

IMPACT OF DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE ON THE CITIZENS OF BORNO STATE 1999-2015



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ABSTRACT

The study assessed the impact of democracy and good governance in Nigeria with reference to Borno State from 1999 to 2015. The study employed the use primary sources of data collection. A random sampling was used in selecting 3 LGAs from each zone to make total of 9 LGAs for the study. 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 study area. 42% agreed that the democratic rule is a mere flat form of changing leaders in the study area. 37% agreed that there is no substantive democratic rule in the study area. The democratic governments in the state has not encourage good governance and democratic challenges in the state are as a result of lack good governance in the practice of democratic rule. Therefore, for Borno State and Nigeria at large to attain democratic development there must be compliance of good governance in the practice of democratic rule.

Keywords: *Democracy, Good Governance and Borno State*

Introduction

Good governance increased citizens' influence on the decisions and actions of regime leaders, reduce the causes and risks of mass discontent and enhances stability of democratic order. However, Liberal democracy, good governance and development are in crisis particularly among the third World Countries. The level of apathy, self-alienation, cynicism and public discourse in political leaders, declining confidence in government as well as the rule of

law. Democracy, good governance and democratic values are not doing too well in third World Countries.

In Africa, liberal democracy is witnessing a new jump-start riddled with much cynicism. Indeed, the global thought on Africa especially as rained by western media and practitioners is one of a political dungeon: a tale of chaos, anarchy, genocide and wars. The stereotype constructed Africa as a region that works through a reverse logic of political disorder and irrationality, where politics is about barefaced stealing and a game of the belly, where political motion is oscillation and retreat, rather than any advance or progress, and where the law of the 'jungle' sub-sits, the dictates of the constitution. (Thomson, 2004).

“Without good governance, without the rule of law, predictable administration, legitimate power, and responsive power, and responsive regulation, no amount of funding, no amount of charity will set us on the path of prosperity”, - Kofi Annan (cited in Adejumobi, 2004:11).

A reflection on the above calls to question certain issues that negates democratic governance. These issues remain critical governance problems: Leadership challenges, corruption, lack of transparency, poverty, unemployment, godfatherism, lack of security and rights. In Nigeria, the above cases are in high level which brought about inequitable use of natural resources in the country. This study assessed democracy and good governance in Nigeria with reference to Borno State from 1999 to 2015

Conceptual Clarifications

Democracy and Good Governance

Democracy and good governance have become global phrases used exclusively to describe the trends of existing political development. But what do these concept means? Do they properly apprehension what we seek to describe or analyze? And what is the link between these terms?

Democracy

Democracy in the classical sense is a concept that is uncharacteristically precise (Ake 1996). It simply brings popular power. It is not about surrogate authority, or representative governance, but about general expression of power by the people. Ake suggests the spirit of democracy is all about good governances. Dahl (1982:11), stated that 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 which it's governs, it is this possession that makes it rational and

acceptable to the people. It is marked by the continuous dialogue and interaction between those who govern are ruled”.

Good Governance

The concept of governance like democracy is a disputed one. The variety of definitions that have presented on governance could be subsumed into two broad groups. The first group are of the opinion that perceived governance in a practical sense. In this case, the concept derives directly from its usage in the corporate world. It suggests that the well-organized management of state institutions. While the second group are of the opinion that perceived governance in theoretical and ethical sense. 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 (Adejumobi, 2004). The essence of this approach to governance is to instill discipline in the state and its institutions for economic purposes.

The return to democracy and the democratic governance to Nigeria in May 1999 has brought about numerous changes, including sustained efforts to build effective institutions of governance. The return of the democratic rule was received with joy, happiness and great expectations by Nigerians especially by the people of Borno state. Because they presume their suffering, misfortune hardship, poverty and income inequality among others would be resolved with the democratic rule.

The nature of democratic rule in Borno state is said to be facing a serious problem, because of the state's zero sum of power politics and electoral democracy appear to have huge implication for the sustenance of democratic rule (Tar, 2010). Tar, (2007), observed that the nature and dynamics of Nigerian democracy particularly in Borno state where the political elites continue to exploit, plunder and collaborate with external forces to make the common citizens live in misery.

Shettima (2012) argued that democratic governance in Borno is the political struggle among the political class; politics of rancor and bitterness, ethnic based politics and intimidation of opposition groups and the use of state apparatus to undermine others are the major challenges to democratic values in the state.

Democracy and Political Governance in Borno State from 1999 to 2015

The issue of leadership is very vital in every society. Success or failure of any government center's on leadership. Human beings by nature are rational;

their activities are systematically planned and goal are oriented. For centuries, Africans have been pursuing wars to have patriotic, honest and competent leaders to pilot their affairs. The need to have a proficient leaders is of paramount importance for the achievement and overall development of the state, a society without leaders is anomic (normlessness).

