitation and construction of roads and drainages like the Lagos Street, Bulumkutu-Abuja, Abuja Sheraton and London-ciki, Damboa, Chibok settlements have also come to standstill as a result of frequent attacks by the insurgent groups. The effects of the attacks have left so many viable projects uncompleted. Other projects abandoned by various construction firms include Bakassi Housing units, and the Legacy Estate along Jos-Kano, Kano-Maiduguri express road. Had these projects been completed, they would have touch the lives of residents of the state and facilitate development in the state.

To say that the deadly activities of the group have impaired the social activities of the citizens of Borno state is understatement. This have resulted in large number of displacement from almost all the local government areas of Borno State to Maiduguri the State capital causing shortages in accommodations and over-stretching the available facilities and social services. About 604,260 people from 13 local governments have moved to Maiduguri, which recorded the highest number of refugees in the North-East (Mukhtar, 2014).

In Borno, people abducted over the years were still missing. This case has socially attracted global attention which includes many national and international personalities, and groups. According to Ruqayyatu (2013), the constant threat posed by the insurgents which started in 2009 has resulted to number of schools to close down. In some cases, school enrolment has drop drastically. In fact, whoever survived their attack will not like to go back to school having seen students who lost their lives and number of classmates kidnapped at Government Girls' Secondary School, Chibok. Lecturers of higher institutions and teachers were also killed during these attacks. Akosile (2011) showed a gloomy picture of education particularly in Borno State which happens to be the hot bed of Boko Haram insurgency.

The seemingly intractability of the insurgents saga is exerting a very high cost on the people affected particularly in terms of high loss of lives, properties and disruption of socio-cultural structure of Borno state (Mbaya, 2017). The empirical study conducted by the researcher, similarly revealed that the insurgency has also affected the family settings in many communities in the state. Re-union of such affected families is difficult because so many have lost their loved ones. In fact, men could not trace the where-about of their wives and women could not also trace their children. This had negatively affected the image of the country in the international communities. Briggs (2010:272) states that studies emanating from the University of Port Harcourt have shown that aside from the physical challenges which those who survive violent crimes and warfare sustain, psychiatric disorder are rife and manifest commonly as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (TSD) as well as other anxiety conditions, hard drugs related ailment, schizophrenia, psychosis, depression and other forms of affective disorder. This shows that even if the insurgency is curbed, affected persons may still have memories of the violence which will disrupt normal life patterns.

Also, the sect has destroyed not only houses in many communities, but so also health care centres and facilities that are needed for proper health of the citizens. Health care workers themselves who also are targets have fled from their offices. Across Borno State affected populations are having increasing difficulty in accessing health care services. According to the United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian affairs (OCHA, 2014), Boko Haram insurgents have attacked numerous health facilities and health workers, meaning that in large areas of Borno, the health system is barely functioning especially in the liberated local governments.

In terms of shelter, the number of houses that have been destroyed by the Boko Haram insurgency cannot be quantified. This destruction has left millions of people displaced. According to international Organisation on Migration (2015), over 2.1 million were displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency. These internally displaced persons have migrated and now live in IDPs camps and host communities and are in dire need of appropriate shelter and in the long-run resettlement. The HNO (2014) noted that most internally displaced persons are camped in schools, housing estates, makeshift accommodations which are mostly uncompleted buildings or derelict houses. Many of the communal and make shifts shelters are over-crowded and unsuitable in terms of water and sanitation facilities, cooking and private, especially for women (HNO, 2014). This impliedly means that the human security of the individual is threatened when such situations occur. Cases of theft, rape are often experienced; transmission of communicable diseases is high and most often women children and the aged are the worst affected in such situations.

Historically, Borno State was known as a “Home of Peace”. It was placed where both indigene and non-indigenes enjoined peaceful co-existence through successful trade

exchange and all were living in harmony irrespective of the religious and ethnic affiliate. But today, that trust has disappeared with little or no respect for each other. This has been eliminated as a rescue of the dreaded Boko haram terrorist group. There are major businesses that are occupied by non-indigenes in the State. Some of the businesses include among others are: spare parts business, electronic and electrical business, bakery industry and wood industry. Some of these businesses especially spare parts business are dominated and controlled mostly by eastern people from the eastern region of the country while essential commodities have been dominated by indigenes which are mostly Kanuri by tribe. However, the recent emergence of Boko haran terrorist in the state has disrupted all business activities in the state.

Borno is the principal trading hub for the North-Eastern region. Its economy is largely based on services and trade with small share of manufacturing. Frequent bombings and clashes between the insurgents and the security agents have weighed down seriously on commercial and business activities in the State. Many businesses have crumbled and many people have fled the state to southern part of the country. The Monday market in the city is reported to have been seriously affected as hundreds of shop owners especially the southerners are said to have fled. About 10,000 stalls in the market were said to have been abandoned by traders who fled the city (ThisDay Newspaper, 2014).

The attack on Borno had been very devastating because the state had always been the commercial centre of Western Sudan for the past 500 years (Mbaya, 2017) . The state had been economic base of the north and the neighbouring countries like Niger Republic, Chad and Northern Cameroun before the revolution of Nigeria as a nation. Other economic activities affected by the insurgency include irrigation lands abandoned around the River Alau Dam and fishing activities of the inhabitants of the settlements around the Alau Dam

and the Lake Chad Bank. Similarly problems were experienced in many communities in Borno being an agrarian state, predominantly depended on agriculture and farming were fertile agricultural lands were abandoned for years resulting from the displacement due to the attacks of the Boko haram activities.

It can undoubtedly be said the economic activities in Borno and its environs were drastically affected by the insurgency which resulted in increased unemployment, low income level and poor condition of living of the majority in Borno State.

In order to curtail the heinous crime of the insurgents against humanity, Federal Government in 2013 declared a state of emergency in the three states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa where the activities of the insurgents are predominant. Yet the state of emergency did not stop the continuation of bombings, killings, kidnappings and destructions of lives and properties (Ajah, 2011). Sadly, the Governor of the State (Kashim Shettima) appears to be helpless in containing the situation, as the bombardments continues. Though the Governor has complained to the Federal Government that the military is short of war equipments, while the rebels have sophisticated war equipment than the Nigerian army (Mbaya, 2017). Federal Government on its side kept assuring the nation, especially people in the three states who were under attack frequently that the problems are under control. Federal Government also promised the nation that the insurgents will be destroyed in six weeks and the abducted Chibok school girls will be brought back to their parents and that the situation would be contained (Mbaya,. 2017). It wasn't until this new administration came into power that people started witnessing positive impact of the military's fight with the Boko Haram groups. Under the Buhari administration, change in the military leadership coupled with sincere and desired political will and purchasing and rehabilitation of the country's war equipment have yielded positive results. Today, many



insurgents are surrendering to military that are carrying out effective offensive attacks on them, which was the reversed during the post administration of Goodluck Jonathan, where military personnel were on the defensive side of the attacks (Mbaya, 2017).

The activities of the insurgency constitute a serious threat to lives and properties of Nigerians. The physical, social and economic effects of the insurgents atrocities in Borno State cannot be quantified and so also the cost is enormous. These can be seen from the number of people, mosques, churches, schools, markets and military formations bombed by the insurgents. These have caused a serious threat to the development of the state in particular and the nation in general which resulted to thousands of people flee from their homes, abandoned all their social and economic activities making them to be dependent on individuals and organizations. This nation cannot continue to lose its people and properties on a daily basis from the insurgents coordinated bombings and attacks. It is time to realize that since sectionalism, corruption, poverty, poor infrastructure, unemployment and social services provision are the major factors behind the crisis and violence in most developing countries, especially Nigeria and in particular the north-eastern (Borno) part of the country, there is need for government to adopt policy in action against poverty to enable the poor or the more vulnerable sections of the society to achieve sustainable livelihoods. The approach is to be economically empower communities, families and individuals through sustained and well coordinated poverty alleviations.

Moreover, government through Ministry of Works to establish appropriate infrastructures and support system to facilitate the alleviation of poverty by implementing projects, programmes, enterprises and lifestyles sustainable even at the grassroot levels. The programme areas are provisions of adequate shelter, environmental infrastructure, redevelopment and rehabilitation of burnt down houses, schools, mosques, churches,

market centres and military formations. There is also the need for improvement in the areas of health, water supply, drainage, sanitation and solid waste management. Finally, government should open a sincere dialogue channels to address the grievances of the insurgents in order to determine line of action to be taken to restore peace and order in all affected areas.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter concludes that democratic political governance in Borno state started since second Republic. The state is among the first generation of states in Nigeria that was and is ruled by series of democratically elected leaders. However, Borno state with the long period of political governance could not be said to has achieved or fully succeeded in its journey of democratic rule because, the state have recorded some development from the successive regimes in the state. The conclusion points to the fact that the end would reveal the achievement and success of the fourth republic governance in the state. Whether the state has achieved democratic dividends through the practice of democracy.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN BORNO STATE (1999:2015):

#### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

##### 5.1 Introduction

The data of this study is presented based on the questionnaire raised and issued to respondents. The results were analysed using percentages and the findings were presented in simple percentage tables, contingency tables and graphs.

