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**PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT  
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: THE CASE OF  
TARABA STATE**



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**UUM**  
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**A Thesis Submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government  
in fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy  
Universiti Utara Malaysia**





Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa  
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)  
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## ABSTRACT

The last 16 years (1999-2015) has witnessed renewed hope about the revival of democracy in Nigeria. The successful return to democratically elected government was widely applauded and supported by the majority of citizens. This was due to the difficulties of many years under military rule, which lasted from December 1983 to 1999. Prior to that, the military had intervened shortly after the independence in 1960. The military captured power on 15<sup>th</sup> January 1966 and ruled Nigeria uninterrupted up to 1979. The successful return to democracy was accompanied by hopes and expectations by the majority of the citizen due to the fact that the country's development remains dismal, especially in the rural areas. This study, therefore, attempts to assess the democratic government and its impacts on rural development in Nigeria with Taraba State as a case study. The methodology adopted to achieve these objectives was mixed method, in which both the quantitative and qualitative data were obtained through survey questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussion respectively. Correlation coefficient and simple linear regression were used to analyze the quantitative data. While Nvivo qualitative software was used to analyze interviews and focus group discussion. It was found that democracy was considered the best form of government, but stunted due to the exhibited behaviours of the political leaders; who ran short of the ideal practices and values of a democratic system. Hence, democracy was not fully imbibed and therefore in deficit. Moreover, there is imbalanced political power and financial autonomy among the levels of government, especially the Local Government, which is much closer to rural people. The consequences of this resulted in poverty, inequality, deprivations, illiteracy and denial of basic infrastructural services to the rural folk, thereby pushing the people deeper and deeper into underdevelopment. It was recommended amongst other factors that leaders should imbibe the values of being patriotic and adhere to democratic ideals. Similarly, there is a need for an urgent amendment of some constitutional provisions that hamper the political and financial autonomy of the lower levels of government (State and Local government) for effective delivery of public service especially at the rural areas. These will go a long way to address the myriads of rural problems and general development in Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Democratic Government, Rural Development, Rural Communities, Taraba State.

## ABSTRAK

Sepanjang 16 tahun yang terakhir (1999-2015) telah menyaksikan pembaharuan harapan berkenaan kebangkitan semula demokrasi di Nigeria. Kejayaan dalam mengembalikan kerajaan yang dipilih secara demokratik telah mendapat sokongan dan pujian secara meluas oleh majoriti rakyat. Ini disebabkan oleh kesukaran-kesukaran yang dialami di bawah pemerintahan tentera yang bertahan selama bertahun-tahun dari Disember 1983 hingga 1999. Sebelum itu, pihak tentera juga telah campur tangan sejurus selepas kemerdekaan pada 1960. Mereka merampas kuasa pada 15 Januari 1966 dan berterusan memerintah sehingga tahun 1979. Kejayaan dalam mengembalikan sistem demokrasi disertai oleh harapan dan jangkaan majoriti rakyat yang dibelenggu oleh hakikat bahawa pembangunan negara masih suram, terutamanya di kawasan luar bandar. Kajian ini dilakukan untuk menilai kerajaan demokratik dan kesannya terhadap pembangunan luar bandar di Nigeria yang mana negeri Taraba diambil sebagai kajian kes. Kaedah yang digunakan untuk mencapai objektif kajian adalah kaedah penyelidikan campuran, di mana kedua-dua data kuantitatif dan kualitatif diperolehi melalui soal selidik, temu bual dan perbincangan berkumpulan terfokus. Pekali korelasi dan regresi linear mudah telah digunakan untuk menganalisa data kuantitatif. Sementara itu perisian kualitatif NVivo digunakan untuk menganalisa temu bual dan perbincangan berkumpulan terfokus. Hasil kajian mendapati bahawa demokrasi merupakan bentuk kerangka kerajaan yang terbaik, namun tercemar disebabkan oleh tingkah laku yang dipamerkan oleh pemimpin-pemimpin politik; tersasar jauh daripada amalan ideal dan nilai-nilai sistem demokrasi. Oleh itu, sistem demokrasi tidak dipraktikkan sepenuhnya malah menzahirkan kecacatan. Selain itu, terdapat ketidakseimbangan kuasa politik dan autonomi kewangan di peringkat Kerajaan Tempatan, yang mana ia sangat dekat dengan penduduk luar bandar. Keadaan ini menyebabkan kemiskinan, ketidaksamaan, kekurangan keperluan asas, buta huruf dan penafian kemudahan infrastruktur asas kepada penduduk luar bandar, sekaligus menyebabkan masyarakat luar bandar semakin mundur dan terkebelakang. Adalah disyorkan di kalangan pemimpin untuk melengkapi diri dengan faktor-faktor lain seperti nilai patriotik dan memenuhi idea demokrasi. Begitu juga, terdapat keperluan untuk pindaan segera beberapa peruntukan perlembagaan yang menghalang autonomi politik dan kewangan di peringkat yang lebih rendah dalam kerajaan (Kerajaan Negeri dan Tempatan) bagi meningkatkan keberkesanan penyampaian perkhidmatan awam terutamanya di kawasan luar bandar. Ini akan memberi impak yang lebih besar dalam menangani pelbagai masalah luar bandar dan pembangunan secara umum di Nigeria.

**Kata kunci:** Kerajaan Demokratik, Pembangunan Luar Bandar, Komuniti Luar Bandar, Negeri Taraba.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....	I
PERMISSION TO USE.....	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	III
ABSTRACT.....	IV
ABSTRAK.....	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VI
LIST OF TABLES.....	XII
LIST OF FIGURES.....	XIV
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	XV

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	6
1.3 Research Questions	13
1.4 Objectives of the Study	13
1.5 Significance of the Study	14
1.6 Scope of the Study	16
1.7 Limitations of the Study	17
1.8 Research Location	19
1.8.1 Taraba and its Economy	21
1.8.2 Mineral Resources	22
1.9 Organization of Chapters	25

### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction	27
2.2. An Overview on Democracy and its Models	27
2.3 Conceptual Review of Local Democracy	34
2.4 Overview on the Concept of Development	36
2.5 Rural Development Paradigm	40
2.6 Democracy and Rural Development in Nigeria	49
2.7 Gap in Literature	52
2.8 Chapter Conclusion	65

### CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWOK

3.1 Introduction	66
3.1.1 Urban-biased Theory	66
3.1.1.1 Criticism of Urban-biased Theory	68
3.1.1.2 Relevance of the theory to the Study	70
3.1.2 Democratic Developmental State Theory	72
3.1.2.1 Criticism of Democratic Developmental State Theory	75
3.1.2.1 Relevance of the theory to the Study	76
3.1.3 Conceptual Framework	80
3.2 Chapter Conclusion	83

### CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction	85
4.2 Research Design	85
4.3 Source and Methods of Data Collection	87

4.3.1 Primary Sources	87
4.3.1.1 Interview	87
4.3.1.2 Questionnaire	88
4.3.1.3 Focus Group Discussion	88
4.3.2 Secondary Sources	89
4.4 Questionnaire Variables, Measurement, Scaling and Coding	90
4.5 Reliability and Validity of Survey Instrument	91
4.5.1 Pilot Study Test for Perception and Attitudes toward Democracy	91
4.5.2 Pilot Study Test for Democracy and Implementation of Rural Programme	92
4.5.3 Pilot Study Test for Democratic Performance on Rural Development	92
4.5.4 Pilot Study Test for Nigerian Political Arrangements and Rural Development	92
4.5.5 Pilot Study Test for Rural Development	92
4.6 Qualitative Data Coding and Categorization of Generated Themes	92
4.7 Population of the Study	93
4.8 Sampling Size	94
4.9 Informants Interviewed and their Coding	96
4.10 Sampling Technique	97
4.11 Method of Data Analysis	98
4.12 Hypotheses Development	99
4.13 Chapter Conclusion	99
 <b>CHAPTER FIVE: NIGERIAN DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE, OPERATIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND REVIEW OF PAST POLICIES ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT</b>	
5.1 Introduction	100
5.2 Structure of Government	100
5.2.1 Federal Government Structure, its Constitutional Jurisdiction and Powers	101
5.2.2 State Government Structure, its Constitutional Jurisdiction and Powers	103
5.2.3 Local Government Structure, its Constitutional Jurisdiction and Powers	105
5.3 Major Institutions and Agencies for Rural Development	108
5.3.1 Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development	108
5.3.2 Taraba State Ministry of Water Resources and Rural Development	110
5.3.3 Local Government and Rural Development	114
5.4 Review of Past Programmes on Rural Development in Nigeria	115
5.4.1 National Policy on Integrated Rural Development	115
5.4.1.1 Policy Objectives	116
5.4.1.2 Policy Strategies	117
5.4.1.3 Major Priorities	118
5.4.2 Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructural Programme	118
5.4.3 The Agricultural Development Project	119
5.4.4 The Green Revolution Programme	123
5.4.5 The River Basin and Rural Development Programme	125
5.5 Chapter Conclusion	127