Drawing reference to the regimes under review, democratic form of government is said to be the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. However, one can authoritatively argue that democratic government is for the elites in Nigeria. This is born out of the fact that the regimes in Nigeria are accused of compounding problems of life and security, unemployment, poverty, inequality among others rather than providing good governance, Tijjani (2007) claimed that, Nigerian's democracy is characterized by godfatherism, garnished with feudal titles. Shehu (2010) observed that electorates in the state only lived up to the status of 'rubber stamp' during electioneering processes; they have no influence on the action and decisions of the regime leaders and failed to show their discontentment because of low level of political education and culture. 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 in comatose"

Democracy is a form of government based on popular rule or popular control over collective decision-making where citizens are entitled on their opinion on public affairs both through the association of civil society and through participation in government, Beetham (1999). In democratic governance citizens freely make political decisions by majority rule' democracy rest upon the principle that government exist to serve the people. In other words state, the people are citizens of democratic state, not its subjects. Tijjani (2007). However, in Borno state, the affairs of the people are not managed effectively by the regime leaders and this has led the states as becoming one of the backward states in the region leading the state to violent conflict as a result of high rate of poverty (Shehu, 2010). Democracy and good governance involves the opportunity to participate decision-making in the political process (Ake, 1996). However, in Nigeria, citizens are not part of the decision making process.

Political governance in Borno state started since the period of pre-colonial Nigeria, to colonial period and the post colonial. The democratic and political governance of the state have undergone many changes, ranging from the governance through traditional rulers (institutions) before colonial penetration to the colonially controlled traditional institutions to the post-colonial or post-colonial independence. Moreover, the ushering of democratic

rule in 1999, brought Alhaji Mala Kachallah of the All Peoples Party (APP) as the executive governor of Borno state from 29 May, 1999 to 29 May, 2003; Ali Modu Sheriff from 29 May, 2003 to 29th May, 2011 elected as governor under the platform of All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP); the first democratic governor that was elected twice in Borno, and Kashim Shettima, from 29th May 2011 to 29th May 2015 elected as governor under the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP). (Borno State Ministry of Information, 2015).

The three successive regimes of Kachallah, Sheriff, and Shettima were characterized like other states in Nigeria by nonappearance of democratic values, norms and culture. The democratic experience in Borno state during the period under review was the type where the people and the state were owned by the regime leaders. Because, the state was turned to an anarchy state, and the resource were spent, shared and distributed by the political office holders as personally owned, (Umara 2010).

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 democracy demands from the common man a certain level ability and character rationale conduct and active participation in the government. In Borno state, political activities and democratic value and norms have not only been truncated, but marked with turbulence, uncertainties and violence. Right from the emergence of the fourth Republic in 1999. Politics in the state is characterized by greed, love of power, violence, assassination, thuggery and election riggings. The political apathy in Borno state could be based on the twin problems of ignorance and deliberate deception by some politicians. The consequences of this are inability of the masses to have a link between their state of under-development and their non-participation in the electoral process, (Fabiya, 2010). Equally, Falade (2008) argued that politicians make series of promises during election campaigns and most of these promises are not kept after they have been voted into power. Similarly, 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.

Shettima (2012) argues that since the return of democratic rule in the state, Borno state has been plagued by bad governance as a result of the attitude of the regime leaders. The humanitarian crisis and the current Boko Haram violent conflict which were brought about by the high level of poverty and income inequality can be attributed to the governable space created by the leadership.

Methodology

Method of the Study

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

Population of the Study

The target population of the study includes Maiduguri, Konduga, Bama, Biu, Hawul, Damboa, Gubio, Kaga, and Mobbar. The population is estimated to be 2068342 for study area. It is from the population that a sample size was drawn using 2009 National Census figure.

Table 1 the population of the study area

LGA	SD	Population	Sample size
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
Total:		2,068,342	2,068

Source: Field Study, 2016

Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

According to Ogunjimi (2005), a sample is defined as a subset of measurement selected from the population of interest. A total of 2,068 respondents representing 0.1% of the total population of the study were drawn from the local governments mentioned above. Based on the nature of this study, the researcher used purposive and stratified random sampling technique.

This technique ensures that specific elements are included in the sample. The specific element here refers to respondents that are concern with the issue of good governance in their locality.

Instrument of the Research

The main instrument for collecting data for this study was questionnaire. A self-developed questionnaire containing five (5) item questions was administered to the respondents. The questionnaires consist of two sections. 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).

Procedure for Data Collection

The researcher administered the questionnaire to the respondents through recruiting a research assistant 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 and hypothesis. Out of 2,068 questionnaires distributed, only 1,877 are retrieved others either not filled or not returned.

Data presentation and Analysis

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

Finding of the study

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

Table 2: 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 2 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 3: 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 3: 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.

