

**15 YEARS OF UNINTERRUPTED DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA  
WHAT IS THE CORRELATION BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT?**

**Awojobi, Oladayo Nathaniel** 

Berlin School of Economics and Law, Berlin, Germany  
dawojobi@gmail.com

**Ayakpat, Joyce**

Nigeria Nuclear Regulatory Authority, Abuja, Nigeria  
Joyce.ayakpat@gmail.com

**Adisa, Oladimeji David**

University of Kassel, Kassel, Germany  
oladimeji.adisa@gmail.com

**Abstract**

*The wave of democratization that swept through some developing countries in the 1980s prompted academic scholars to debate the interface between democracy and development. The debate actually polarized the academic arena. Some scholars are of the view that democracy leads to development. On the other hand, proponents of the negative relation between democracy and development argued that democracy brings no development. They based their hypothesis on Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea that have no democratic institutions, yet they are economically developed. This debate has led this paper to examine the Nigerian democratic experience on the correlation between democracy and development. The study relies on secondary sources of data. The study identifies that democracy in Nigeria has actually led to the dividends of democracy through the cultivation of development policy, inflow of Foreign Direct investment (FDI) and the observance of the rule of law. However, the negative aspect of the Nigerian democratic dispensation surpassed the positive aspect. For instance, poverty, unemployment, low Human Development Index, corruption, infrastructure decay and insecurity are predominant in Nigeria after 15 years of democratic governance. Finally, the paper calls on the political class to adhere to the principle of true democracy and good government if the country needs to economically develop through democratization.*

**Keywords:** Autocracy, Democracy, Development, Government, Military

## INTRODUCTION

Is democracy a panacea to the socioeconomic development of African nations? The Western nations will answer this question in the affirmative. This is because democracy is believed to facilitate the rule of law, free choice and political participation vis a vis enhancing socioeconomic development. After the overthrow of the first civilian executive president in Nigeria in 1983 by the military and the economic sanctions that followed subsequently. The civil society groups, human right groups and the international community continued to mount pressure on the military to hand over power to an elected democratic government. This is because with no democracy in place in Nigeria, economic development will be difficult to achieve according to the proponents of the democracy brings development hypothesis. The continued pressure on the military by the Campaign for Democracy (CD), National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) and other support groups eventually paid off as the military junta headed by General Abudulsalami Abubakar handed power to a democratically elected government on May 29, 1999. Fifteen years into democratic governance in Nigeria, the question on the lips of most Nigerians is that does democracy really leads to national development? The reason for this question is that since the new birth of democracy in 1999, the country has been facing some challenges such as the high rate of poverty, increasing unemployment, insecurity and infrastructure decay. Some Nigerians have argued that this was not the democracy they fought for, others have said development in a democratic era takes gradual process. The state of affairs has polarized the nation into three groups. The first group believed the pre-colonial era is far better than the present democratic government. Their argument is that during the pre-colonial period, Nigeria witnessed urban development in some regions. However, there were inter-tribal conflicts during that period. The second group posits that a democracy can work in Nigeria, but it needs time to grow in as it took the United States many years to have a stable democracy. The third group argued that the military is the best option for Nigerian governance. They based their argument on the notion that Singapore, Taiwan, China and South Korea developed economically under authoritarian regimes. Further to this, they stressed that the security challenges befalling Nigeria would not have happened in the military era. As the debate on the interface between democracy and development rages on, the majority of Western scholars agree that democracy is a by-product of development and there is an adjacent relationship between both concepts. The questions being asked by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is that what is the nature of the link between both concepts and how do they hang together? It is on these questions that this paper will examines the mutual relation between democracy and development in the Nigerian context.

## Conceptual Clarifications

In order to analysis the interface between democracy and development, it is necessary to define both concepts.