## **CHAPTER SIX: QUANTITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

6.1 Introduction	129
6.2 Rate of Questionnaire Return	129
6.3 Descriptive Analysis of Demographic Characteristics of Respondents	130
6.4 Reliability Test of the Research Instrument	154
6.5 Analysis Summary of the Regression Result	156
6.5.1 Regression Summary of Perception and Attitudes towards Democracy and Rural Development	156
6.5.2 Regression Summary of Democratic Government Effective implementation of Rural Development Programmes	158
6.5.3 Regression Summary of Democratic Government Performance and Rural Development	160
6.5.4 Regression Summary of Nigerian Political Arrangement and Rural Development	162
6.6 Hypotheses Testing	164
6.6.1 Hypothesis 1	166
6.6.2 Hypothesis 2	166
6.6.3 Hypothesis 3	166
6.6.4 Hypothesis 4	167
6.7 Discussion of Findings for Quantitative Data	167
6.7.1 Findings 1	167
6.7.2 Findings 2	168
6.7.3 Findings 3	169
6.7.4 Findings 4	169
6.8 Chapter Conclusion	170

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: QUALITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

7.1 Introduction	171
7.2 Theme One: Perception and Attitudes towards Democracy	171
7.2.1 Transparency and Accountability	173
7.2.1.1 Due Process	175
7.2.1.2 Mandate	177
7.2.1.3 Reporting	178
7.2.1.4 Consultations	179
7.2.2 Best form of Government	180
7.2.2.1 Right to Vote and be Voted for	181
7.2.2.2 Protection of Peoples' Interest and Right	182
7.2.2.3 Freedom of Association and Expression	184
7.2.3 Representative Government	185
7.2.3.1 Federal, State and LG Representatives	186
7.2.3.2 Community Representatives	188
7.3 Theme Two: Effective Implementation of Rural Development Programme	189
7.3.1 Effective Implementation of Programmes	190
7.3.1.1 Stakeholder Collaboration	191
7.3.1.2 Community Engagements	193
7.3.1.3 Funds Utilization	195

7.3.2 Level of Political Commitments to Implementation	196
7.3.2.1 Service Delivery and Dividends	197
7.3.2.2 Resource Mobilization	199
7.3.3 Implementation Problem	200
7.3.3.1 Lack of Political Will	201
7.3.3.2 Corruption	202
7.3.3.3 Poor Supervision and Monitoring	204
7.4 Theme Three: Democratic Performance and Rural Development	205
7.4.1 Agricultural Development	206
7.4.1.1 Farm Implements and Machineries	207
7.4.1.2 Agro-Chemicals and Fertilizer	208
7.4.1.3 Extension Services	210
7.4.2 Rural Health Medical Facilities	211
7.4.2.1 Medical Personnel	212
7.4.2.2 Medical Equipments	213
7.4.3 Rural Infrastructural Facilities	214
7.4.3.1 Rural Roads	215
7.4.3.2 Rural Electrification Projects	216
7.4.3.3 Water Supply	218
7.4.4 Rural Human Empowerments and job Creation	219
7.4.4.1 Employment Opportunities	221
7.4.4.2 Poverty Reduction	222
7.4.4.3 Income Generation and Wealth	223
7.4.5 Rural Access to Education	225
7.4.5.1 Educational Facilities and Equipments	226
7.4.5.2 Literacy	227
7.4.5.3 Qualified Teachers	229
7.5 Theme Four: Nigerian Political Arrangement and Rural Development	230
7.5.1 Effective Synergy and Cooperation among Levels of Government	232
7.5.1.1 Multi-agency Collaborations	233
7.5.1.2 Implementation Process	234
7.5.2 Free and Fair Electoral Authorization among Levels of Government	235
7.5.2.1 Free and Fair Electoral Contest	236
7.5.2.2 Unified Periodic Elections	238
7.5.3 Independency and Autonomy of Sub-tiers of Government	240
7.5.3.1 Subvention and Allocations	241
7.5.3.2 Power and Resources to Execute Projects	242
7.6 Discussion of Findings for Qualitative Data	244
7.6.1 RQ1: Perception and Attitudes toward Democracy	245
7.6.1.1 Transparency and Accountability	245
7.6.1.2 Best form of Government	247
7.2.1.2 Representative Government	248
7.6.2 RQ2: Effective Implementation of Rural Development Programme	248
7.6.2.1 Effective Implementation of Programmes	248
7.3.1.1 Level of Political Commitments to Implementation	249
7.3.1.2 Implementation Problem	250
7.6.3 RQ3: Democratic Performance and Rural Development	250

7.6.3.1 Agricultural Development	250
7.6.3.2 Rural Health Medical Facilities	250
7.6.3.3 Rural Infrastructural Facilities	251
7.6.3.4 Rural Human Empowerments and job Creation	252
7.6.3.5 Rural Access to Education	252
7.5.4 RQ4: Nigerian Political Arrangement and Rural Development	252
7.6.4.1 Effective Synergy and Cooperation among Levels of Government	253
7.6.4.2 Free and Fair Electoral Authorization among Levels of Government	253
7.6.4.3 Independency and Autonomy of Sub-tiers of Government	254
7.7 Chapter Conclusion	254
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS</b>	
8.1 Introduction	255
8.2 Research Implication and Contributions	255
8.2.1 Theoretical Contributions	255
8.2.2 Practical Contributions	257
8.3 Conclusion	257
8.4 Recommendations	258
8.5 Suggestions for Further Studies	265
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>267</b>
APPENDIX I: Questionnaire Survey	291
APPENDIX II: Interview Guide	298
APPENDIX III: Krejcie and Morgan's Sample Size Determination Table	300
APPENDIX IV: Interview Pictures	301
APPENDIX V: Pictures for Focus Group Discussions	305
APPENDIX VI: Rural Pictures in Taraba State Nigeria	306

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: GDP Growth rate in Nigeria and Taraba State @ 2012	8
Table 1.2: Statutory Allocations in Nigeria and Taraba State 1999-2007	8
Table 1.3: Nigerian Poverty Rate and Taraba State 2013-2014	9
Table 1.4: Mineral Deposits and their Locations in Taraba State	22
Table 4.1: Population of the Selected Local Governments	94
Table 4.2: Respondents Sample and Method of Data Collection	96
Table 4.3 Informants Sample and Coding	97
Table 6.1: Rate of Questionnaire Response	130
Table 6.2 Respondents Gender	130
Table 6.3 Respondents Age	131
Table 6.4 Respondents Marital Status	131
Table 6.5 Respondents Educational Qualification	132
Table 6.6 Respondents Occupation	132
Table 6.7: Democracy is the best form of government	133
Table 6.8: Democracy allows my right to be protected	134
Table 6.9: Democracy tells me what my rights are	134
Table 6.10: Democracy is the bridge between the rural people and the government	135
Table 6.11: Whether there is a high correlation between democracy and the rural people	135
Table 6.12: Whether the Political Office Holders Benefit More from democracy in Nigeria	136
Table 6.13: Whether democracy enhances development	137
Table 6.14: Level of satisfaction with the democratic role in bringing Development to local communities	137
Table 6.15: Whether Democracy encourages formation of community organisations	138
Table 6.16: Whether people influence policies towards development of their areas	138
Table 6.17: Whether political office holders are committed to implementing rural development programme	139
Table 6.18: Whether rural development programmes are effectively implemented under democracy	140
Table 6.19: Whether rural communities are carried along in implementing rural development programmes	141
Table 6.20: Whether the rural development programmes has impacted on the lives of the rural people	142
Table 6.21: Whether democracy has set standard criteria for effective implementation of rural development programmes	142
Table 6.22: Opinion on whether rural development programmes are laudable but marred with implementation problem	143
Table 6.23: Whether democracy ensures effective coordination of Implementing rural development programmes among all levels of government	144
Table 6.24: Whether there is public confidence in the effectiveness of Democratic Government and its political leadership towards rural development	144
Table 6.25: Democracy has provided rural infrastructural development	145