##### 5.2 Data Presentation and Analysis

###### 5.2.1 Research Question One

The first question attempted to find out the nature of democracy in Borno state. The results of the findings are presented in tables and figures below:

**Table 5.1: Since 1999, Democratic Rule has brought Favourable Improvements in Education, Security and Poverty in Borno State.**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	227	12
Agreed	317	17
Undecided	180	9
Strongly Disagreed	520	28
Disagreed	633	34
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.1 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that since 1999, democratic rule has brought favourable improvements in education, security and poverty in Borno State. The result showed that most of the respondents (34%) disagreed that since 1999, democratic rule has brought favourable improvements in education, security and poverty in Borno State, while only 12% that are of a contrary opinion. It is therefore the presence democratic rule in Borno state that has prevented favourable improvements in

education, security and poverty. Most of the people interviewed were of the opinion that democratic rule in Borno State since 1999 has not yielded positive results as expected.

**Table 5.2: The People of Borno State have Enjoyed Political Participation, Good Health Facilities, Rule of Law and Employment as Dividends of Democratic Governance**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	205	11
Agreed	113	6
Undecided	263	14
Strongly Disagreed	508	27
Disagreed	788	42
Total	1877	100

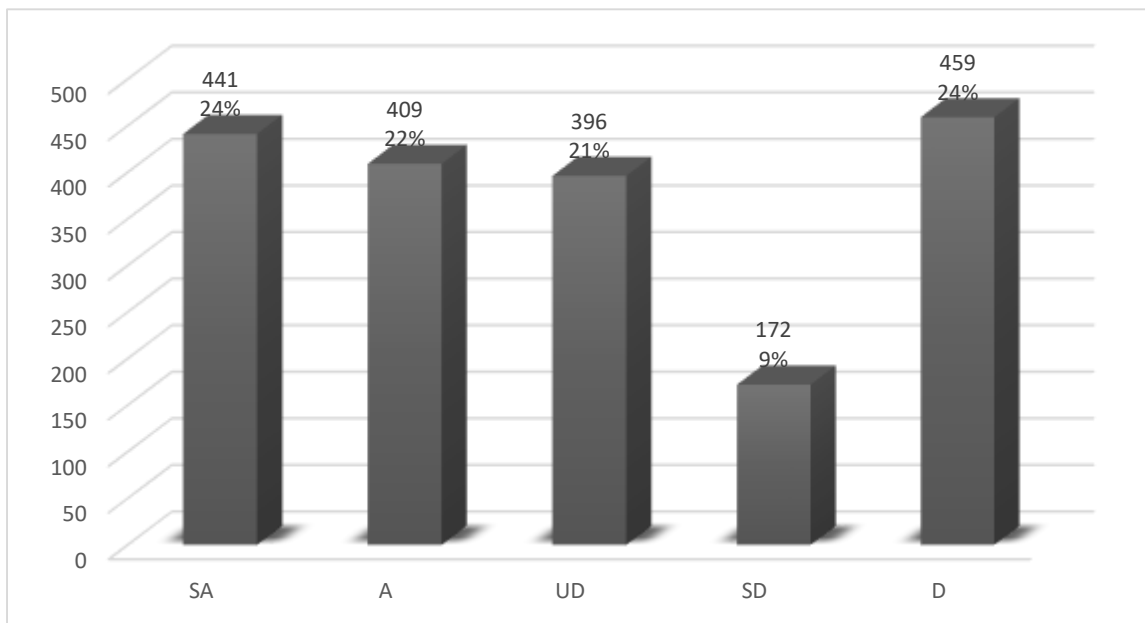
**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.2 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that the people of Borno State have enjoyed political participation, good health facilities, rule of law and employment as dividends of democratic governance. The result showed that most of the respondents (42%) disagreed that people of Borno state have enjoyed political participation, good health facilities, rule of law and employment as dividends of democratic governance, while only 11% that are of a contrary opinion. It is therefore clear that the people of Borno state have not enjoyed political participation, good health facilities, rule of law and employment as dividends of democratic governance. Most people still believe that dividends of democracy have not reached the people. Opinions of the respondents from the in-depth interview showed that the people of Borno state have not enjoyed political participation, good health facilities, rule of law and employment; as such the socio-economic problems of the state cannot be solved.

**Table 5.3: Democratic rule in Borno State is an Exclusive Elite Affair**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	441	24
Agreed	409	22
Undecided	396	21
Strongly Disagreed	172	9
Disagreed	459	24
Total	1788	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**



**Source: Field Study, 2016**

**Figure 1: Democratic rule in Borno State is an exclusive elite affair**

The finding in Table 5.3 indicates that about 46% of the respondents are of the opinion that Democratic rule in Borno State is an exclusive elite affair, while 33% are of a contrary opinion. On the other hand, as much as 21% were undecided. The result implies that most respondents think it is the wealthy and the ruling class that benefit from democracy and participate in it. The result shows that the process of governance does not involve the citizens; policy makers do not seek the opinions of the electorates while making

or executing their policies. This show that majority of the people interviewed agreed that democracy in the state is an exclusive affair of the elites.

**Table 5.4: Democratic Rule in Borno State is a Mere Platform for Changing of a Various Leaders.**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	380	20
Agreed	776	42
Undecided	240	13
Strongly Disagreed	271	14
Disagreed	205	11
Total	1788	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.4 presents the opinions of the respondents on whether Democratic rule in Borno State is a mere platform for changing of greedy leaders. 62% agreed with this assertion and only 25% were of a contrary opinion. The result shows that the change from military rule to democratic rule was a simple change of leaders without any positive implication for the electorates. The electioneering process does not really bring up better leaders but simply change existing ones with others similar to them. The interview shows that most of the respondents' opinions are not different with the ones above. They narrated that democracy in the state is a periodic routine of changing the political class in the state.

**Table 5.5: There is no Substantive Democratic Rule in Borno State but Procedural Democracy**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	482	26
Agreed	696	37
Undecided	199	11
Strongly Disagreed	174	9
Disagreed	326	17
Total	1788	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.5 presents responses to the assertion that there is no substantive democracy in Borno State but only procedural. The responses showed that majority (63%) agreed with this assertion, while 26% where of contrary opinion. This finding implies that most of the respondents think that the democracy in Borno State is not substantive but procedural. Moreover, majority of those interviewed were of the opinion that the democratic government is procedural than substantive. Some of the interviewees argued that the political regime is not different with the military regime.

**Table 5.6: Lack of Accountability and Transparency as Products of Democratic Rule in Borno State Led to Bad Governance**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	537	29
Agreed	647	34
Undecided	189	10
Strongly Disagreed	240	13
Disagreed	264	14
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.6 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that lack of accountability and transparency as products of democratic rule in Borno State led to bad governance. The result showed that most of the respondents (34%) agreed and (29%) Strongly agreed that the view that lack of accountability and transparency as products of democratic rule in Borno State led to bad governance, while only 13% and 14% that strongly disagreed. It is therefore the lack of accountability and transparency as products of good governance that surprisingly have bred bad governance. The results therefore showed that democracy has not offered the people of Borno good governance and this has resulted into insecurity and poverty.

**Table 5.7: The Prevalence of Insecurity and Poverty in Borno State is as a Result of Lack of Good Governance**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	565	30
Agreed	619	33
Undecided	188	10
Strongly Disagreed	206	11
Disagreed	299	16
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.7 presents the opinions of the respondents on the prevalence of insecurity and poverty in Borno State is as a result of lack of good governance. The result showed that most of the respondents (33%) agreed and (30%) Strongly Agreed that insecurity and poverty in Borno State is as a result of lack of good governance, while only 16% who Disagreed are of a contrary opinion. It is therefore the Insecurity and poverty in Borno State that resulted to lack of good governance, which could lead to orderly political process, devoid of rancour and acrimony. This also implies that the present insecurity and poverty in Borno state can be curtailed through good governance. The in-depth interview showed that most of the respondents were of the opinion that political and democratic regimes are to blame for the predicament of poverty which resulted in to insecurity in the state, the region, the entire nation and the Lake Chad region.

**Table 5.8: Democratic Rule in Borno State Lacks the Capacity to bring about and Consolidate Good Governance**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	543	29
Agreed	861	46
Undecided	80	4
Strongly Disagreed	231	12
Disagreed	162	9
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**



Table 5.8 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that democratic rule in Borno State lacks the capacity to bring about and consolidate good governance. The result showed that most of the respondents (46%) agreed that Since 1999, Democratic rule in Borno State lacks the capacity to bring about and consolidate good governance, while only 9 % that are of a contrary opinion. It is therefore clearly true that Democratic rule lacks the capacity to bring about and consolidate good governance in Borno State which could have otherwise led to orderly political process, devoid of rancour and acrimony.