### **Democracy**

Democracy is that form of government that allow qualified citizens to vote in an election to choose those who will govern them for a fixed period. It incorporates cultural, religion, social, ethnic and racial equality. The UNESCO in 2002 defined democracy as a technique where every eligible voter casts his or her vote in an election. The fundamental issue of democracy, according to UNISECO is that there is the observance of human rights during the democratic period as defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Vienna Pacts and Declaration of 1993. Powell (1992) as cited in Jamo (2013) conceptualizes the tenets of democracy as:

*“the legitimacy of the government rests on a claim to represent the desires of its citizens; That is the claim of government assertion to be doing what the people want it to do; The organization arrangement that regulates this bargain of legitimacy is the competitive political election; Leaders are elected at regular intervals, and voters can choose among alternative candidates in practice, at least two political parties that have a chance of winning are needed to make such choices meaning full; Most adults can participate in the electoral process, both as voters and candidate for the important political offices, Citizens and leaders enjoy basic freedom of speech, press, assembly and organization; Both established parties and new ones can work to gain members and whenever democracy exist, political disagreement subsist.”*

Other characteristics of democracy include periodic election, the rule of law, the views of opposition parties are allowed and the independence of the judiciary and the electoral commission is guaranteed.

### **Development**

The major task of every successive government in Nigeria has been how to develop the country to meet the needs and aspiration of the citizens. According to Mirikhor and Askari (2010:1) development means “quantitative growth, qualitative improvement, and expansion in the capabilities, capacities, and choice of individual groups or state” In the same vein, Tisdell intellectualizes development as “ the modification of the biosphere and the application of human, financial, living and non-living resources to satisfy human needs and improve the quality of life” (Tisdell 1988). Since the installation of democracy in 1999, previous and the present governments have initiated different development policies to meet the expectations of the electorates who voted them into power. Furthermore, development encompasses economic, social and cultural progress to meet the desire needs of people. This is how the United Nations

Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) theorizes sustainable human development. According to the UNESCO International Panel on Democracy and Development (2002), sustainable human development is not meant to be narrow to economic or finance, but a multifaceted concept that harbour cultural, social and take into consideration all the necessary elements that help people to fulfil themselves. Education, social justice, the environment, democracy and the distributing of intelligence are closely associated with development. That is the reason the right to development has a natural place among the activist of human rights.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### The Interface between Democracy and Development

The democracy and development hypothesis have long been a contentious issue. In the early 1980s attempt were made by academic scholars to fused both concepts after the democratization process that engulf some developing countries in that period. In a similar situation, some countries with authoritarian regimes such as Singapore and Taiwan developed economically. Both scenarios led to the continuous debate on the interrelationship between democracy and development. The International Panel on Democracy and Development (IPDD) that was set up as a think tank by UNESCO in 1998 agrees that democracy and development complement each other. According to IPDD (2002):

*“democracy and development are complementary, and they reinforce each other. The link between them is all the stronger because it originates in the aspirations of individual and peoples and in the rights they enjoy. Indeed, history shows that cases where democracy and development have been dissociated have mostly resulted in failure. Conversely, the interlinking of democratization and development helps both of them to take root durably. For if political democracy, in order to consolidate itself, needs to be complemented by the economic and social measures that encourage development, similarly any development strategy needs to be ratified and reinforced by the democratic participation in order to be implemented.”*

Huber (2002) distinguishes between democracy and development in the global north and the global south. She posits that in developed countries' democracy sustain economic development because of the well-structured institutionalize social and economic right through which poverty and inequality are reduced. On the contrary, democracy has not been able to address the issue of poverty and inequality in developing countries. The reason for this is that the enemies of democracy take the advantage of the weak political institutions to undermine 'true' democracy in developing countries. The empirical evidence of Sirowy and Inkeles (1991) is sympathetic with the notion that there is a negative relationship between development and democracy. On the other hand, Campos (1994) asserts that there is a positive correlation between both concepts. The view of Przeworski and Limongi (1993) is skeptical (“we do not

know whether democracy fosters or hinders economic growth.”) The development stories of some Asian countries having authoritarian regimes made Sah (1991) to stresses that autocratic regimes are better than democratic governance in terms of economic development. According to Bardhan (n.d.) “democracy helps development through the accountability mechanisms it installs for limiting the abuse of the executive power, and provides a system of periodic punishment for undesirable government interventions in the economy and rewards for desirable intervention.” Sen (1983) takes a look at the India democracy which has a free press and strong opposition parties. According to him, the India democracy has allowed it to politically mitigate the effect of famines and starvation, but in the same vein, the Indian democratic governance, unlike the Chinese, find it difficult to drastically solve the problem of ‘endemic hunger’ and ‘malnutrition.’ “Sometimes in a democracy it seems easier to focus political attention to dramatic disturbances in a low-level equilibrium, than to the lowness of the level itself.” The interface between democracy and development has polarized the academic arena. Some scholars have argued for a positive correlation between democracy and development. On the contrary, pessimistic experts have argued against it. For instance, Pel 1999; Campos 1994; Omotola 2007; Jamo 2010) are positive on the correlation between democracy and development. On the other hand (Sirowy and Linkels 1991; Bardhan 2002; Przeworski and Lamongi 2007) are the antagonistic scholars that kicked against any positive link between democracy and development. This is what Samuel Huntington tagged the ‘conflict of interest.’