Table 6.26: Whether democracy has provided rural health medical facilities	146
Table 6.27: Whether democratic government has provided rural human empowerment and job creation	147
Table 6.28: Whether democratic government provide access to efficient education	147
Table 6.29: Democratic government improves agricultural development	148
Table 6.30: Whether democracy improves the general wellbeing of the rural populace	148
Table 6.31: Level of Peoples' confidence on the ability of democratic government to solve the problems confronting rural communities and their ability to influence it	149
Table 6.32: Whether the Nigerian political arrangement negatively affects rural development	150
Table 6.33: Whether the sub-central tiers of government are independent from the centre	150
Table 6.34: Whether the sub-central tiers of government has power and resources to carry out rural development	151
Table 6.35: Whether there is effective cooperation of government at the most level with rural communities in the formation and implementation of policy of rural dev	152
Table 6.36: Whether all levels of government are subjected to free and fair electoral authorization, criteria of openness, accountability and responsiveness in their operations	152
Table 6.37: Whether State/LG joint account has significantly improves rural development	153
Table 6.38: Analysis Summary item by item reliability test	155
Table 6.39: Model Summary <sup>b</sup> for PATD and RD	156
Table 6.40: ANOVA <sup>a</sup> PATD and RD	157
Table 6.41: Coefficients <sup>a</sup> PATD and RD	157
Table 6.42: Model Summary <sup>b</sup> of DIRD and RD	158
Table 6.43: Anova of DIRD and RD	159
Table 6.44: Coefficients <sup>a</sup> ON DIRD and RD	159
Table 6.45 Model Summary <sup>b</sup> of DPRD and RD	160
Table 6.46 Anova of DPRD and RD	161
Table 6.47 Coefficients <sup>a</sup> ON DPRD and RD	161
Table 6.48: Model Summary <sup>b</sup> NPRD and RD	162
Table 6.49: ANOVA <sup>a</sup> NPRD and RD	163
Table 6.50: Coefficients <sup>a</sup> of NPRD and RD	163
Table 6.51: General Summary of Coefficients <sup>a</sup> for NPRD, DIRD and NPRD	165

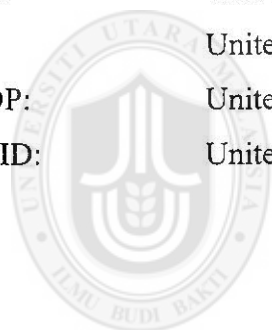
## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Taraba State Showing the 16 LGAs	23
Figure 1.2: Taraba State Showing the Three Senatorial District	24
Figure 1.3: Nigeria Showing the 36 States of the Federation & FCT	25
Figure 3.1: The Conceptual Framework	80
Figure 7.1: Model for perception and attitudes towards democracy with it sub – themes	173
Figure 7.2: Model for Transparency and Accountability in Democratic Government	175
Figure 7.3: Model for Democracy as the Best Form of Government	181
Figure 7.4: Model for Democracy as the Representative Government	186
Figure 7.5: Model for Implementation of Rural Development Programmes and its Sub-themes.	190
Figure 7.6: Model for effective implementation of Programmes	191
Figure 7.7: Model of Political Commitments to implementation of Rural Development	197
Figure 7.8: Model for implementation problems of rural development	201
Figure 7.9: Model for Democratic performance on rural development with its themes	206
Figure 7.10: Model for agricultural development	207
Figure 7.11: Model for rural health medical facilities	211
Figure 7.12: Model for rural infrastructural facilities	215
Figure 7.13: Model for rural human empowerments and job creations	221
Figure 7.14: Model for rural access to education	226
Figure 7.15: Model for Nigerian political arrangements and rural development with its sub-themes.	232
Figure 7.16: Model for effective synergy and co-operations among all levels of government	233
Figure 7.17: Model for free and fair electoral authorization among all levels of government	236
Figure 7.18: Model for independency and autonomy of sub-central tiers of government	241

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABD:	Africa Development Bank
ADP:	Agricultural Development Projects
CBN:	Central Bank of Nigeria
CDI:	Community Development Initiatives
CDPA:	Community-Driven Participatory Approach
DFRRI:	Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructures
DIRD:	Democracy and Effective Implementation of Rural Development
EFCC:	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
FDRD:	Federal Department of Rural Development
FG:	Federal Government
FGN:	Federal Government of Nigeria
FMARD:	Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
FRN:	Federal Republic of Nigeria
GDP:	Growth Domestic Product
GRP:	Green Revolution Programme
ICPC:	Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission
IFAD:	International Food and Agricultural Development
INEC:	National Electoral Commission
LEEDS:	Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
LG:	Local Government
LGA:	Local Government Area
LGC:	Local Government Council
MDAs:	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
NAPEP:	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NBS:	National Bureau of Statistics
NEEDS:	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPRD:	Nigerian Political Arrangement and Rural Development

PATD:	Perceptions and Attitude Toward Democracy
PHC:	Primary Health Care
RCBO:	Rural Community Based organizations
RD:	Rural Development
REA:	Rural Electrification Agency
SEEDS:	State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
SIEC:	State Independent Electoral Commission
SURE-P:	Subsidy for Re-Investment Programme
TSMWRD:	Taraba State Ministry of Water Resources and Rural Development
TSRWSESA:	Taraba State Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Agency
TSWB:	Taraba State Water Board
UBE:	Universal Basic Education
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
USAID:	United State Agency for International Development



Universiti Utara Malaysia



# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

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

Democracy as system of government has gained international acceptance across the continents of the world, irrespective of the political or economic ideology. Its basic principle are perceived as that which represents people's interest. Omotoso (2013) asserts that democracy is adjudged the best form of government all over the world. This is because of its positive attributes and the perception of citizens' regarding the benefits of a democratic system, which includes participation in governance, transparency and accountability.

According to Igwe (2010) democracy is accepted globally as a refined system of government which places much premium on human personality and rule of law. Because of the role it plays in development and modernization scholars and public commentators' call for its enthronement as the best governance option to move a society forward. It is in this light that every responsible government, most notably the democratically enthroned ones, should be responsive to meeting the yearnings and aspirations of their citizens. This has been corroborated by Ogbudinkpa (1980) when he stated that government at all levels the world over, is the guardian of life and property of the people. Therefore, it must do all that lay within its powers to serve their interest regardless of the area in which people as citizens live.

Democracy, therefore, becomes an important system that is being practiced in many nations. Nigeria is one of those countries that practices democracy, which was successfully enthroned in 1999. The successful transition to civilian government in 1999, after twenty nine years of military rule, has placed democracy on the agenda as agreed by the majority of the citizens. This was accompanied by hopes, aspirations, and expectations, because the country's development remain inadequate most particularly at the rural level, which is regarded as the most deprived and underdeveloped. It is a well-known fact that the major problem of the underdeveloped societies in Africa and Nigeria, in particular, is development, most especially rural development. Otaki (2005) argues that about 70% of the population of Africa and other underdeveloped countries are estimated to live in rural areas. According to the World Bank (2013), 53% of Nigerians live in the rural areas. From these, therefore, suffice it to say that rural areas constitute the majority of Nigeria's dwelling units. It is therefore, imperative for the government to pay considerable attention to the welfare of inhabitants of rural areas.

Nigeria is a democratic state and practice Federalism. It has 36 states, with a Federal Capital Territory (FCT), and also Six Geo-political zones and 774 Local Government Areas. This is in tandem with the provision of Section 2c (1 and 2) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended. Also, the constitution stipulates under the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy (section 14 (1)) that "the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice". It further states in sub-section 2 (a, b, and c) that "sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom

through this constitution derives all its power and authority; the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government and the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provision of the constitution". This signifies the recognition of the people within the Nigerian democratic arrangement, due to the fact that, their welfare and general development is not only paramount but a constitutional requirement in which democratic government must address.