**Table 5.9: Flawed and Incredible Election Hinder the Consolidation of Good Governance in Borno State**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	508	27
Agreed	696	37
Undecided	207	11
Strongly Disagreed	187	10
Disagreed	279	15
Total	1877	100

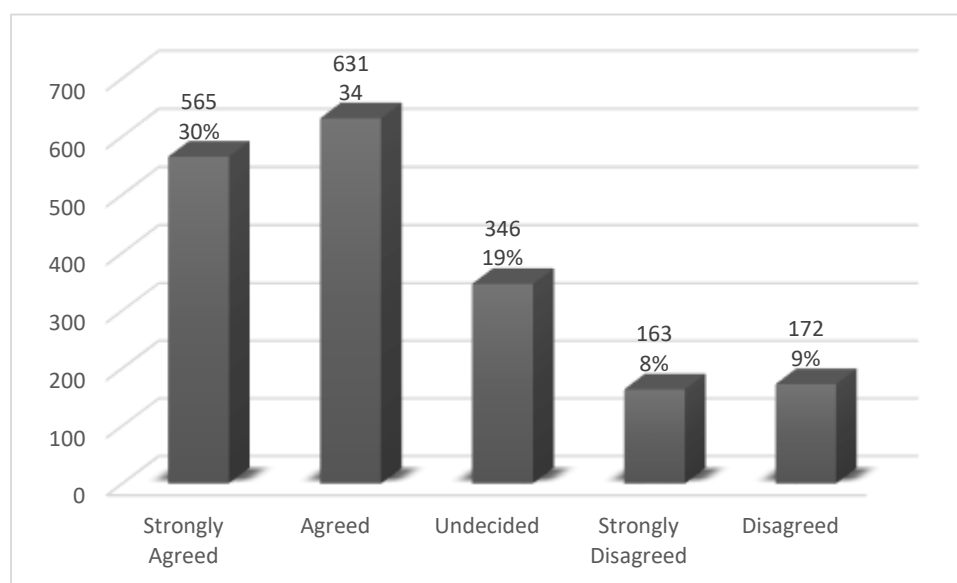
**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.9 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that flawed and incredible elections hinder the consolidation of good governance in Borno State. The result showed that most of the respondents (37 %) agreed that flawed and incredible election hinders the consolidation of good governance in Borno State, while only 15% are of a contrary opinion. Most of the respondents are of the opinion that there are incredible elections in Borno which results into a democracy that lacks the capacity to consolidate good governance. Responses from the in-depth interview showed that the respondents were of the opinion that political and electoral processes in the state are a game of the political elites on the electorates.

**Table 5.10: Good Governance based on Equity, Inclusiveness, Effectiveness and Responsiveness can Stabilize Democratic Order in Borno State**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	565	30
Agreed	631	34
Undecided	346	19
Strongly Disagreed	163	8
Disagreed	172	9
Total	1788	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**



**Source: Field Study, 2016**

**Figure 2: Democratic Good Governance based on Equity, Inclusiveness, Effectiveness and Responsiveness can Stabilize Democratic Order in Borno State**

Table 5.10 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that Good governance based on equity, inclusiveness, effectiveness and responsiveness can stabilize democratic order in Borno State. The data showed that most of the respondents (64%) agrees that Good governance based on equity, inclusiveness, effectiveness and responsiveness can stabilize democratic order, while only 17% that are of a contrary opinion. It is therefore the presence of good governance that could lead to orderly political process, devoid of rancour and acrimony. Opinions of the respondents from the in-depth

interview showed that without good governance, democratic governance in the state cannot solve the socio-economic problems of the state.

**Table 5.11: Democratic Orders and Rule can only be Consolidated through Participatory, Responsive Good Governance**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	466	25
Agreed	842	45
Undecided	162	9
Strongly Disagreed	153	8
Disagreed	254	13
Total	1788	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

The findings in Table 5.11 indicate that 70% of the respondents are of the opinion that the democratic orders and rule can only be consolidated through participatory, responsive good governance. Those who are of contrary opinion were just 13% of the respondents. This implies that majority of the respondents are of the opinion that most social problems can be solved through good governance.

**Table 5.12: The Good Governance in Borno State can Eradicate the Problems of Poverty, Income Inequality, Under-development, Unemployment, Conflict and Insecurity**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	466	25
Agreed	842	45
Undecided	162	9
Strongly Disagreed	153	8
Disagreed	254	13
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.12 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that good governance in Borno State can eradicate the problems of poverty, income inequality, under-development, unemployment, conflict and insecurity. The data showed that most of the respondents (45%) agreed that good governance in Borno State can eradicate the problems of poverty, income inequality, under-development, unemployment, conflict and insecurity,

while only 13% that are of a contrary opinion. The collective acceptance of the respondents from the in-depth interview showed that with good governance in Borno State it is possible to eradicate the problems of poverty, income inequality, under-development, unemployment, conflict and insecurity.

**Table 5.13: The Phenomenal Preponderance of Tribal and Religious Tendencies have Negatively Contributed to the Challenges Associated with Good Governance in Borno State**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	564	30
Agreed	751	40
Undecided	179	10
Strongly Disagreed	209	11
Disagreed	174	9
Total	1788	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

The findings in Table 5.13 show that 70% of the phenomenal preponderance of tribal and religious tendencies has negatively contributed to the challenges associated with good governance while 20% of the respondents are of contrary opinion. This implies that majority of the respondents are of the opinion that politicians allow tribalism and religion to influence whom they include or exclude from governance and benefits of governance. It has contributed to the failure in governance. The in-depth interview showed that majority of the interviewees agreed that political and tribal dichotomy in the state has made political positions an exclusive right of certain tribes, ethnic-groups and religion.

**Table 5.14: Exclusionist and Elitist Politics has Terminated the Hopes of the Citizens at the Grassroots in Borno State**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	426	23
Agreed	934	50
Undecided	321	17
Strongly Disagreed	79	4
Disagreed	117	6
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.14 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that Exclusionist and elitist politics has terminated the hopes of the citizens at the grassroots in Borno State. The data available showed that most of the respondents (50%) agreed that democratic Exclusionist and elitist politics has terminated the hopes of the citizens at the grassroots in Borno State, while only 6% are of a contrary opinion. It is therefore the presence of Elitist/clientele politics that has derailed the hopes of the citizens at the grassroots.

**Table 5.15: Democratic Order and Good Governance Failed in Borno State because Citizens have no Participatory Influence on the Actions and Decisions of Political Decision-makers**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	526	28
Agreed	751	40
Undecided	149	8
Strongly Disagreed	373	20
Disagreed	78	4
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.15 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that Democratic order and good governance failed in Borno State because citizens have no participatory influence on the actions and decisions of political decision-makers. The data in showed that most of the respondents (40%) agreed that Democratic order and good governance failed in Borno State because citizens have no participatory influence on the actions and decisions of political decision-makers. It should also be noted that only 4%, are of a contrary opinion about the view that democratic order and good governance failed because citizens have no influence on the actions and decision of political decision makers and for the failure of democratic order and good governance because citizens are not involved in decision making process.

**Table 5.16: Purposeful, Effective Decline in the Causes and Attendant Risks of Mass Discontent will Lead to Good Governance in Borno State**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	459	24
Agreed	691	37
Undecided	453	24
Strongly Disagreed	145	8
Disagreed	129	7
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

The information in Table 5.16 indicates that majority of the respondents (54%) are of the opinion that purposeful, effective decline in the causes and attendant risks of mass discontent will lead to good governance while 15% of the respondents are of contrary opinion. Responses from the in-depth interview showed that most of the opinions posit that good governance will solve the problems and provide conducive grounds for both leaders and the led in the state.

**Table 5.17: Concerted and Sustained Influence by the Citizens on the Actions and Decisions of Regime Leaders will Lead to Good Governance in Borno State**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	380	20
Agreed	847	45
Undecided	178	10
Strongly Disagreed	157	8
Disagreed	315	17
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

The finding in Table 5.17 shows that about 65% of the respondents agreed with the assertion that Concerted and sustained influence by the citizens on the actions and decisions of regime leaders will lead to good governance in Borno State. On the contrary, 25% opposed this assertion. The implication of this finding therefore is that there is a chance to

good governance if the citizenry can influence or be given the chance to have a say on the actions of government.

**Table 5.18: Factual Decline in the Causes and Imminent Risks of Discontent will Lead to Stability of Democratic Order in Borno State**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	485	26
Agreed	601	32
Undecided	401	21
Strongly Disagreed	152	8
Disagreed	238	13
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

The finding in Table 5.18 shows that majority of the respondents 58% agreed with the assertion that a Factual decline in the causes and imminent risks of discontent will lead to stability of democratic order in Borno State, while 21% are of a contrary opinion. The implication of the finding therefore is that if the factors that result to mass discontent is ameliorated, there will be less civil unrest and better stability of democratic rule. Majority of the respondents in the in-depth interview are of the view that democratic governance will be stable where there is decline in the causes and risk of mass discontent and discontentment from the electorates in the state.