### **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework of this study will lay emphasis on the theoretical explicit of Chen (n.d.) on the causality of democracy and development.

#### ***Democracy First, Development Later***

Chen outlines five theoretical configurations on the causality between democracy and development. They include “*development first, democracy later*” (*modernization theory*); “*political change process*,” “*development does not leads to democracy*,” “*democracy does not matters in development*” and “*democracy first, development later*.” For the purpose of this study the “*democracy first, development later*” hypothesis will be our theoretical guide. The theory emphasizes that with democracy first in a country, development will then occurs later. The proponents of this theory, such as (Seigle, Weinstein, and Halperin 2004 and 2005) argued that democracy is a by-product of development. They buttress their assumption on their research work on “Why Democracy Excel.” The outcome of their research emphasized that democratic institutions impact the economy of the state and the society in general. And at the same time, democratic states perform better than non-democratic nations in terms of economy. This runs contrary to the argument of *de-Mesequita* and Downs (2005) who stress that China, Singapore,

South Korea and Taiwan with no democracy were able to develop their countries economically by bringing the benefits of autocracies to the people and avoiding political reform. According to Chen (n.d.) due to periodic elections, democratic governments need to foster development policies to meet the demand of the citizenry. For example, after the installation of democratic governance in Nigeria in 1999, in order to deliver the dividends of democracy to the populace, the Obasanjo administration initiated the National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS). His successor in 2009 instigated the Seven Point Agenda. The current President of Nigeria in the person of Goodluck Jonathan inaugurated the Transformation Agenda in 2011 when he was sworn in as the president of Nigeria. The tenets of democracy which include free press, freedom of speech, rule of law, democracies usually outclass authoritarian regimes on most indices of economic and good fortune (Siegle, Weinstein, and Halperin 2004). Empirical evidence from existing literature supports the “democracy first, development later” hypothesis. Siegle, Weinstein, and Halperin (2005) in another of their analysis on “In The Democracy Advantage: How Democracy Promote Prosperity and Peace” by appraising four decades of data, shows that poor democracies outshine weak autocratic regimes in all economic ramifications. Yet, in other research analysis on “Democracy and Social Spending in Latin America 1980-1992, Brown and Hunter (1999) as cited in Chen (n.d.) postulate that “... investigation of 17 countries in Latin America from 1980 to 1992 suggests that democratic regimes are associated with higher rates of social expenditures when faced with important economic constraints.” Zweifel and Navia (2000) examine infant mortality in democratic governance and autocratic government. They concluded from their investigation that more children die in autocratic regimes than representative governments. In a similar situation, Leblang (1996) evaluate property right, democracy and economic development. The outcome of the empirical research indicated that democracies surpass non-democracies in almost all the indices of socioeconomic development. However, controversy still rages on the democracy and development nexus. This is due to the fact that some countries such as China, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea experienced economic growth and development without any democratic apparatus. It is on this assumption that Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub, and Limongi (2000) argue that a democracy is not a precondition for development in countries of the global south.

### **Democratic Governance in Nigeria**

The installation of a democratic government in Nigeria on May 29, 1999 marked a new era within the political history of Nigeria (Awojobi 2014). According to Olu-Adeyemi (2012), the fourth republic was greeted with great expectation after many years of military rule which was marked my poverty, inequality and dilapidated public utilities. Olusegun Obasanjo was sworn in

as a civilian president on May 1999 and he governed for eight years. The first term of Obasanjo was used to bring stability in the new democracy. The second tenure of Obasanjo witnessed the inauguration of a development policy called National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS). The main objective of NEEDS was to reduce poverty by empowering Nigerians economically. Umaru Musa Yar'Adua succeeded Obasanjo in 2007. The government of Yar'Adua was able to bring the instability in the Niger Delta region in a peaceful atmosphere by granting amnesty to the Niger Delta militants.