Furthermore, the 1999 constitution of Nigeria in section 16 (2a) provides that "the state shall direct its policy towards ensuring the promotion of a planned and balanced economic development". The same constitution in Section 2 (b) provides that "the material resources of the nation are harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common good". Unfortunately in Nigeria, there are lop-sidedness and imbalance in the economic development and distribution of resources, not only among the three tiers of government, and geopolitical zones, but also, among and in-between the urban and rural centres. This is corroborated by the National Bureau of Statistics (2011) that, poverty in Nigeria, especially in the northern zones, has recorded the most significant challenge, in the sense that North-Central zone recorded 59.5%; North-East 69%, North-West 70%, with people that are absolutely poor, and most of them were drawn from the rural communities. This is quite alarming as compared, for instance, to its counterparts in the southern zones that recorded as follows: South-East 58%, South-South 55.9% and South-West 49% poverty level respectively. The incidence of poverty in the country in terms of human settlement is 33.9% urban and 66.1% rural. This shows that Nigerian democracy has a great challenge of tackling this ugly menace and to

emancipate its people from the shackles of being absolutely poor to a happy and wealthier society.

It is in the light of the above that increasing attention must be given to the rural sub-sector, especially in a country like Nigeria. This, according to Chambers (1991) will be attributed to the following four (4) main reasons. That, the majority of people lives and made their livelihood in the rural communities; secondly, rural-urban migration which compounds urban problems due to high rates of urbanization, makes the rural sector remain vulnerable and deprived; and lastly, giving priorities to agricultural development for enhancing economic and social development of rural areas. The reasons for this include the production of raw-materials for industrial purposes, the feeding of growing populations and many others.

Noticeably, the development policies of many African countries have shown increasing emphasis on the development of agriculture and the rural sub-sector. For example, Ibietan & Ekhosuehi (2013) reported that within the historical context of Nigerian development efforts, both under democracy and non-democratic government a lot of efforts were made to develop agriculture and rural areas which includes the First Development Plan of 1962-68, the Second Development Plan of 1970-74, the Third Development Plan of 1975-1980, Fourth Development Plan of 1981-1985, including the Structural Adjustment Programme of 1986, the Rolling Plans of 1990-1993, and the Vision 2010 of 1995-1999 (Ibietan & Ekhosuehi 2013).

Under a democratic government, since 1999, there has been attempts at coming out with a range of policies meant to bring about development and improvement of people lives. Among these are: The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) 2003-2007, The Seven Point Agenda (7PA) 2007-2010, and The Transformation Agenda (TA) 2010 to 2015. In spite of all these policy intentions and commitments, much is still expected to transform the rural sector. According to Okeke (2014), the policies initiated by these respective governments had many things in common and remained a mere assumption that democracy and national development are products of policy sentiments. The author further said that “the end points of these assumptions have been pedagogically imaginations that are cast in stone on how some immutable precepts of classical democracy and some modern versions of democracy with orchestrated immoral and shenanigan behavior among leaders, invariably lead to national development” (Okeke, 2014:230).

Indeed, the democratic government over the years is slower to bringing desired changes, providing public goods and development through vibrant, functional policies and programs that improves the welfare of the citizen especially the vulnerable rural poor (Ojkoratu & Allen, 2009). Viewed from the same perspectives, Oguzor (2011) asserts that, majority of rural communities in Nigeria are caharacterized by poor access feeder roads, lack of electric power, poor basic health, poverty, hunger, as well as low income and lack of social services. These are not only inadequate, but in most cases, non-existent.

Rural development should have been a concern and priority of every responsible government particularly that of Nigeria. This makes it necessary for government and other stakeholders to focus considerable attention to rural development. In the sense that rural areas in Nigeria, and particularly Taraba State, are not attractive to live in and are being characterized by lack of infrastructures, basic amenities, high rate of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, amongst others (Taraba State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy 2004; Igwe 2010; NBS 2011; Idada & Uhunmwangho 2012).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, there has been instability in government resulting into military incursion in governance processes, until 1999 when democratic government was re-instituted and remained stable and consistent for sixteen years now; which is unprecedented and marked a watershed in the political history of the country. Out of the 55 years of its existence as an independent nation, it experienced 29 years of military rule, with only 26 years under democratic government as follows: the first republic (1963-1966), second republic (1979-1983), aborted third republic (1991-1993) and the fourth republic (1999-date).

Yet, with this transition, the democratic government that is supposed to be more responsive to meeting peoples need and general development of the nation, improvements in social services and general welfare of the people is still slower than expected by the general public. The country's development, especially at the rural level is still insignificant. This is evident from the fact that rural areas in Nigeria suffer most from socioeconomic imbalance, which is accompanied with

high rate of poverty; recorded as 79 percent (NBS, 2011); unemployment and lack of social services (Ugwuanyi & Emma, 2013a). This is in spite of the unprecedented economic growth being experienced between 1999-2015 under the democratic government. The World Bank (2013) corroborates this statement by saying that:

*Nigerian economic statistics reveal a puzzling contrast between rapid economic growth and the quite low welfare of much of the population. With the annual growth rates of average over 7% during the last decade, which placed Nigeria among the fastest growing economies in the world. The improvements nevertheless, have been much slower than would be expected as experienced by this growth. More so, the poverty reduction and job creation do not match with population growth, implying social distress for an increasing number of Nigerians. The achievements toward the fulfillment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) has been slow, and the country was ranked 153 out of 186 countries in the 2013. United Nations Human Development Index (Word Bank, 2013:2).*

From the forgoing, we can deduce that, Nigeria had experienced economic growth but not economic development. Thus, the major socio-economic indices of poverty, job creation, unemployment and achievement of the MDG has been slow. Furthermore, in spite of its abundant resources, the country is yet to develop means of harnessing and translating its resources into meaningful, significant welfare for the general populace; through the creation of jobs, reducing poverty and general socioeconomic development; especially to the most vulnerable rural poor.

The socioeconomic statistics in Nigeria showed an impressive result that should have been exploited for development purposes. For example, as of 2012 the GDP growth rate of Nigeria was 6.58 percent. In terms of statutory allocations to all levels of government, a total of 16.5 trillion Naira were allocated from 1999 to 2007. The Federal government receives 7.4 trillion Naira, States received 5.7

trillion Naira and Local Governments receive 3.3 trillion Naira. The Taraba State government received 103 billion Naira, and its LGAs received 72.9 billion. The socioeconomic indicators of Taraba State showed that with a population of 2, 577, 051, it has a GDP growth rate of 43, 020, 000 million, GDP Per Capita of 17, 840, GDP of only 0.2% and poverty incidence of 86% as of 2010. (RMAFC 2010, FMF 2010, UNDP 2010, NBS 2011, CBN 2012, & World Bank 2013). The table 1.1 and 1.2 below shows the representations of the above.

*Table 1.1*  
*GDP Growth Rate in Nigeria and Taraba State As At 2012*

GDP (Nationally)	GDP (Taraba)	GDP rate (Taraba)	GDP Per Capita (Taraba)
6.5%	0.2%	43, 020, 000	17, 840

**Sources:** Adapted from NBS 2011, CBN 2012, and World Bank 2013.

*Table 1.2*  
*Statutory Allocations in Nigeria and Taraba State 1999-2007*

Fed./states/LGs	Fed. Govt.	State Govts.	LGAs	Taraba State	Taraba LGAs
16.5 trillion	7.4 trillion	5.7 trillion	3.3 trillion	103 billion	72.9 billion

**Sources:** Adapted from NBS 2011, RMFC 2010, FMF 2010 and CBN 2012

Note that, the above figures in table 1.1 and table 1.2 were calculated in Naira (Nigerian currency). As at 2015 it was exchanged to United States' Dollar (USD) at 199.



According to the NBS (2013) the poverty rate in Nigeria remain high, especially in rural areas. For example, statistics shows that the poverty rate in 2013-2014 was 64.2%, while urban poverty was 52.2%, and the rural poverty stood at 73.4%. Additionally, based on Adult Equivalent, the poverty rate was 48.3%, while urban poverty was 36% and the rural poverty stood at 57.4% which is quite alarming. This show the level of neglect and sufferings the rural masses find themselves in, even under a democratic government in Nigeria. Ironically, the rural sub-sector constitutes the essential foundation for economic development of the country. Yet it remains in human settlement terms without developmental services. The table 1.3 below shows the poverty rate in Nigeria generally and Taraba state in particular.

*Table 1.3*  
*Nigerian Poverty Rate and Taraba State 2013-2014*

Poverty (Nationally)	Urban Poverty (Nationally)	Rural Poverty (Nationally)	Poverty adult equivalent (Nationally)	Urban poverty adult equivalent	Rural poverty adult equivalent	Poverty (Taraba)
64.2%	52.2%	73.4%	48.3%	36%	57.4%	86%

**Sources:** Adapted from NBS 2011, UNDP 2010 and World Bank 2013

Successive governments (democratically elected; inclusive) attempted at solving the rural problems over the years by establishing institutions, policies and programs on myriads of rural needs. For example, Oyeranti & Olayiwola (2005), Yakubu & Aderonmu (2010), Akpan (2012b) and Ekpenyong & Udoh (2013) maintained that different policies and programs with adequate finances like: Green Revolution,

Operation Feed the Nation (OFN); the Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (NEEDS), 7 Point Agenda (7PA), Transformation Agenda (TA) amongst others were initiated.