**Table 5.19: Undoubtedly, Good Governance is the Single most Important Element of Human Development and Nation-building**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	661	35
Agreed	729	39
Undecided	323	17
Strongly Disagreed	46	3
Disagreed	118	6
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.19 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that undoubtedly, good governance is the single most important element of human development and nation-

building. The result showed that most of the respondents (39%) agreed that undoubtedly, good governance is the single most important element of human development and nation-building, while only 6 % that are of a contrary opinion. The opinions expressed are therefore universal on the assertion that on Undoubtedly, good governance is the single most important element of human development and nation-building

**Table 5.20: Concrete, Stable Democratic Rule and Good Governance will Lead to Decline in Mass Discontent in Borno State**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	357	19
Agreed	826	44
Undecided	207	11
Strongly Disagreed	207	11
Disagreed	280	15
Total	1877	100

**Source: Field Study, 2016**

Table 5.20 presents the opinions of the respondents on the view that Concrete, stable democratic rule and good governance will lead to decline in mass discontent in Borno State. The result showed that most of the respondents (44%) agreed that Concrete, stable democratic rule and good governance will lead to decline in mass discontent in Borno State, while only 15% are of a contrary opinion. It is therefore widely accepted that Democratic rule and good governance in Borno State will lead to decline in mass discontent of citizens in Borno State.

### **5.3 Findings**

The results of this study are discussed here based on the various research questions raised. The aim is to see the extent to which these findings may have answered the questions.



The first research question tried to find out the nature of democracy and good governance in Borno state. The findings showed that there is no good governance in democratic rule in Borno state because the people do not enjoy the dividends of democracy. Democracy in Borno is shown from the results to be procedural democracy and an elitist affair and the electioneering process is a means of changing one leader with another. Democracy in Borno does not translate to good governance but rather government policies remained the purview of the elites.

The second research question aimed at assessing whether democracy has promoted good governance in Borno state. The findings showed that democracy in Borno state has not promoted good governance but rather insecurity and poverty, among others. It could be argued that dividends of democracy which democratic rule would have given to the citizenry turned to be insecurity and poverty. Similarly, the finding also showed that the absence of good governance is an antecedent of marred electoral processes. There is no credible election in Borno state and therefore the resultant effect is that democracy has not promoted good governance in Borno state.

The third research question is on the challenges of democracy in Borno state. The result showed that poverty, unemployment, insecurity, leadership problems, conflict, among others are the challenges of democracy in Borno state. This means that the absence of good governance would always result to disorder and chaos, insecurity and conflict and would breed terrorism in the state. The finding showed that the socio – economic problems facing the state such as poverty, income inequality, under-development, unemployment, conflict and insecurity could be solved through good governance. Resources meant for the provision of social amenities, jobs, security etc would be properly utilized and democracy could be consolidated in Borno state. The finding also showed that one of the factors that

hinder good governance in Borno state is political attitudes of exclusion and inclusion of people based on tribal, ethnic, religion etc and these have hindered the consolidation of democracy in the state.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Summary**

This study is on democracy and good governance in Nigeria, with specific reference to Borno state from 1999 to 2015, fifteen years (15) of uninterrupted democratic rule. The major concern here is whether the fifteen (15) years of uninterrupted democratic rule had promotes good governance in the state as many proponents of democracy said it would (Jega, 2007; Ibrahim, 2008). It was noted that the return of democracy in Nigeria was heralded with enthusiasm by the electorates, hoping that the days of insecurity, unemployment, poverty, shortage or even absence of basic social amenities were over. This study set out to find out if the hopes of the citizens of Borno state were met or dashed and whether the expectations were achieved by those who have led the state from 1999 to 2015.

Research questions were put up in line with the objectives of the study and the findings of this study have answered the questions there is no successful democracy and good governance in Borno state; there is no good governance and dividends of democratic rule in Borno state; and, there is no insecurity and poverty and absence of good governance in Borno state. The respondents for the study were drawn from nine (9) local government areas, three (3) from each of the three senatorial districts. Questionnaire was used to gather data from 2, 068 respondents from the nine (9) local government areas included in the study. The respondents were proportionately selected among the nine (9) selected local government areas, based on the official population figure of each local government area.

The findings of the study attempted to answer the research questions. The first research question tried to find out the nature of democracy and good governance in Borno state. The findings revealed that democracy in Borno State has not recorded the needed or

expected good governance and the nature of democracy in the state is procedural type where the people of Borno state have not seen the dividends which they hoped democracy could offer them. The study then revealed that democracy has not actually failed completely but has actually transformed itself into an elitist affair where the dividends of democracy are mostly delivered to the elite class and the ruling group. Another aspect of the nature of democratic rule in Borno state which the study revealed is the electioneering process which did not give an opportunity for Borno people to select competent leaders of their choice. This kind of electioneering process only brought about some greedy leaders who had the opportunity to put in their stead a similar crop of avaricious cabal of disruptive contractors who engage in multiversation. This study also revealed that the citizens of Borno State only experienced an extension of the autocratic rule of the military, little has been changed for them.

The second research question is on the extent to which democracy promotes good governance in Borno state. The findings showed that contrary to high expectations, democracy in Borno from 1999 to 2015 has not promoted good governance. To buttress this point, the findings revealed that the current high level of insecurity and poverty being witnessed in Borno state is attributed to the absence of good governance. Invariably, good governance is expected to dispel insecurity and poverty and other social problems. Furthermore, the findings of the study showed that the electioneering process lacks credibility and this necessitated the absence of good governance in Borno state. The electoral process which brings leaders to power makes it more impossible to offer good governance to the people.

The third research question focused on the challenges of democracy and good governance in Borno State. It was discovered that democratic rule is challenged by

insecurity, terrorism, poverty, crime and corruption because of the absence of good governance. Therefore, only good governance could guarantee democratic rule in Borno state and Nigeria at large. The study also showed that the life threatening socio – economic problems facing Borno state such as poverty, income inequality, under-development, unemployment, conflict and insecurity are challenges to democracy in the state and could only be reversed through good governance. The finding further showed that the attitude of including and excluding ethnic and religious groups in governance negates the principle of good governance. The results also showed that democratic governance in Borno does not give chance for the citizens to contribute in decision making process and thereby making an elitist styled democracy, which contributes little to the betterment of the lives of the citizenry. If the citizens could be given chance to contribute in the process of policy making, it would improve on the lives of the citizenry and could bring home the much desired and expected dividends of democracy to the electorates.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

Conclusion is drawn on the objectives of the study based on the findings. At the beginning of this research, the objectives set out to be achieved include: to examine the nature of democracy and good governance in Borno State; to assess the extent to which democracy promotes good governance in Borno state; and lastly to identify the challenges of democracy and good governance in Borno state. Data were collected and analysis carried out. Conclusions were drawn concerning the objectives of the study:

The study concludes that since 1999 – 2015, irrespective of political party and the regime leaders that ruled the state, there is deficit of good governance in the democratic governance in Borno State.

The study also concludes that there is no relationship between democracy and good governance in the state and the democratic rule has failed to promote good governance in the state.

Finally, the study concludes that the insecurity, poverty, crime, inequality, problems of health, among others in the state is as a result of the absence of good governance in the democratic practice in the state.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

Based on the findings of this study the following recommendations are given to guide all stake holders in our democratic journey towards a better democracy and good governance in Borno State:

- i) Democratic governance must be linked with good governance because the democratic practice that has no relationship with good governance would not deliver the dividends of democracy to the electorates, it is only through the practice of application of good governance that the substantive democratic practice could be achieved.
- ii) The kind of democratic governance that could promote good governance must be practiced because good governance is the single most important element of democratic governance.
- iii) The electorates should be allowed to participate in the political and democratic governance of the state, because participation is one of the core-elements of good governance and could constitute the democratic governance to good governance in the state.
- iv) Equity, fairness and justice should be strictly adhered to in the management of the state and the resources in order to achieve good governance.

- v) The provision of security of life and property, health care delivery system, education and other essential needs of the citizens should be the priority of government.
- vi) The elitist style or procedural democracy should be changed to substantive democracy where every citizens to electorate enjoy and feel the positive impacts of democratic governance.
- vii) The civil society organisations and other governmental and non-governmental organisations should sensitise the electorates on the needs and importance of democratic governance that is linked to good governance.
- viii) The study recommends that the problem of poverty, health, income-inequality, healthy election, insecurity, crime, inclusion and exclusion and political participation among others are some of the problems that constitute difficulty to the practice of democratic governance that would translate to good governance in the state. Since 1999-2015 for the democratic consideration and the achievement of good governance through the practise of democracy, the above listed problem which make both democracy and good governance to be achieved in the state should be addressed.

#### **6.4 Contribution to Knowledge**

First, the study has contributed to the existing theoretical understanding on the nature and dynamics of democratic governance in Nigeria with specific reference to Borno State from 1991-2015. Second, the study also bridged the gap in the existing body of literature on the nature of democracy, the relationship between democracy and good governance and the extent to which democratic governance promotes good governance in Borno State from 1999 – 2015.

Third, the study would contribute to the practical democratic and good governance problems in Borno State. In other words, the study revealed that for democratic governance to be achieved, it must be linked to good governance and without good governance, there would be challenges to the consolidation of democracy and above all, social problems. Fourth, the study revealed that there is a relationship between democracy and good governance, any democratic regime that is linked to good governance would fail and may led to poverty, insecurity, inequity, problems of education, health care, crime, robbery among others. The aim of every research work is to contribute to knowledge on the specific field of interest. This study has not failed in achieving this aim. The findings of this study could help in contributing to knowledge on democratic rule and good governance in Nigeria from 1999-2015 with reference to Borno state.