However, there are still some pockets of violence in the region (Awojobi 2014). One of the core achievements of the Yar'Adua's administration was the rule of law that was followed to the letter. The development policy that was initiated by the Yar'Adua's administration was the Seven Point Agenda. The policy did not last because of the death of Yar'Adua in 2010. By virtue of the Nigerian constitution, the vice president of Yar'Adua in the person of Goodluck Jonathan was sworn in as the president after the demise of Yar'Adua. The Jonathan government has witnessed unprecedented security challenges since he came into power. President Jonathan acknowledged this when he said the current insecurity in Nigeria is worse than the Nigeria civil war. Some of the policies for development in the present government are the transformation agenda and the Subsidy Reinvestment Programme (SURE-P). President Jonathan is the chairman of the economic management team of the government while the Vice president is the vice chairman and the Minister of Finance is the coordinating Minister of the economic management team.

## **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Dividends of Democracy**

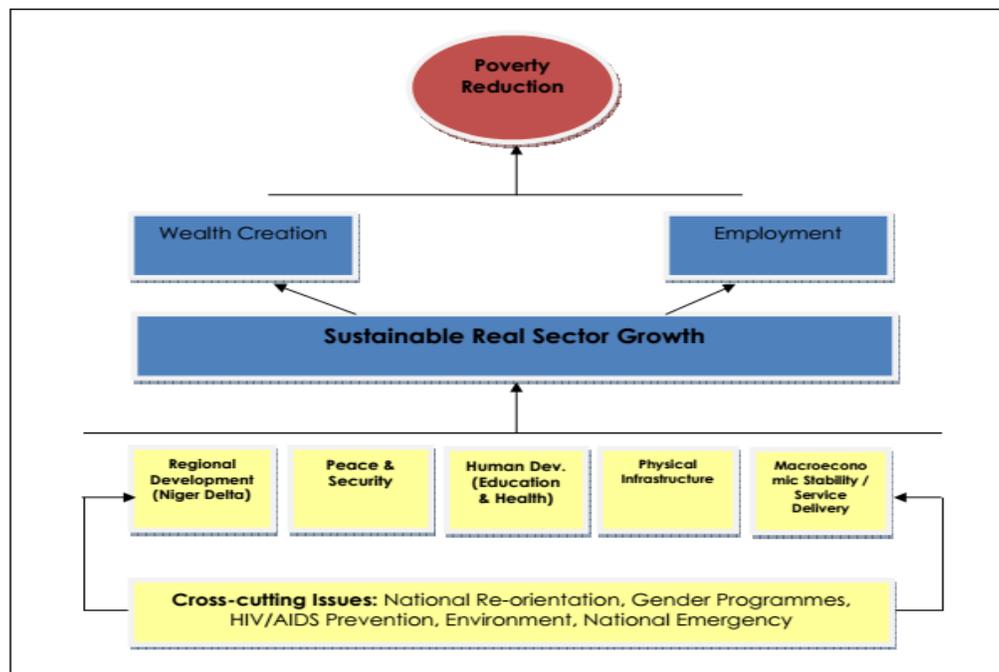
The expectations of Nigerians were high when the military decided to relinquish power to a democratic elected civilian government in May 29, 1999. Their expectations hang on that there will be more employment opportunities for Nigerians through the flocking of foreign companies to Nigeria because the economic sanctions that were placed in Nigeria will be lifted. Furthermore, the politicians contesting for political offices during their campaigns promised the electorates of their plans to bring economic development to their doorsteps if they are voted into power.