In spite of the above, rural studies have shown that the rural areas had suffered many years of neglect in Nigeria (Okoli & Onah 2002; Ezeah 2005; Abah 2010; Abonyi & Nnamani 2011, Ugwuanyi & Emma 2013). It is attributed to clear absence of social services, social deprivations and degradation. The little that has been put in place by successive governments in terms of infrastructural facilities was mostly in favor of the urban centers to the neglect of the rural areas. Ohiani (2001) captures this scenario when he observes that, the spatial distribution of infrastructural facilities and amenities in Nigeria has always been in favour of urban centres, to the detriment of rural areas.

Narrowing the discussion down to Taraba State, its Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (TSEEDS 2005-2007) document made an effort to ensure balanced development by stating that:

*Development in Taraba state can only be balanced if all groups and strata of the state are affected by policies and programs of the state. Such group includes the rural poor, the urban poor..... An effort has to be made to distribute development projects and programs across the state. There must not be the lopsided development in the state to ensure equity and fairness in the distribution of basic amenities and opportunities available in the state (TSEEDS Document 2004:2).*

The above policy intention could not yield a fruitful result. Statistics have shown that with the total of about 33 million households in Nigeria as at 2010, almost 22 million representing 66.67% resides in the rural sub-sector (National Bureau of

Statistics, 2011). Moreover, 33.4% of the rural areas use stream, ponds or rivers as their source of water for drinking and other uses with only 3.3% pipe borne water treated amongst others. In Taraba State 69.9% primary sources of water for drinking and cooking were by stream, pond or a river, with only 1.2% pipe borne water treated.

Rural electricity covers only 2.1%, National power supply (PHCN) covers 39.6%; while 49.9% of rural areas in Nigeria have no electricity supply at all. Taraba State recorded the worst scenario in that respect. For example the same survey indicates that, the state has only 0.1% rural electrification, 15.3% National power supply (PHCN) and 81.3% of the communities are not connected to power at all. The “health system in the state is also deteriorating to an unacceptable level, resulting in poor health outcomes for the citizenry” (Taraba Ministry of Health, 2010:7). These resulted in poor quality of rural life in the state since 1999, which encouraged rural-urban migration.

Rural underdevelopment in Nigeria has mainly been attributed to lack of political will, poor implementation of rural policies and corruption in government by the political leadership among others (Ojkoratu & Allen 2009; Idada & Uhumwuangho 2012; and Okeke 2014). This is evident from the fact that corruption and embezzlement in government have been so alarming thereby underminig economic progress and development of the Nigerian state. Recently (2013), the Transparency International rated Nigeria high as 144<sup>th</sup> of 178<sup>th</sup> corrupt nations in the world (Vanguard Nigerian News Paper, December, 2013).

However, this study presumes otherwise. It argues that the central issues is disempowerment of the rural folks through non-performance of elected officials. The rural majority, scholars have argued, demonstrated their enthusiasm for democracy by turning out in their numbers to vote each time there is an election. In several instances they outstrip urban based elites in their participation in the electoral process. Yet, they have felt the wrong end of that process in terms of development, particularly in Taraba state. This link between democracy and development is buttressed by the works of Ake (1993), Przeworski & Lomongi (1993) and Leftwich (1996).

Past literatures have studied democracy and development (Przeworski & Limongi 1993, Ake 1996, Leftwich 1996a, Kalu 2004, Ojakorotu & Allen 2009, Akpan 2012a), challenges of rural development under democracy (Oruanye 2013, Olu-Adeyemi 2012, Idada & Uhunmwuango 2012), democracy, good governance, service delivery and development (Akujuru & Enyioko 2015, Okoro 2012), democracy and rural poverty (Oyeranti & Olayiwola 2005, Leftwich 2008) amongst others. But there is paucity of literature that specifically studies democratic government and its impact on rural development, with a view to analysing the democratic institutional process and its likely consequences on rural development in Taraba Nigeria. This research, finds that though democratic government can execute better rural development programmes its institutional mechanism have hampered in bringing about the desired changes in the rural areas of Taraba State in particular and Nigeria at large.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The following research questions are stated:

- i. What are the people's perceptions and attitude towards the system of democracy in Nigeria and Taraba State in particular?
- ii. How effective is a democratic government in implementing development programmes in Taraba State Nigeria?
- iii. How does democratic government perform to achieve rural development in Taraba State Nigeria?
- iv. How does the Nigerian Political arrangement affect rural development in Taraba State?

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

The main objectives of this study generally was to assess the impact of a democratic government on rural development in Nigeria with emphasis on Taraba State.

The study objective is to achieve the following:-

- i. To determine the people's perception and attitudes on the system of democracy in Nigeria and Taraba in particular.
- ii. To examine the effectiveness of a democratic government in implementing development programmes in Taraba State, Nigeria.
- iii. To evaluate the democratic government performance in achieving rural development in Taraba State.
- iv. To assess the Nigerian political arrangements as it affects rural development in Taraba State.

## 1.5 Significance of the Study

The available statistical record indicates that Taraba is one of the most underdeveloped and poorest states in Nigeria. It only contributes 2 per cent of the country's GDP with the poverty incidence of 86 percent as of 2010 (NBS 2011 & World Bank, 2013). This, therefore, shows the importance and need for this study.

Various studies were conducted on democracy and rural development particularly emphasizing on democracy and development (Przeworski & Limongi 1993, Ake 1996, Leftwich 1996, Mainwaring & Perez-Linan 2003, Kalu 2004, Igwe 2010, & Okeke 2014), democracy and poverty reduction (Oyeranti & Oloyiwola 2005, Leftwich 2008, Yakubu & Aderonmu 2010); democracy and good-governance (Albritton & Bureeku 2009, Idada & Uhunmwangho 2012, Okoro 2012, Olu-Adeyemi 2012, Adeyinka & Emmanuel 2014), democracy and rural development policies (Akpan 2012); democracy, welfare and rural infrastructural development (Ojakorotu & Allen 2009, Oyedele 2012, Akujuru & Enyioko 2015); Decentralization, local democracy and Challenges of local government in rural development (Craig 2001, Enyong 2007, Ibieta 2010, Lawal & Oladunjoye 2010, Adeyemi 2013, Oruonye 2013 & Wangchuk 2013) and much more. The researcher, observes that in Nigeria there are paucity of studies and literature on democratic government by looking at it from the institutional perspectives and as the machinery of the state with its structural arrangements to finding out how it has impacted on the general well being and development of the rural areas. This study could be one of the pioneer studies in Taraba State-Nigeria on democratic government and rural development. The explanatory nature of this research can be

considered one amongst the many to be undertaken across the nation in understanding democratic government its role and impact on rural communities.

This research, therefore, was significant from a theoretical perspective in expanding the body of knowledge and literature on democratic government and rural development. It is also important in bridging the gap in literature in respect of such wide range of issues concerning government's role to meeting peoples' need, particularly the democratically elected government's response to many of the socioeconomic problems of rural areas since 1999 to 2015 in Taraba State and Nigeria in general.

Specifically, the research was significant as follows:

- i. Understanding the nature and responsibility of a democratic government to the rural people.
- ii. Unveil the complex nature of rural problems in Taraba and Nigeria in general.
- iii. Help government, other stakeholders and development partners understand the felt needs of rural Tarabans in order to formulate effective policy and interventions in rural development.
- iv. Contribute in bridging the gap in existing literatures on democracy and rural development in general.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The scope of this research was mainly on issues related to democratic government and rural development. In terms of geographical location it was restricted to Nigeria with emphasis on Taraba State. The choice of Taraba was informed due to its underdeveloped, rural and agrarian nature amongst others; as mentioned earlier in 1.2 and 1.5 of this chapter. The justification for its choice also was based of its prime position as one of the Nigerian states with enormous economic potential, yet underdeveloped. Taraba remains one of the most rural states' in Nigeria with over 80% inhabitants residing at rural areas (Taraba State Ministry of Health, 2010). Politically, Taraba is one of the third generation states' in Nigeria created in 1999 yet, after 25 years of its existence it is still grappling with lack of basic infrastructural developments especially at rural areas. The period covered by the research was 1999-2015. The choice of the period from 1999 is justified because; it marks the period of return to democracy in Nigeria; after many years of military rule. The period spanning 16 years covers exactly four regimes of four years each in Nigeria's democracy; which is adequate to measure democratic performance.