Fourthly, the study showed that fourteen-years democratic experiment in Borno state has not yielded the expected results of good governance. At the onset of democracy in Nigeria it was hoped that it would bring about improvement in the lives of the people of the state but this study revealed that it has not met the expectations of the electorates.

Fifthly, the failure of democracy to promote good governance in Borno state as a result of various challenges which include absence of credible elections, elitist style of democracy, insecurity, poverty, unemployment and failure to give the people a voice in the process of governance among others. The presence of these challenges brought about the failure of democracy in delivering the dividends which would have translated into good governance.

Sixthly, the socio – economic problems facing Borno state, are found to have direct link to failure of governance. There is mass discontent with the governing class and this has resulted into various civil unrests which have claimed thousands of lives and rendered other



thousands homeless. The solution to the insecurity and other social vices in Borno could be mitigated by delivering good governance, which would translate into job opportunities, security, good roads, functional hospitals, available power supply, and conducive environment for businesses to thrive, among others.

Lastly, the ruling class would never enjoy democracy, if the electorates do not benefit from governance. If the dividends of democracy are not delivered to the people they would react in ways that make everything unsafe and uncertain. The only way the ruling class could rule peacefully is to deliver the dividends of democracy to the citizenry. Therefore, delivering the dividends of democracy is in the interest of all: the rulers and the ruled.

## **6.5 Suggestions for Further Studies**

In order to carry out further studies in topics having the same focus with the current research; the following suggestions are made.

- (a) The political economy of identity politics and good governance in emerging democracy: The Nigerian question.
- (b) The challenges and prospects of democratization in Nigeria: Notes on elite culpability.
- (c) Powerful minority, silent majority: A study on the voting behavior of Borno electorates.

## REFERENCES

- Abba, A. (2015). Kanuri, Babur or Shuwa: Where will Borno political leadership lies? *News Rescue* May 4, 2015.
- Abdulsalam, B.A. (2007). Legislature and legislative functions in Borno State (1999-2006). Published by the Borno State House of Assembly.
- Abubakar, D. (1997). "Civil Society and Democratic Governance" Being a Paper Presented at the workshop on Welfare Association as Building Blocks for Democracy organized by *African Centre for Democratic Governance (AFRIGOV)*", Jos 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> June 1997 (Unpublished).
- Abubakar, A.A. (2003). *Poverty, Ignorance and the Sustainability of Democracy in Nigeria, Jos: Dat and Partners Logistics Ltd.*
- Abdullahi, H. (2013). The Tenets of Liberal Democracy and its Practice under Goodluck Jonathan's Administration, *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review* (Oman Chapter) Vol. 3, No.4.
- Abdullahi, H. (2008). INEC and the Management of Elections: Lessons from Nigeria *African Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMAP)*
- Abubakar, D. (1998). Civil Society and Democratic Governance. Being a paper presented at *Workshop on Welfare Association's Building Block for Democracy organized by African Centre for Democratic Governance (AFRIGOV)*, Jos, 9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> June, 1997
- Abrahamsen, R. (2000). *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*. London: Zed Books
- Adagba, O. Ugwu, S.C. and Eme, O.I. (2012). Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Question in Nigeria. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review* Vol. 1, No.9, pp. 77-99.
- Adam, M. (2012). The Political Role of Borno Elders in the Fourth Republic (Unpublished).
- Adekanye, J.B.. (1981/82). "Military Organization and Federal Society". *Quarterly Journal of Administration*, Nos. 1 and 2.
- Adebayo, A.A. (2013a). Youths' unemployment and crime in Nigeria: A nexus and implications for national development. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 5(8), pp. 350-357.

- Adeniji, A. (2003). Conflict Management and peaceful Co-existence in a Democratic and Plural Society: The Nigerian Example in the Constitution. *A Journal of Constitutional Development Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization (CENCOD)*.
- Adeyemi, L.O. (2012). The Challenges of Democratic Governance in Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Social Sciences* Vol. 3, No.5
- Adewumi, A. (2014). The battle of the Minds: The insurgency and counter-insurgency in Northern Nigeria, West Africa Insight.
- Agbaje, A.B. (2004). *Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance*. Ibadan: University Press.
- Agbor, A. (2012). A Critical Analysis of Freedom of Information Act in Nigeria. Retrieved from [www.odikakafotnet.wordpress.com/2012/08](http://www.odikakafotnet.wordpress.com/2012/08)
- Ajah, M. (2011). Ho to end Boko haram fire back <http://thewillingnigeria.com/opinion/897>
- Ake, C. (1996). *Democratization of Disempowerment in Africa*. The Booking Institution, Washington D.C. U.S.A
- Akosile, A. (2011). "Good Governance in Africa: Nigeria takes one step backward". *ThisDay Newspaper* October, 11, 2011
- Alkali, B.K. (2010). *Voice of Wisdom: The flame of Mohammed Goni*, Maiduguri: Shaffa Press
- Alijo, S. (2015). "Borno" The sleeze, the lies". Attempting to right the wrong. *Forefront Magazine*, Vol. 1 No.13, October, pp. 12-15
- Amoako, D. (2003). Governance and Development in Dynamic Global Environment: *International Development Conference Harvard* 4-5 April, 2003 (Unpublished)
- Anthony, C.A. (2006). *Democratic Principles and Practice in Africa: A Comparative Study of Nigerian Democratic Experience*. University of Nigeria, Nsukka Press
- Anyaegebunam, E.O., (2003). *Assembly handbook: A legislator's companion*. Lagos: Frankad Publishers
- Appadorai, A. (2004). *The Substance of Politics* (Fourth dimension Impression) India. Oxford University Press
- Appadorai, A. (1975). *The Substance of Politics*, (1<sup>st</sup> Edition), London: Oxford University Press
- Augie, A. (2004). Human Rights and good Governance in Africa. A critical Nexus expanding Human Heights. Presented at the *Fourth African Development Forum (ADF-IV)* Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia

- Armstrong, E. (2013). The Role of Active Participation and Citizen engagement in Good Governance (UN Division of Public Administration and Development Management).
- Awa, E. (1991). Democracy and Governance in Africa: Preliminary Statement: In Aderinwale, A. & Mosha, F.G.N. (eds). *Democracy and Governance in Africa*.
- Ayoade, J.A. (2006). “Godfather Politics in Nigeria” *Money, Politics and Corruption in Nigeria*. IFES
- Ayodele, B. (2004). The Nigerian State and Conflict Management in the Nascent Democratic Project. In: Agugu, A.A. and Ola, R.F. (Eds) *Development Agenda of the Nigerian State*, Ibadan: FIAG Publishers.
- Ayoade, B.B. (2001). The legislature: A historical background and legislative practice and procedure: legislature and Governance Index 2001 (Ed) published by *Centre for Democracy and Development*, Abuja 2002
- Ayuba, H. (2014). Borno State House of Assembly: 1999-2010. *The Journal of Legislature and Governance in Nigeria*, 1:266-288
- Azinge, E. (2004). *Law, Money and Politics*. Enugu, Epiphany Press
- Azeez, K. (2014). Electoral Violence and Nigeria’s Democracy. *Journal of African Election*, 6(2):112-121
- Ball, A.R. (1979). *Modern Politics and Government*, (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed). London: The Macmillan Press.
- Balogun, T.A. (2004). Strategy for Achieving World Class Security Assurance. Paper presented at NIM 2004 Annual National Management Conference, Abuja, September, 20<sup>th</sup> 2004.
- Bamisoye, A.O. and Awefeso, O. (2011). *Democracy and Democratic Practice in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges, and Prospects*, Lagos Mac Grace Publishers.
- Bell, H. and Dayle, M. S. (2002). *Developing Leadership abilities*, Ohio: Prentice Hall
- Bello, A.A. (2012). Democracy and Good Governance in the Nigerian Fourth Republic “Missing Link” M.Sc. Thesis, University of Maiduguri (Unpublished).
- Bentham, J. (1989). Utilitarian Liberalism: The measure of Pleasure and Pain, ed, in Utely and Maclure (1957). *Document of Modern Political Thought* Cambridge University Press, London, UK.
- Blanchard, L.P. (2014). Nigeria’s Boko haram: Frequently asked Questions. In CRS Report for Congress, Congressional Research Service