In addition to this, Nigerians were hoping for a true democracy that will give them the right to freedom of speech, free press and the rule of law. The followings are the core dividends of democracy that have been achieved during the 15 years of uninterrupted democracy in Nigeria:-

(a) Cultivating Policy for Development

The campaign promises of most of the elected politicians during their campaigns were mostly based on meeting the socioeconomic needs of the masses. This was due to the high level of poverty, unemployment and the infrastructure decay that was occasioned with the prolong military rule. The returned of democratic rule was greeted with exuberant after more than a decade of military dictatorship because of the believe that democracy brings development. (Siegler, Weinstein, and Halperin 2004/2005; Hunter 1999; Zweifel and Navia 2000; Leblang 1996) give credence to this thesis. It is this assumption that made the three civilian administrations that have ruled Nigeria from 1999 to date to cultivate policies for development to meet the aspiration of the masses. The Obasanjo’s government introduced NEEDS. The main policy thrust of this development policy was to reduce poverty and create employment. According to the National Planning Commission (2004) “the NEEDS, in collaboration with State SEEDS, constitutes the reasoned response to the challenges of underdevelopment. The people will be mobilized around the core values, principle and programmes of the NEEDS and SEEDS. A coordinated implementation of both programmes is expected to create at least seven million new jobs over the period, reduce poverty and lay the foundation for sustained development.” NEEDS was able to achieve some of its main objectives. Yar’Adua was sworn in as the president after the completed two terms of Obasanjo. He inaugurated the Seven Point Agenda (Figure 1), a development programme that will run alongside the Millennium Development Goals. Just like his predecessor, the programme core objective was to reduce poverty.

Figure 1: Strategic Framework of Seven Point Agenda



Source: World Bank (2007)

One of the greatest achievements of the Seven Point Agenda was the installation of peace in the Niger Delta violatate region. President Goodluck Jonathan became the president after the demise of Yar'Adua in 2010. The former decided to deviate from the development policy of the latter despite both of them belonging to the People Democratic Party. President Jonathan did not waste time in setting up a 23-man economic management team on the day of his inauguration to steer the administration development programme tagged the Transformation Agenda. According to the Minister of Finance and the coordinating minister of the economic management team, the transformation agenda has been able to create 1.6 million jobs for Nigerians. One thing that is pertinent about these development programmes that were introduced by the various democratic governments since the inception of democratic governance in 1999, is that democracy allowed the participation of Nigerians in these programmes in meeting the socioeconomic needs of the masses. In a nutshell, these programmes have human faces.

(b) Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Economic sanctions by Western powers during the military era prevented Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into Nigeria which affected the economy severely. On the contrary, the democratic dispensation in Nigeria has created an enabling environment for the increased in FDI in the country. According to the World Investment Report released by the Switzerland-based United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad), Nigeria is a top destination for FDI. In 2012, the FDI inflow into Nigeria was \$7.03 billion as compared to \$8.92 billion FDI inflow in 2011. Corroborating these figures, the coordinating minister of the Nigerian economy and the Minister of Finance, Dr Ngozi Okonjo Iweala at a press briefing at the 2014 World Economic Forum on Africa said that Nigeria's FDI for the past three years has increased to \$20 billion. What could have been the reason for this inflow of FDI into Nigeria? This paper argued that the democratic space has created a conducive environment for the inflow of FDI into Nigeria which has aided the Nigerian economy to be the largest economy in Africa 2014 after the rebasing of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

(c) Rule of Law

One of the tenets of democracy is the rule of law which says a nation must be governed by law. This concept was popularized by A. V Dicey and the United Nations defined rule of law as *"a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. It requires, as well, measures to ensure adherence to the principle supremacy of law,*

*equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision-making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness and procedural and legal transparency” (Report of the Secretary-General: The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflicts societies 2004)*

The Nigeria democracy has witnessed a tremendous achievement as regard to the rule of law. Unlike the military government that has disregard for the rule of law and promulgated decree two to suppress civil right activists. Among the three presidents that have governed Nigeria in the fourth republic that gave prominence to the rule of law was Yar'Adua. A case in point is that all the judgments of all court cases were obeyed to the letter and there was much independence of the judiciary. The Obasanjo civilian administration exhibited some character of a dictatorship even though he was a civilian president from 1999 to 2007. For example, the Obasanjo administration disobeyed the highest court, that is the supreme judgement on the directive that the federal government should release the federal financial allocations of Lagos State that was withheld by the federal government owing to the creation of 37 Local Council Development Areas (LCDAs) by the Lagos State Government. The Jonathan administration also followed the part of his former boss, Yar'Adua in giving prominence to the rule of law.