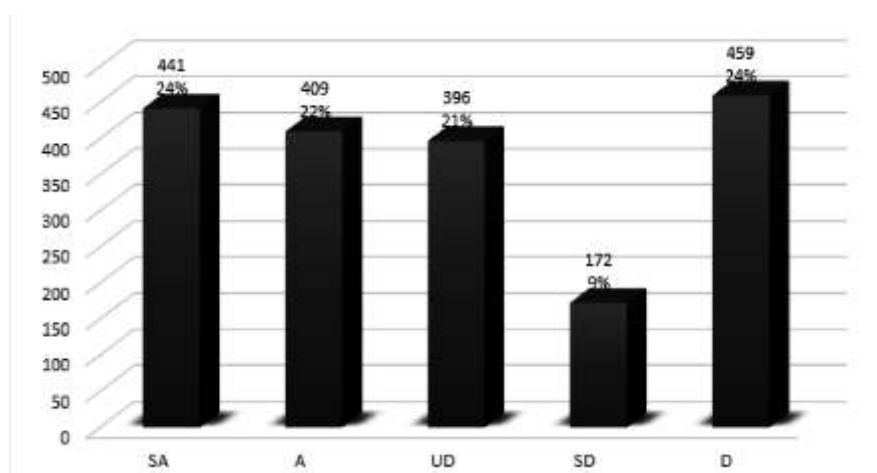
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The result showed that most of the respondents (42%) disagreed that people of Borno state have enjoyed political participation, good health facilities, rule of law and employment as dividends of democratic governance, while only 11% that are of a contrary 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 4: 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

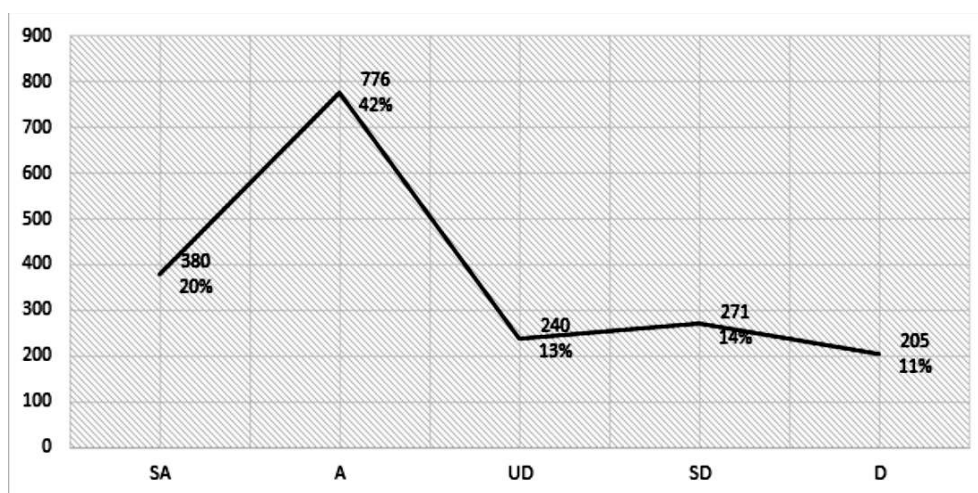
Figure 1: Democratic rule in Borno State is an exclusive elite affair

The finding in Table 4 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 elite.

Table 5: 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



Source: Field Study, 2016

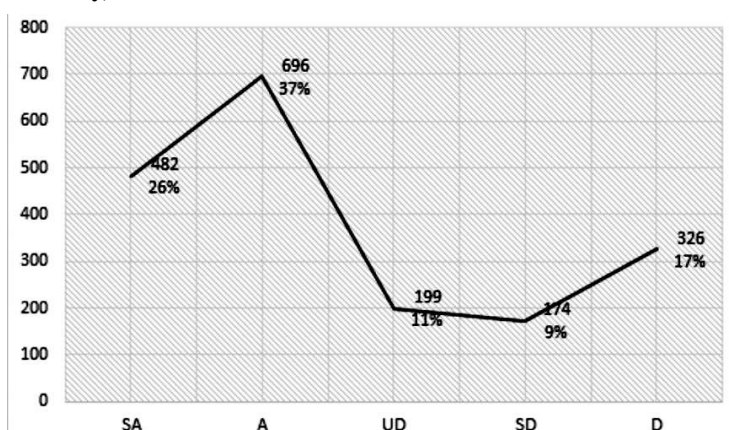
Figure 2: Democratic rule in Borno State is a Mere Platform for Changing of a Various Leaders.

Table 5 presents the opinions of the respondents on whether Democratic rule in Borno State is a mere platform for changing of avaricious 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 6: 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



Source: Field Study, 2016

Figure 3: There is no Substantive Democratic Rule in Borno State but Procedural Democracy

Table 6 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% were 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.

Conclusion

It is apparent from the assessment of democracy and good governance in Borno State from 1999 to 2015, since the inception of the fourth republic, the democratic rule in the State has been bedeviled with a plethora of challenges that makes it difficult for good governance. Good governance is a pre-condition for development and nation-building. For democracy to succeed in Nigeria with reference to Borno state, there is a need to link the practice of democracy to good governance. Secondly, the paper concludes that liberal democracy would address the political, economic, social and developmental problems in Borno state. The democratic rule in Borno state should adhere to the democratic norms, values, culture and tenets in order to link with good governance. Finally, good governance would bring about economic growth and development through the implementation of good policies by government.

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