The study covers rural areas of Taraba state with the government institutions and agencies; their jurisdictional powers and mandates to formulation and implementation of rural development programmes. The Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community Development Initiatives (CDIs) with the mandates of achieving rural development were not covered by this study. This was informed by the researchers' believe that, since government is an institution of the state, which is responsible for ensuring the maximum welfare of the citizenry and general development of the nation, it is therefore necessary to assess its level of



commitments overtimes to improving the living standard and wellbeing of the rural populace. This is to say that, any other intervention on rural development by the NGOs and other stakeholders was considered secondary by this research.

### **1.7. Limitation of the Study**

A study of this nature is bound to have some limitations. One of the major limitations to the conduct of this research was the difficulty to get classified data/information, especially the data/information from the rural dwellers that constitutes part of our target population. This is because majority of them were apprehensive to the important of the research and also are ill-informed and apathetic, due to their low level literacy; which make them find it difficult to accord more value to the research which might have affected the volumes of the required information/data needed for this research. In some instances the villagers regards the researcher as an intruder. They also maintained that, often government and many NGOs comes to them for interviews on similar nature; but nothing has been done afterwards.

Also, due to the illiteracy level of some rural respondents, the questionnaire designed has to be interpreted to many of the rural respondents and also, while conducting the Focus Group Discussion they often deviate from the main discussion and got out of the research scope unnecessarily. This limitation was however overcomes and minimized due to the researchers' involvement of research assistants who are indigenes in all the areas visited and the painstaking explanation on the important of the research to them.

More so, inability for government to disclose some information that may be vital to the investigation form part of the limitation to this study. However, access to some vital documents are important to the research but, was very difficult to the researcher to obtain especially those dealing with finances of the Ministry of water resource and rural development and other important publications that are vital to the research. This was however, minimized by lobbying to get some documents and audience of the ministry staff for interview through one insider of the ministry who was identified as relatives to one of the Research Assistants’.

Another limitation is the fact that, the researcher finds it difficult to cover some rural communities, especially in the southern Taraba senatorial district. This was due to the fact that, as at the time of the field-work for data collection precisely (February to June, 2015) many rural communities in the two selected Local governments of the zone, that is *Donga* and *Takum* LGA were flashpoints for insecurity due to ethnic and communal clashes. This was however, overcomes through the use of research assistants; who are indigenes of the affected Local Government Areas to administer questionnaires.

Also, the study initially proposed 44 interview informants and 6 Focus Group Discussion sessions, one each in the selected LGAs, but however could not be achieved as a results of turning down the interview appointments and meetings by some prospective interviewees. This was confirmed after series of follow-up and consultations which was prove abortive and also the researcher excludes the 2 LGAs of the southern senatorial zones selected for FGD due to insecurity. However, the researcher was able to interview 20 respondents and conducted 4

sessions of FGDs, the numbers which is still good enough for qualitative study (Kothari 2004; O'Neill 2014).

Specifically, another limitations to this study was time constraint due to the fact that, the researcher uses only a complete semester for his fieldwork and data collection, which was not adequate enough to get all the necessary data and cover all the research areas. This has however, been minimized by staying for a complete 6 months in the field starting from February to July, 2015 to obtained reasonable data.

Finally many remote rural areas that were initially earmarked for this research to cover were not motorable enough. Therefore, only the accessible villages that were motorable was covered by this research. Based on all these therefore, the conclusion that was arrived at in this research shall remain valid and should be read within the context of its limitations.

### **1.8 Research Location**

Taraba state is located at North-eastern part of Nigeria and was created on August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1991 by the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, out of the defunct *Gongola* State. It lies roughly between latitude 6° 30'' and 9° 36'' north and longitude 9° 10' 50'' east and bounded by *Bauchi* and *Gombe* states in the northeast and *Adamawa* state on the east, and bordered Plateau state in the northwest. The state is further bounded to the west by both *Nassarawa* and *Benue* states, while it shares an international boundary with the Republic of Cameroon to the North and South-east.

The state derives its name from one of the three major rivers and it covers a land area of 59,400 square kilometres. At inception, the state had only ten local government areas, namely, *Jalingo, Donga, Zing, Lau, Karim-Lamido, Sardauna, Bali, Gashaka, Wukari, and Takum*. The state has currently sixteen local government areas as a result of the creation of the following local government areas, *Ibi and Yorro* in September 1991 and *Ardo-Kola, Kurmi, Ussa and Gassol* in 1996. There is also *Yangtu*, a Special Development Area created by Governor Danbaba administration in 2008, which was carved out of *Ussa* Local Government Areas.

According to the 2010 projected population figures released by the national bureau of statistics the state has 2, 577, 051.

There are over eighty (80) indigenous ethnic groups in Taraba state, each with its distinct historical and cultural heritage cohabiting peacefully with one another. Some of these tribes include *Mumuye, Ichen, Wurkum, mambilla, Kuteb, Chamba, Jukun, Yandang, Fulani, Jenjo, Kunini, Lo ndoro, Kambu, Kaka, Bandawa, Munga, Tiv, Zo, Bambuka* and *Jibu* among others.

The *Hausa* language is commonly spoken by most indigenes of Taraba state, irrespective of ethnic grouping. Other ethnic groups like *Yoruba* and *Igbo* are also found in the state.

### 1.8.1 Taraba and its Economy

Taraba is blessed with vast economic potentials in the area of agriculture, minerals and industries. The agrarian nature and rich alluvial soil found in most parts of the state makes it conducive in the cultivation of all types of food and crops. Its agrarian economy can sustain the nation in terms of food production. The following crops grow in large scale in Taraba State: Arable Crops such as Cassava, Yams, Potatoes, (sweet/Irish) Cocoyam, rice, maize, cotton, cowpea, millet, sorghum, groundnut oil, sesame, and soya bean. Also, Plantation and fruit such as: Sugar cane, coffee, tea, cocoa, coconut, palm produce, citrus, mango, apple and tomato (www.taraba.gov.ng)

Furthermore, the state is blessed with livestock with a vast lushly grassland that supports cattle grazing. The *Mambila* Plateau alone grazes well over one million herds of cattle. It is estimated that the state has three million herds of cattle, the largest in Nigeria. Other livestock reared in the state include sheep, goat, pigs and poultry. The state, therefore having great potentials for milk/dairy production as well as hides and skin. It also has various rivers/pounds and hold great potentials for the development of fisheries.

Lastly, the southern part of the state is densely forested. *Kurmi* LGA in particular contains primordial and exotic African timber considered among the best in the world. The *Baissa* Timber Company, has enough reserves to last about one hundred years (www.taraba.gov.ng).