### **Challenges to Democratic Governance in Nigeria**

The present democratic dispensation in Nigeria was greeted with joy and exuberant after many years under the yoke of the military onslaught which was occasioned with long-suffering, high-poverty rate, inequality and infrastructure decay. According to Olu-Adeyemi (2012), “the hope of the common man for a just and egalitarian society became rekindled with institution of a democratic government. Nigerians greeted the return of democratic rule with widespread jubilation and optimism as looked forward to a new era of stability, peace, and prosperity. However, twelve (12) years after, Nigerians are still anxious to see and enjoy “democracy dividends”- social welfare, justice, equity, and equal access to resources and power.” Fifteen years into democracy, it is not yet uhuru for Nigeria, this paper pinpoints the challenges befalling Nigerian current democratic dispensation. The followings are the negative impacts of Nigerian uninterrupted democracy:

#### **(a) Poverty and Unemployment**

The poverty rate and unemployment have increased significantly in the past fifteen years of democratic rule despite the various development programmes initiated by past and the present civilian governments. The incidence of poverty in 1999 when democracy berth in Nigeria was 42.7% and rose to 65.5% in 2000. In 2004, the poverty rate fell to 54.4% and climbed to 54.5% in 2007 and dramatically increased to 63.6% in 2008 (MDGs Mid-Point Report 2008 as cited in Jamo 2013). In 2010, the report of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) indicated 112

Nigerians live in relative poverty and this was corroborated by the World Bank representative in Nigeria who said in 2010 that 100 million Nigerians live in destitution (Awojobi 2014). In a similar vein, the World Bank special report on poverty rates in the world illustrated that Nigeria is the third country in the world with a large number of people living in poverty. Just like the way poverty is increasing in the democratic era in Nigeria, unemployment is also increasing. For instance, the unemployment rate in 2002 was 3.8% and decreased to 3.3% in 2004. The unemployment rate stabilized to 3.3% in 2005 and climbed to 5.8% and jumped to 11.8% in 2008 and 2009 respectively. In 2010, the figure rose to 19.7% and 21.1 in 2011. The figure appreciated to 23.3 in 2012 (Jamo 2013).

#### (b) Insecurity

Security and peace are among the indices of development. The democratic space in Nigeria opened a new window of insecurity in the country. "Aside the increasing level of poverty and the upsurge in inequality, the most distinguish feature of democracy has been the pockets of violence in all nooks and crannies of the country" (El-Rufa'i 2011 as cited in Awojobi 2014). President Goodluck Jonathan gave credence to this assumption when he said the insecurity situation in Nigeria is worse than the Nigerian civil war. Since 1999, the country has witnessed the following security challenges such as kidnapping, militancy, political violence, ethno-religious conflict and terrorism. It is during the democratic dispensation that Nigeria is engulf with the rising profile of the Islamic terrorist group called Boko Haram that has killed more than 12 thousand Nigerians since 2009 and kidnapped over 200 female students. According Jamo (2013) the installation of democratic governance in Nigeria opened a new door for instability and insecurity. For example, Nigeria was ranked at the 10<sup>th</sup> position of unsecured countries in Africa in 2001, 2002 and 2003. Nigeria moved to the 8<sup>th</sup> position in 2004 and, 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> position in 2005 and 2006 respectively.

#### (c) Infrastructure Decay

One of the inheritances of the democratic government from the military junta was the decay in infrastructure. The military era witnessed the severe state of public infrastructures such as federal roads, hospitals, electricity and the oil refineries. What led to the precarious state of these public amenities was the neglect of these sectors by the various military governments. During the campaigns by politicians after the introduction of democracy, they promised to fix all public amenities such as power, roads and the oil refineries in order if they are voted into power. Fifteen years into democracy the story still remain the same, the four oil refineries are not working at full capacity, federal and state roads are in comatose, and there is an erratic power supply in the country.