- Borno State House of Assembly (2010). Meet your representatives. Sixth Republic Legislative.
- Borno State Ministry of Information, Maiduguri, Borno State (2003)
- National Bureau of Statistics Report (2012). National Bureau of statistic Report on Nigeria poverty profile, 16 <http://issuu.com/730921docs/mirror48>
- Bintube, M. and Ibrahim, A. (2001). *The Great Achiever. The First Civilian Governor of former Borno State*. Maiduguri: Shaffa Press.
- Bislava, A. (1992). “366 days of giant strides” by Maina Ma’aji Lawan: BornoState Sustainable Development. Maiduguri: Sahel Press.
- Briggs, N.D. (2010). “Poor health as an index of human security in Africa”, in Obasanjo et al. (Eds) (2010). Human security in Africa: Perspective on Education, Health and Agriculture. Centre for Human Security, OOPL, Abeokuta.
- Burnell, Peter (2005): Political Strategies of External Support for Democratization, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1 (4), 361–84
- Camdessus, M. (1997). “Good governance: The I.M.F. Role. Being an address to the United Nations Economic Summit and Social Council, July 2, 1997.
- Chafe, K.S. (1994). The Problematic of African Democracy: Experiences from the Political Transition in Nigeria. In *Afrikzamani Special Issue on Historical Heritage and Democratization in Africa*, New Series No. 2
- Cohen, C. (1971). Democracy. Athens University of Georgia Press. Democracy Report 2001, Publication of *Civil Society Pro-Democracy Network*
- Collier, P. & Hoettler, A. (2002). On the incidence o civil war in Africa. *Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 13, No.28
- Chukwuemeka, O. (2012). Political godfatherism in Nigeria: Benevolent or malevolent factors. *International Journal of Social and Policy Issues* Vol. 5, No.2, pp. 86.
- Daily Trust Newspaper 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2002.
- Dahl, R.A. (1989). Democracy and Its Critics, *Political Science Quarterly*
- Dambisa, M. (2010). “Dead Aid”. *Why Aid is not working and How there is another way for Africa*. England: Penguin Group.
- Davison, B. (1992). *The Blackman’s Burden – Africa a Course of the Nation state*. London: James Carry.
- Dean, B. (1964). Electrive Government: A force for peace. *The Wisconsin Sociologist* 3: 9-14

- Diamond, L. (1992). "Economic development and democracy reconsidered" In: *Re examining democracy*, Essay in honour of Seymour Martin Lipset, Larry Diamond and Gary Marks, Newbury Park, C.A. Sage.
- Diamond, L. (1997). *Consolidating the Third Name of Democracies*. Baltimore N.D. John Hopkins University Press
- Dikwa, S. (2012). The Role of Media in Democracy. Liwuram. *Journal of the Humanities*, University of Maiduguri Vol. 12.
- Doyle, M. W. (1983b). Kant Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs, Part 2: Philosophy and Public Affairs, 12 (4). JSTOR 2265377
- Ebegbulem, C.J. (2012). Corruption and Leadership Crisis in Africa: Nigeria in Focus. *International Journal of Business and Social Science* Vol. 1, No.11
- Edigheji, O. (2005). A Democratic State in Africa: A Centre for Policy Studies Research Report 105.
- Egbefo, O.M. (2015). Fifteen years of democracy: 1999-2014: Reflections on Nigeria's Quest for National Integration: An *International Multidisciplinary Journal*. *Ethiopia*, 9(2&37):59-77.
- Eims, L. (2006). Be A Motivational Leader: Lasting leadership principles. Colarado
- Emeh, O. (2007). Rolling Back the Menace of Poverty. *ThisDay Newspaper*, July 21<sup>st</sup>, 2009
- Eyasu, S.H. (2006), Democracy and Good Governance in Africa: *Theoretical and Methodological Issues*. Accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 2016.
- Ezukanm, T. (2009). *Nigeria: Leadership and crime*. Cited in Stanley Igwe (2012). *How Africa Underdeveloped Africa*. Indiana: Universe Bloomington.
- Fabiyi, O. (2010). Democracy and Challenges of Ethno-Nationalism in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Interrogating Institutional Mechanics. *Journal of Peace Conference Development*, 7(2):5-9.
- Falade, D.A. (2008). Political participation in Nigerian Democracy: A study of some selected local government areas in Ondo State, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F Political Science*, 14(8):1-8.
- Gaetano, M. (1939). The Ruling Class *Journal of Political Economy* Vol. 47, No. 6 (Dec., 1939), pp. 877-879 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1824319>
- Garuba, D. (2007). "Transition without Change: Elections and Political Instability in Nigeria". In: A. Jega and O. Ibeanu (Eds). *Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria*. A Publication of the *Nigeria Political Science Association*.

- Gurumka, J.B., Nengak, G.J. and Ajayi, J.O. (2014). Democracy and Good governance in Nigeria 1999-2012 *Research on Humanities and Social Science*, 4:18.
- Gurr, T.R. (1979). When men rebel. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Hamman, A.B. (2006). Building Democracy without Democrats? Political Parties and Threats of Democratic Reversal in Nigeria. *Journal of African Elections*.
- Haruna, A. (2014). The *Legislative and Governance in Nigeria* (Ed) Ojo & Omotola, First Edition.
- Heywood, A. (2011). *Global Politics*. Palgrave, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition: Macmillan., U.K.
- HNO (2014). Nigeria. Downloaded from [ereliefweb.int/report/Nigeria/201-humanitarian-needs-overview-Nigeria](http://ereliefweb.int/report/Nigeria/201-humanitarian-needs-overview-Nigeria)
- Huntington, S.P. (1993). Armed forces and Democracy” *Journal of Democracy*, 6:3
- Huntington, S.P. (1991). *The Third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Huntington, S.P. (1996). Democracy for the Long Hall. *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 1 No.2
- Hyden, G., & Bratton, M. (1992). *Governance and Politics in Africa*. Rienner: Boulder Col. Lynne.
- Ihonvbere, J.O. (1994). The Irrelevant State, Ethnicity and the Quest for Nationhood in Africa” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17(1):42-60.
- Immanuel. K. (1975). Perpetual peace: a philosophical essay London: George Allen and Unwin limited. Ruskin house 40 Museum Street, WC New York. The Macmillan company
- IOM (2015). “Over 2.1 million displaced in Nigeria. <http://www.iom.int/news/over-2.1-millions-displaced-nigeria>”
- Ismail, U. (2002). The Success and the Limitations of Abubakar Abdulsalami: Transition to Civil rule (Unpublished).
- Iyayi, F. (2002). The Principles of ASUU. First in the Series of Pre-NEC Lecture held at the International Hotel, Maiduguri, Borno State: April 3, 2002
- Izekor, V. (1979). “*Voice of Liberation*” Ibadan: Sketch Co. Ltd
- James, B. (1932). Introduction to Philosophical Analysis. New York: Henry Holt and Company

- Jega, M.A. (2001). *Democracy and Democratization in Nigeria: 1999-2001: A paper presented at the National Conference on democracy and Democratization in Nigeria*. Mambayyah House, Bayero University Kano.
- Jega, A.M. (2007). *Democracy, Good Governance and Development in Nigeria*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited
- John, W. and Furji, F. (2006). Political Governance and Conflict Management: Why the Development Politics and the Poor need a Strong Structure? Yaounde *Centre for Action Oriented Research on African Development (ARAD)* Assessed on 9<sup>th</sup> January, 2011.
- Jonah, J. (2008). The Governance Challenges in Africa. A paper presented at United Nations Conference, 22<sup>nd</sup> September, Washington DC (Unpublished).
- Kakuh, M. (1999). *Democracy and Civil Society in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Nigeria Limited.
- Kant, I. (1795). Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch. Archived Copy
- Kelloway, E.N. Francis, N. and Barling, J. (2004). Poor Leadership. Retrieved from <http://faculty.london.edu/nsivanathan/poorleadership.pdf>
- Kin, S.R. (2000). *Balancing the Equation of Governance at the Grassroots*. Lagos-Nigeria: Heinemann Education Books.
- Kofi, G.J. (2005). Democracy, Development and Good Governance: The Inseparable Links. *Annual Democracy and Governance lecture Centre for Democratic Development* at the British Council Hall, Accra, Ghana.
- Kunle, W. (2002). *Research Methodology*. Onitsha: African First Publishers Limited.
- Lawan, T. (1992). "Governor Lawan's total development strategy". *The Nigerian Standard*, Monday, March 16
- Lamidi, K.O. and Bello, M.L. (2013). Party Politics and Future of Nigerian Democracy: An examination of Fourth Republic. *European Scientific Journal*, 8:29.
- Larry, D. and Ebere, O. (2004). *Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Makinda, S.M. (1996). "Democracy and Multi-party Politics in Africa". *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34(4):555-573.