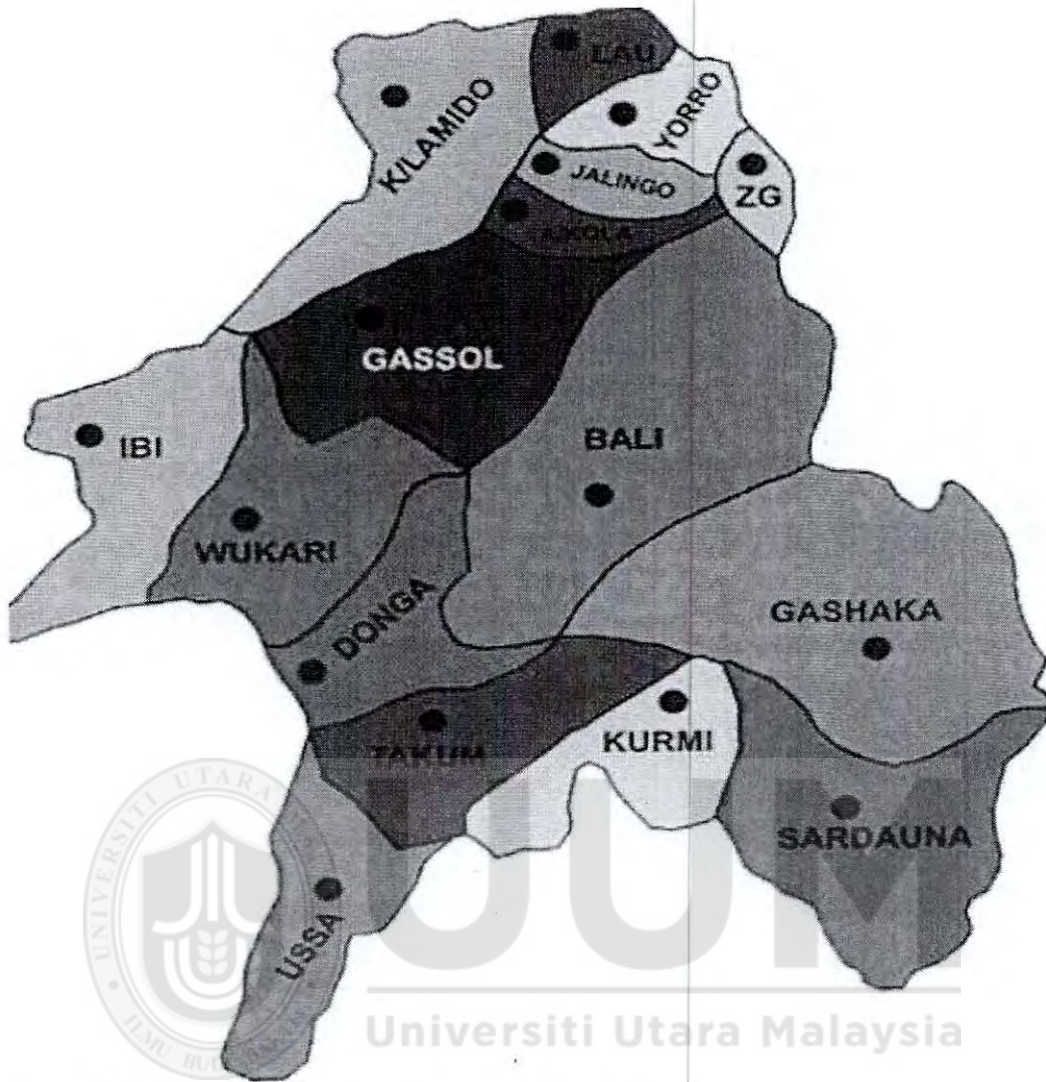
### 1.8.2. Mineral Resources

Taraba has large quantities of mineral deposits that are yet to be explored and tapped. These are shown in table 1.4 below according to LGAs:

Table 1.4  
*Mineral Deposits and Their Location In Taraba State*

Mineral Resources	Local Government Area (s) Found
Graphite	Gashaka
Calcite	Ibi, Lau, and Yorro
Barites	Ibi, Wukari, Karim-Lamido, and lau
Quartzite	Ardo-Kola, Gashaka, Sardauna
Tin Ore	Sardauna, and Gashaka
Gold	Kurmi, Sardauna, and Gashaka
Bauxite	Sardauna,
Kaolin	Sardauna
Zirco	Takum, and Ussa
Topaz	Takum, and Ussa
Various	Donga, Sardauna, Yorro, Gashaka, Kurmi
Gemstones	and Karim-Lamido
Galena	Wukari, Karim-Lamido
Muscovite	Takum, Ussa, and Gashaka
Uranium	Yorro, and Zing

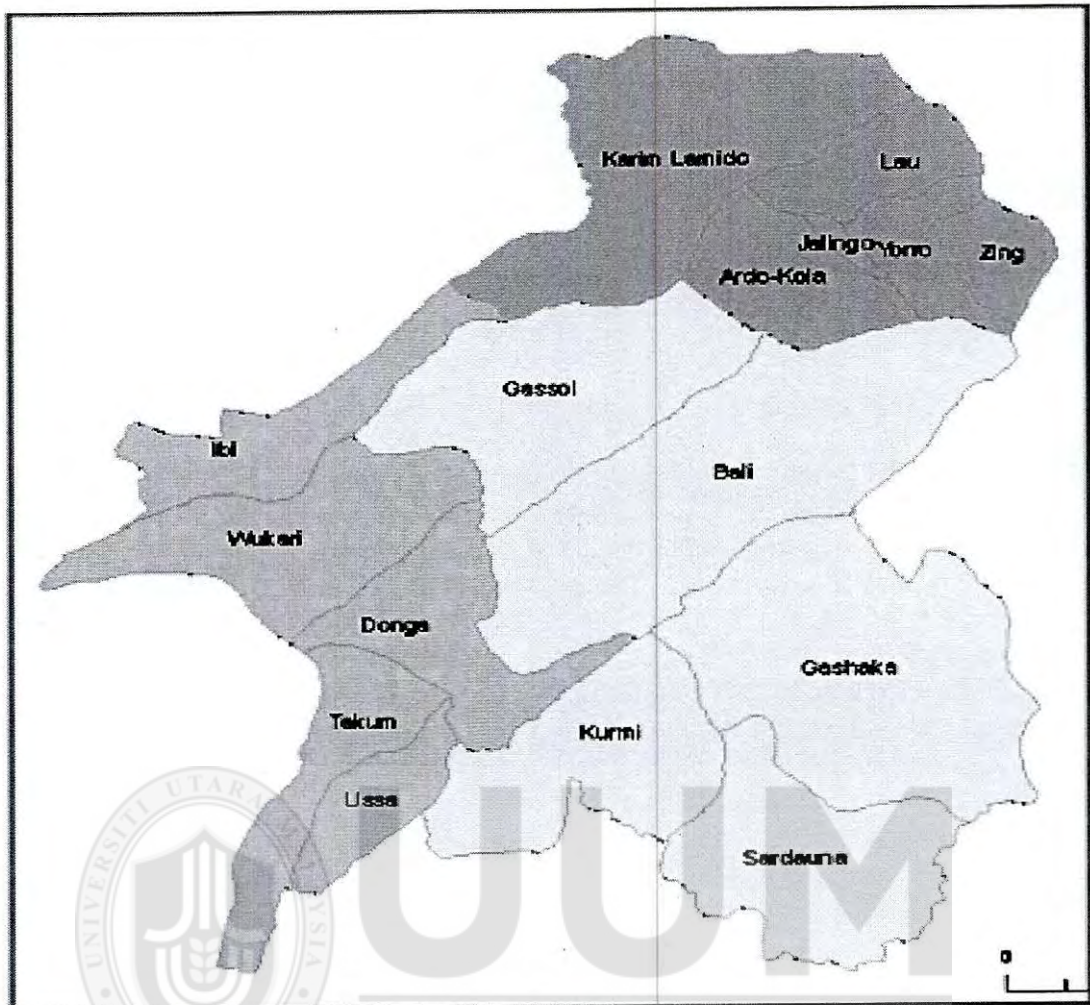
Source: [www.taraba.gov.ng](http://www.taraba.gov.ng)



*Figure 1.1.* Map of Taraba State showing the 16 LGAs  
**Source:** [www.nigerianmuse.com](http://www.nigerianmuse.com) retrieved 22/09/2014

The above map shows the locations of all the 16 Local Government Areas in Taraba State.





*Figure 1.2.* Map of Taraba State showing the three senatorial district  
**Source:** [www.ncacusa.com](http://www.ncacusa.com) retrieved 22/09/2014

The above map shows the location of three senatorial districts (Taraba North; Taraba Central and Taraba South) respectively.





*Figure 1.3.* Map of Nigeria showing all the 36 States of the Federation  
**Source:** [www.ncasusa.com](http://www.ncasusa.com) retrieved 21/10/2014

## 1.9 Organization of Chapters

This research work is divided into eight chapters. Chapter One is an introductory chapter providing background to the study, a statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, the scope of the study, limitation, significance of the study, research location and organization of chapters. Chapter Two contain a review of related literature, focusing on the major issues that has to do with the study like the conceptual overview of democracy and its model, local democracy, development, rural development paradigm, democracy and rural development in Nigeria and gap in the literature.

Chapter Three contains the theoretical and conceptual framework underpinning the study. The Fourth Chapter dwelled on research methodology, focusing on research

design, sources and methods of data collection, questionnaire variables, measurement, scaling and coding, pilot study reliability test, qualitative data coding and classifications, population and sample size, sampling technique, method of data analysis.