(d) Corruption

Political corruption remains one of the challenges to Nigerian democracy and it has also undermined the development of Nigeria since the installation of democratic governance in 1999. Kofele-Kale 2006 defined corruption as a way 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.” The level of corruption reached a climax in 2004. According to the International Transparency (IT) report in 2004 placed Nigeria in the 2<sup>nd</sup> most corrupt country in the world in its Corruption Perception Index (Akinyemi 2008). In 2008, Nigeria maintained a low rating in the IT ranking and in 2011, it ranked the 3<sup>rd</sup> most corrupt country in Sub-Sahara Africa and was placed in the 143 position out of 183 countries encapsulate in the survey by IT (Transparency International 2011). When the former United States Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton visited Nigeria, she bemoaned the country’s drive in fighting political corruption.

(e) Human Development

Looking at the top ten countries in the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) ranking in the past fifteen years are countries with liberal democracies. And this has been the reason Western powers have been pushing for liberal democracies in developing countries. Their argument is that democracy brings socioeconomic development. Fifteen years of democratic rule in Nigeria, what has been the position of Nigeria in the HDI? The Nigerian health indices fall in the lowest level of measuring indicators in the world (World Health Organization 2012 as cited in Jamo 2013). The maternal death rate in Nigeria is 14% and the life expectancy was 48 years in 2012 (WHO 2012 cited in Jamo 2013). Other health problems that are associated with the new democracy in Nigeria include a high-infant mortality rate, malnutrition and lack of access to drugs. Most of the hospitals in the country are just consulting rooms because 90% of the medical equipments are moribund. As a result of this, India has become the medical tourism for sick Nigerians. In another development, 10 million school-aged children in Nigeria are not in school and the majority of them are female.

(f) Suppression of Opposition

Freedom of expression, free press and the allowing of oppositions’ views are some of the core characteristics of democracy. But recent events in Nigeria show that the democratic elected leaders are using the state apparatus to suppress the press, opposition members and civil right activists. For example, the Nigerian Police arrested the duo of Tony Amokeodo and Chibuzo Ukaibe both journalists of the Leadership newspaper on the directive of the Jonathan

administration in 2013. Further to this, the presidency used the military to aid the impeachment of the Adamawa state governor Murtala Nyako because he (the governor) decamped from the ruling party to the main opposition party. Aside the Nyako hostile attack from the federal government, the governor of River State, Rotimi Amaechi has been harassed and intimidated by the federal police and fingers were pointed at the presidency for using federal might to coerce the River state governor. Even, the president's wife who is not a political office holder once gave a directive to the police to arrest the initiator of the "Bring Back Our Girls" campaign for visiting the presidential palace. The Bring Back Our Girls' campaign is an effort of civil society groups to put pressure on the federal government to secured to release of the more than 200 female students that were kidnapped by the Islamic terrorist group called Boko Haram. While the main coordinator of the Bring Back Our Girls' campaign, Obiageli Ezekwesil who was one time Minister of Education and Vice President of Work Bank was harassed by the security agent of the federal government at the Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport on her way to the London, according to the formal Minister:

*"It became evident that they withheld the passport to detain me at their departure desk in order to miss the flight. That was when I tweeted @ 7.37 am "@obyzezs: Is this a democracy? I am being detained by the SSS @ Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport. The SSS has refused to give my passport to me." At 7.41 am "@obyzezs: On my way to London this morning for my @BBCHARDTalk appearance billed for tomorrow and the SSS has detained me by withholding my passport."*

The Nigerian press has also been attacked by the civilian government of Goodluck Jonathan. Just like in the military era, soldiers were used to clamp down on the press. Many newspaper publications from the Nation newspaper, the Tribune, Punch and others were seized by the military on the instruction from the power above. It is on this ground that the Catholic Archbishop of Abuja diocese, Cardinal John Onaiyekan advised the federal ruling government to allow opposition to thrive in the country since the views of the oppositions are welcome in any true democracy.

## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

The study evaluates the correlation between democracy and development in Nigeria. From the literature review there is concrete evidence to buttress the assumption that democracy facilitates development. However, in the Nigerian context, the demerit of democracy outweighs its benefits. In a nutshell, democracy in Nigeria has led to increases in poverty, unemployment, insecurity and political corruption. In order for Nigeria to enjoy the real benefits of democracy that will lead to national development, there is a need for the political class to cohort the tenets of 'true' democracy and good governance. Finally, the outcome of this study cannot be generalized

in the analytical term because it is based on a smaller scale. There is a need for further research in a holistic perspective to evaluate the correlation between democracy and development.

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