- Maiangwa, J.S. (2009). An Overview of Psuedo-therapeutic Approaches to Poverty in Nigeria: The Citizens and the State. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 3 (9):346-0353
- Martin, D. (1968). "Military Leadership in Nigeria" Unpublished seminar paper, Manchester.
- Mattes, R., Bratton, M. and Davids, Y.D. (2003). Poverty, Survival and Democracy, Markets and Civil Society in Africa. A Frobarometer Working Paper No.23
- Mbaya, A.S. et al. (2017). Effects of insurgency on the physical and socio-economic activities in Maiduguri. *International Journal of Advanced Scientific Research* 2(2).
- Mezey, L. M. (1981). Functions of legislature in the third world in Luwenberg: Geharld Pfefferjon-Samuel, C. Jewell: *Malcune Handbook of Legislature Research* (Ed.) London: Harvard University Press.
- Michael, D (1983). Kant, liberal legacies, and foreign affairs, part 2" philosophy and public affairs. 12(Vol. 12):323-353.
- Mohammed, S.A. (2006). *Obasanjo: The Lust for Power and its Tragic Implications for Nigeria*. Democratic Development Research and Training (CEDDERT) Hanwa Zaria, Kaduna: Vanguard Printers and Publishers Ltd.
- Mohammed, M. (2012). Violence and threat to Yobe's economic growth. *The Moment*
- Mohideen, A. (1997). State and Assessment of Democracy and Good Governance. *In proceeding of the Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF) Conference on Democracy, Civil Society and Governance in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Unpublished).
- Mukhtar, A. (2014). An Overview of Democratic Rule and Democratization Process in Nigeria: 1999-2015. *Review of Public Administration and Management*, 3:5.
- Mustapha, M. (2010). "Corruption in Nigeria and Empirical Notes". *Information, Society and Justice*, 3(2): 165-175.
- Nagara, C.O., Ezebonu, E.N. Ogoh, A.O. and Orokpo, O.F.E. (2014). Poverty, Inequality and the Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *Journal of Good Governance and Sustainable Development in Africa*, 2(1):48-60.
- National Emergency Management Agency (2014). Report on insurgency in Maiduguri Nigeria
- National Population Commission of Nigeria (2006). Census Figure Report. Accessed on 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 2015

- Ndulu, B. and Achille, N. (1995). Towards Defining a New Vision of Africa for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Global Coalition for Africa in Washington DC (Unpublished)
- NPC (2009). National population commission, census figure.
- Nwabueze, B. (1994). *Nigeria '93: The political crisis and solutions*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
- Nzongula, N.G. (1997). *The State and Democracy in Africa*. Harare. SAPES Books
- OCHA, A. (2014). Nigeria multiple crises over-shadowed by Boko Haram. *Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 5. No.91
- Ofodile, C. (1996). "Ideological Fluidity in Nigerian Politics." *The Guardian Newspaper* Lagos.
- Ogundiya, I.S. (2010). Democracy and Good Governance: Nigeria's Dilemma. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4 (6):201-208.
- Ogunjimi, A. (2003). *Understanding Research Methodology in Behavioral Science*. Ibadan: African University Press.
- Olu-Adeyemi, O. (2012). The Challenges of Democratic Governance in Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, 3:5.
- Olu-Adeyemi, O. (2008). Ethno-National: Identities and the Crisis of Nation Building in Nigeria. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis.
- Olu-Adeyemi, O. (2004). Corruption and the Deepening crisis of Nigeria's Economic and National Development. *Journal of Economic, Banking and Finance*, 1:2.
- Oke, L. (2010). Democracy and Governance in Nigeria's fourth Republic. *Journal of African Research Review*, 3:4
- Ojo, E.O (2004). "The Military and Political Transitions". In *Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance*. A.A.B. Agbaje, Larry Diamond and Ebere Onwudiwe, (eds). Ibadan: University Press.
- Ola, J. (1992). "Borno Depends on Federal Government for Now". *New Nigerian Newspaper*, Wednesday, p.3
- Omotola, J.S. (2008). Explaining Electoral Violence in Africa's New Democracies. Paper on Electoral Reform. Political Succession and Democratization in Africa. Presented at the 27<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) Makurdi, Benue State.

- Omotola, S. (2007). Godfather and Nigerian General Election. *Journal of African Election* Vol. 6 No.2, pp. 64-78.
- Omotola, S. (2003). Politics of Impeachment and Democratization in Nigeria, 1999-2007: The Oyo State Experience. *International Journal of Social and Management Sciences*, 3(2):35-55.
- Onyinyechi, C. and Ayuba, H. (2011). Democracy and Political Governance in Nigeria. *International Journal of Administration and Development Studies*, 2:2.
- Omotosho, F. (2013). "Governance Crises and Democracy in Nigeria, 1999-2012: *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4:14.
- Osewa, O. (2015). An Assessment of Goodluck Jonathan Administration. Accessed on 4<sup>th</sup> April, 2016.
- Oshebo, Y. (2011). 10 Dies in Edo CAN Primaries. Nigeria Pilot, Friday: January 14, p.17 *Punch Newspaper*.
- Oshewolo, S. (2010). Galloping Poverty in Nigeria: An Appraisal of the Government's Interventionist Policies. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12(6):264-274.
- Ozor, F. (2002). "Democracy as the Bane of Nigeria" *Insider Weekly*, Sept. 16.
- Ramiah, J. (2015). The Boko Haram Insurgency and the Hardships Faced by its Victims. *Africa Research Program*, 1:8.
- Rice, E.S. (2006). Poverty and civil war: What policy makers need to know? Washington D.C. Brookings Institution
- Robert, M. (1965). Revolution and Counter-revolution: Change and Persistence in Social Structures.
- Sach, J. (2006). Investment Towards Sustainable Development. *Science Magazine*, 9<sup>th</sup> May, 2006.
- Schumpeter, J.A. (1942). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, London: Allen and Unwin
- Shehu, K. (2010). African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). Democracy and Political Governance in Africa. (2003-2008). M.Sc. Thesis. University of Jos (Unpublished).
- Shettima, A.G. (2012). The Missing Link in Borno's Political Leadership. *LiwuramJournal of the Humanities*, 2:10.
- Sope, W.E. (2014). Public Agitation, Social Media and the Government: An Analysis of the Use of Social Media as a Catalyst of Change in Nigeria. Faculty of Law, University of Lagos, Nigeria.

- Stutzer, A. and Frey, B. (2006). "Political Participation and Procedural Utility: An Empirical study". *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(391):418
- Tar, A.U. (2007). Nigeria: Contested Elections and an unstable democracy. *Review of African Political Economy Journal* 540-548.
- Tar, U.A. (2008). Rentier Policies, Extractive Economics and conflict in the Global south: *Emerging Ramifications and theoretical exploration*. K.C. Omeje (ed.) Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Tar, U.A. and Shettima, A. G. (2010). Hegemony and Subordination: Governing Class, Power Politics and Contested Electoral Democracy in Nigeria. *Information Society and Justice*, 3(2):135-149
- Tar, A.U. (2012). The Challenges of Democratization in Africa and Middle East. *Information, Society and Justice*, Vol. 3, No.1, July, 2012. Pp. 81-94. ISSN 1756-1078
- Tar, U.A. (1998). Politics of Democratization and Military Disengagement in West Africa. M.Sc. Thesis, University of Maiduguri (Unpublished).
- Tar, U.A. (1996). Democratic Transition in Africa: Causes Coincides and Consequences 1985-1996. University of Maiduguri, B.Sc. project (Unpublished).
- Tapidi, A.B. (1992). "Maina Plans People Oriented Government". *ThisDay*, January 21, p.1
- The Guardian, June 28, 1993, Lagos
- ThisDay Newspaper (2014). Soldiers rebel over lack of weapon to fight Boko Haram
- Tempo, September 27, 1993, Lagos
- Thomas, R. D. (2005). Politics in states and communities, Florida State University. Susan A. MacManus, Florida State University 14th Edition. Dye & MacManus.
- Tijjani, K. (2008). Now that the Largesse is Coming – Unsolicited Advice (Unpublished).
- Tijjani, K. (2007). Crashing The circle: another view of the Just Concluded Local Government Elections in Borno State (Unpublished).
- Tijjani, K. (2002). Used, Abused and Dumbed: The Plight of Nigerian Electorates (Unpublished).
- Tijjani, K. (2003). Clichés, Fetishes and Elite Brinkmanship: Metaphors for Nigeria's under-development (Unpublished).
- Tola, O.O. (2007). *Youths: Restless and Ruthless*, Lagos: Newswatch Communications Limited TSM, July 11, 1992, Lagos

- Tunde, O. (2000). *Yesterday's Hope and Today's Disillusion? Whither Local Government in Nigeria?* Lagos-Nigeria: Heinemann Education Books
- Ugoh, S.C. and Ukpere, W.I. (2009). Appraising the Trend of Policy on Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Nigeria with Emphasis on a National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP). *African Journal of Business Management*, 3(12):847-854
- Umara, I. (2010). Democratic Governance and Elitest Politics in Borno State (Unpublished).
- UNDP (2007). Government for Sustainable Human Development. UNDP Policy Paper
- Verba, S. and Nie, N. (1972). Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social
- Vilfredo, P. (1991). The Rise and fall of Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology, Transaction Publishers. 1 edition (January 1, 1991) ISBN-13: 978-0887388729
- Wright Mills, C. (1939) 'Language, logic and culture', *American Sociological Review* 4 (October), pp.670 - 680.
- Wiseman, J. (1995). Introduction: The Movement Towards Democracy: Global, Continental and State Perspectives. In: Wiseman, J. (Ed) *Democracy and Political Change in Sub-Sahara Africa*. London. Routledge.
- World Bank (2013) Sub-sahara African poverty report: access on 08/08/2015 available at [www.worldbank.org/content/africa](http://www.worldbank.org/content/africa)
- Yio, B.W. (2012). Democracy and Development in Nigeria: A Reflection on the Country's democratic Experience up to 2001. In: *Development Studies* No.5.
- Zartman, I.W. (1995), *Cowardly Lions: Missed Opportunities for Preventing Deadly Conflict and State Collapsed*. Lynne Reinner, London.
- Ziegler, H. (2009). The Irony of Democracy: An uncommon introduction to American Politics, 14<sup>th</sup> Edition. Late Library of Congress Control Number: 2007934423

## **APPENDICES**

Department of Political Science,  
Faculty of Social Sciences,  
Usmanu Danfodiyo University,  
Sokoto.

Dear Sir/Ma,

## **QUESTIONNAIRE**

I am a student of the above mentioned address conducting a research on “Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria (1999-2015): A Case Study of Borno State”.

The attached questionnaire will aid in gathering information for the study. Please, kindly fill the questionnaire and be rest assured that any information given will be used for research purpose only and will be treated confidentially.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

**Kamselem Shehu**

## APPENDIX A

**Instruction: Please tick appropriately**

### SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Gender  
Male [       ]       Female [       ]
2. Age.....
3. Marital status  
Married [       ]       Single [       ]
4. Occupation  
Employed [       ]       Unemployed [       ]
5. Local Government Area:.....

### SECTION B: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Key: Strongly Agree (SA); Agree (A); Undecided (UD); Strongly Disagree (SD), Disagree (D)

Instruction: Please tick the appropriate option

- 1 (a). Since 1999, democratic rule has brought favourable improvements in education, security and poverty in Borno State.

Strongly Agree [       ]  
Agree [       ]  
Undecided [       ]  
Strongly Disagree [       ]  
Disagree [       ]

- (b). The people of Borno State have enjoyed political participation, good health facilities, rule of law and employment as dividends of democratic governance.

Strongly Agree [       ]  
Agree [       ]  
Undecided [       ]  
Strongly Disagree [       ]  
Disagree [       ]

- (c). Democratic rule in Borno State is an exclusive elite affair.

Strongly Agree [       ]  
Agree [       ]  
Undecided [       ]  
Strongly Disagree [       ]  
Disagree [       ]

- (d). Democratic rule in Borno State is a mere platform for charging of avaricious leaders.

Strongly Agree [       ]  
Agree [       ]  
Undecided [       ]  
Strongly Disagree [       ]  
Disagree [       ]

- (e) There is no democratic rule and democratic participation in Borno State but just a practice of some form of autocratic government.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- 2 (a). lack of accountability and transparency as products of democratic rule in Borno led to bad governance
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (b). The prevalence of insecurity and poverty in Borno State is as a result of lack of good governance.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (c) Democratic rule in Borno State lacks the capacity to bring about and consolidate good governance.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (d) Flawed and incredible election hinders the consolidation of good governance in Borno State.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (e) Good governance based on equity, inclusiveness, effectiveness and responsiveness can stabilize democratic order in Borno State
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |



- 3 (a) Democratic orders and rule can only be consolidated through participatory, responsive and good governance.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (b) The good governance in Borno State can eradicate the problems of poverty, income inequality, under-development, unemployment, conflict and insecurity
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (c) The phenomenal preponderance of tribal and religious tendencies have negatively contributed to the challenges associated with good governance in Borno State.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (d) Exclusionist and elitist politics has terminated the hopes of the citizens at the grassroots in Borno State
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (e) Democratic order and good governance failed in Borno State because citizens have no participatory influence on the actions and decisions of political decision-makers.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- 4(a) purposeful, effective decline in the causes and attendant risks of mass discontent will lead to good governance in Borno State.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |

- (b) Concerted and sustained influence by the citizens on the actions and decisions of regime leaders will lead to good governance in Borno State.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (c) Factual decline in the causes and imminent risks of discontent will lead to stability of democratic order in Borno State.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (d) Undoubtedly, good governance is the single most important element of human development and nation-building.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |
- (e) Concrete, stable democratic rule and good governance will lead to decline in mass discontent in Borno State.
- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Strongly Agree    | [ | ] |
| Agree             | [ | ] |
| Undecided         | [ | ] |
| Strongly Disagree | [ | ] |
| Disagree          | [ | ] |

**APPENDIX B**  
**IN-DEPTH GROUP INTERVIEW (IGI) WITH CHAIRMEN OF VARIOUS**  
**POLITICAL PARTIES, WOMEN LEADERS, YOUTH LEADERS, PARTY**  
**ELDERS, WARD CHAIRMAN AND SECRETARIES, TRADITIONAL RULERS**  
**AMONG OTHERS OF THE SELECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENTS I.E. (3)**  
**WHICH IS 9 IN EACH OF THE SENATORIAL DISTRICTS OF THE STATE**

1. Is the democratic rule in Borno State the cause of the backwardness of the state due to the prevalence poverty, unemployment, conflict and violence?
2. Why do the regime leaders reject the citizens contribution in the decisions making activities of the state?
3. Would the practice of good governance bring about development in Borno State?
4. Can the contributions of civil society organizations solve the existing problems and consolidate the gains of good governance?
5. Would stable democratic rule prevent the causes and risks of mass discontent in Borno State?

### QUESTION ONE

S/N	Items	RESPONSES				
		SA	A	UD	SD	D
a	Since 1999, democratic rule has brought favourable improvements in education, security and poverty in Borno State	227 (12.09%)	317 (16.89%)	180 (9.59%)	520 (27.70%)	633 (33.72%)
b	The people of Borno State have enjoyed political participation, good health facilities, rule of law and employment as dividends of democratic governance	210 (11.19%)	114 (6.07%)	259 (13.80%)	515 (27.44%)	779 (41.50%)
C	Democratic rule in Borno State is an exclusive elite affair	441 (23.49%)	409 (21.79%)	396 (21.10%)	172 (9.16%)	459 (24.45%)
D	Democratic rule in Borno State is a mere platform for charging of avaricious leaders.	380 (20.25%)	776 (41.34%)	240 (12.79%)	271 (14.44%)	205 (10.92%)
E	There is no democratic rule and democratic participation in Borno State but just a practice of some form of autocratic government	482 (25.68%)	696 (37.08%)	199 (10.60%)	174 (9.27%)	326 (17.37%)

## QUESTION TWO

S/N	Items	RESPONSES				
		SA	A	UD	SD	D
a	Lack of accountability and transparency as products of democratic rule in Borno State led to bad governance	537 (28.61%)	647 (34.47%)	189 (10.07%)	240 (12.79%)	264 (14.06%)
b	The prevalence of insecurity and poverty in Borno State is as a result of lack of good governance	571 (30.42%)	614 (32.71%)	186 (9.91%)	209 (11.13%)	297 (15.82%)
c	Democratic rule in Borno State lacks the capacity to bring about and consolidate good governance	512 (27.28%)	693 (36.92%)	215 (11.45%)	179 (9.54%)	278 (14.81%)
d	Flawed and incredible election hinders the consolidation of good governance in Borno State	543 (28.93%)	861 (45.87%)	80 (4.26%)	231 (12.31%)	162 (8.63%)
e	Good governance based on equity, inclusiveness, effectiveness and responsiveness can stabilize democratic order in Borno State	449 (23.92%)	802 (42.73%)	337 (17.96%)	93 (4.95%)	196 (10.44%)

### QUESTION THREE

S/N	Items	RESPONSES				
		SA	A	UD	SD	D
a	Democratic orders and rule can only be consolidated through participatory, responsive and good governance	466 (24.83%)	842 (44.86%)	162 (8.63%)	153 (8.15%)	254 (13.53%)
b	The good governance in Borno State can eradicate the problems of poverty, income inequality, under-development, unemployment, conflict and insecurity	466 (24.83%)	842 (44.86%)	162 (8.63%)	153 (8.15%)	254 (13.53%)
c	The phenomenal preponderance of tribal and religious tendencies have negatively contributed to the challenges associated with good governance in Borno State	564 (30.05%)	751 (40.01%)	179 (9.54%)	209 (11.13%)	174 (9.27%)
D	Exclusionist and elitist politics has terminated the hopes of the citizens at the grassroots in Borno State	426 (22.70%)	934 (49.76%)	321 (17.10%)	79 (4.21%)	117 (6.23%)
E	Democratic order and good governance failed in Borno State because citizens have no participatory influence on the actions and decisions of political decision-makers	521 (27.76%)	742 (39.53%)	153 (8.15%)	374 (19.93%)	87 (4.64%)

#### QUESTION FOUR

S/N	Items	RESPONSES				
		SA	A	UD	SD	D
A	purposeful, effective decline in the causes and attendant risks of mass discontent will lead to good governance in Borno State	459 (24.45%)	691 (36.81%)	453 (24.13%)	145 (7.73%)	129 (6.87%)
B	Concerted and sustained influence by the citizens on the actions and decisions of regime leaders will lead to good governance in Borno State.	380 (20.25%)	847 (45.13%)	178 (9.48%)	157 (8.36%)	315 (16.78%)
C	Factual decline in the causes and imminent risks of discontent will lead to stability of democratic order in Borno State.	485 (25.84%)	601 (32.02%)	401 (21.36%)	152 (8.10%)	238 (12.68%)
D	Undoubtedly, good governance is the single most important element of human development and nation-building.	661 (35.22%)	729 (38.84%)	323 (17.21%)	46 (2.45%)	118 (6.29%)
E	Concrete, stable democratic rule and good governance will lead to decline in mass discontent in Borno State	351 (18.70%)	824 (43.90%)	207 (11.03%)	206 (10.97%)	289 (15.40%)