The Fifth Chapter discusses the Nigerian democratic structure, operations of government and past rural development policies. This chapter focuses on the structure and constitutional jurisdictional powers and functions of all the levels of governments (Federal, State and LG) in Nigeria. It also discusses the major institutions and agencies responsible for rural development at both federal, state and local governments. The Sixth Chapter contains the presentation, analysis and discussion of the quantitative data with its findings, while the Seventh one deals with the analysis, interpretation and discussion of qualitative data with its findings. Chapter Eight is titled conclusion, recommendations and research implications. This includes the introduction, research implications/contribution, conclusion, recommendations and suggestion for further studies.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Here the researcher reviewed and interrogates relevant literatures on the major issues and construct under study like: an overview of democracy and its models, conceptual review of local democracy, overview on the concept of development, rural development paradigm, democracy and rural development in Nigeria and gap in literatures.

#### **2.2 An Overview on Democracy and its Models**

Democracy is an idea that suffers from the conceptual interrogation, because many scholars and researchers have attempted defining it differently on different perspectives. Ojo (1999) laments that, there is no concept that is so flagrantly used and misused, as well as paraded under all sorts of interests and guises as democracy. Bello (2011) argues that, most of the components of modern democracy were founded in ancient Greece. It refers to the government of the people, by the people and for the people. It seems to be one among many systems of governance that affect the life of all and sundry across the globe in both the advanced and the underdeveloped countries.

From a theoretical focus democracy, according to Yusif (2009) can be summed up to be a system that emphasizes on collective engagements to accomplishing the citizens' aspirations according to the rules of the game for their general good. He further states; irrespective of ideologies, democracy is taken seriously because under it, people come together and make rules that affect the growth of the economy; allocation of the resources generated by the economy; how personal sentiments are being shared nationally and working for overall development of the nation. It is also through democracy that people come to make rules that provide the political system with growth, fairness and equity as well as other goals people share in common between various ethnic and social groups.

According to Ikhariabe (2009), the actual practices of democracy whether from its traditional or modern way is its recognition of peoples' sovereignty. In its ideal form, democratic government is at all times the last hope of an ordinary man and the electorates generally. Its correct disposition, therefore, rests in its transparent and open system to which people were accounted for by their representatives. That is to say; democratic government supposes to be that government that is responsive to the yearnings and aspirations of the citizenry. Otiye (2011) asserts that democracy in Nigeria is only meaningful if it delivers on bringing socioeconomic development of the nation. He further argued that the political freedom which forms the basis of democracy remained insignificant without the commensurate socioeconomic development that will uplift people from hunger, deprivations and degradations. Hence, the need for people to elect leaders that will respond to their myriads of problems bedevilling them.

Wilfried Martens the President, European People's Party in his write-up the development of democracy in European countries has this to say democracy is a dynamic system of government, which will continue to evolve along with the people it serves. It is based on its humble principle that people maintained the right to rule themselves. Democracy flourishes without geographical boundaries. It requires adjustment, moderation, humility from the governing system; and the institutions that are established to serve the wills of the people. It requires nurture and care, but also the readiness to look at the system with a critical eye (Martens, 2013).

Agarwal (2009) considers democracy as the type of government in which the absolute power of the state is in the hands of people and the people are the source of the state power and they take part in the governance process through their representatives. He further viewed that in democracy majority rules, while the interest of the minority is not ignored. This is in line with the emphasis on the representation as championed by the proponents of representative democracy.

In another vein, Diamond (1988) conceptualized democracy as necessary and contestable practices among individuals and political groups to occupy positions in government in order to protect and respect the civil and political rights of the people. But it should be noted that the mere expressions and contests of these powerful forces and or organizations may not necessarily translates into the actual popular choice of leaders to bring and or observance of civil and political liberties of the electorates. The Nigerian elections, for example, which was usually adjudged guilty even by international election observers over time and marred by rigging,

domination of the ruling party and the power of incumbency to retain political offices without necessarily people will make it difficult for leaders to be conscious of peoples need and interest.

Furthermore, contributing to democracy, Held (1993) conceptualized democracy to be that system that enables people freely to elect those who represent them in political decisions. It involves representation in government, free and fair elections, freedom and above all right to vote and be voted. Democracy, therefore, entails a system with an adequate institutional capacity and structures that allow for broader sovereignty to the people and guarantees them human rights with dignity. Unfortunately, this conception of democracy is narrow on its focused as it only emphasized on the political aspect and process of democracy without corresponding socioeconomic considerations that betters human existence. It is in this light that Bello (2011) says:

*In Africa, and Nigeria in particular poverty and denials of the necessities of lives, particularly to the vulnerable rural people often been denied many from executing and exercising their political and civic rights while the wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a few, gives the economically-advantaged few uninterrupted political influence (Bello, 2011:53).*

The recognition of this statement led to calls for the widening of the notion of democracy to include social and economic upliftment of the masses (Ake, 1993). Democracy uplifts the majority of the common people to participate in the decisions that has bearings to their individual and collective rights and the way and manner their society is governed. The practical democracy being practiced in Nigeria is in sharp contrast to this, as corroborated by Ojakorotu & Allen (2009) that democracy in Nigeria is far away from people's welfare; as citizens were neglected from its benefits. It shows the high level of irresponsibility of any



government; to talk of the democratic system of government. The system that was correctly described by Okeke (2014:230) as “ceremonial democracy”. This seems to be so as leaders are only elected to fill the public offices without comparable performance in meeting the yearnings and aspirations of the people.

According to Diamond, Linz & Lipset (1989) democracy is a system of government that depends on three important conditions: meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and groups, particularly, parties to filling positions in government in a legitimate manner; an inclusive level of participation in the selection of leaders and policies; civil and political liberties, freedom of expression, ;and freedom to form organization so as to ensure political competition and participation among groups. Similarly, Ake (1993) conceptualizes democracy based on its principles of public accountability, widespread participation, and the consent of governing. Nweakeaku (2014:27) viewed democracy from its principles of rule of law and popular wills of the people. In that sense “democracy is seen as the government put in place by the people, which upholds the spirit of social contract between the state and the people to ensure equitable distribution of state resources and equal opportunities for all its citizens and whose operations are based on the rule of law”.

Furthermore, Gourley (1990) emphasized that democratic government is one that is confined with democratic control and its defining responsibilities is derived from a constitution. It is a set of institutions and practices through which the wills of the state are realised. It is characterised by systematic procedures for the consultations of relevant interest in the formation and administration of policy by their openness

to independent sources of expertise (Beetham, 1998). In his own view, Williams (2003) maintained that a democratic government is one that is held accountable for its actions not just at election time, but on a daily basis by both the parliament and the electorates.

The modern democracy is usually known to have been developed from ancient Greece. This, however, is being understood, as democracy not exclusive of Greek or basically western value. But, also has its manifestations on other civilizations. For example, according to Enemuo (2008) the democratic principles of accountability, building of consensus and popular participation were important attributes of many pre-colonial system of government in Africa. This shows the universality of democratic relevance across societies and civilizations.

Theoretically, literatures on a democracy discuss a plethora of models to understanding democracy and its applications. For example, Tiruneh (2004) identifies two models: the classical and the procedural. The former emphasized on self-rule and political liberty by the people. The latter, emphasized on representation; in which citizens views and interest are made within the confined of laws. This model is associated with the ancient democratic values, while, the representative is associated with the modern states (Diamond *et al* 1995; Southall 2003 & Enemuo 2008).

Janda *et' al* (2008) confirms the above two models by categorizing them as procedural and substantive. The procedural model according to them emphasizes on the way decisions are made, which basically depends, on four major principles:



mass participation, political equality, majority rule, and responsiveness to the electorate by their representatives with the conditions for the protections of minorities. While, the substantive one, emphasized more on the functions to be performed by the government. The proponents of this theory expect the government to protect the civil rights and liberties of all, with minorities; and went further by emphasizing the need for the government to ensure the protection of social and economic rights. This is crucial, especially in modern states, particularly the underdeveloped ones. Though, the conditions upon which the scope of governmental action in providing social and economic equality is hard to reach. But, can be substantially meet with commitment and political wills.

Contributing to the models of democracy Enemu (2008) confirms the two discussed above with the addition of Marxist model that was developed by Held (1993). That, aside the classical and liberal model, Marxist model is also regarded as the people's democracy being recognized. It seeks to extend equality of all citizens from the political, social and economic spheres of life. It is in this light; Nnoli (1986) maintained that, the economic level here is achieved by allowing equality in the acquisition of the means of production, while the equality of social spheres is achieved through institutionalization of all social rights, education, employment, health etc.

Additionally, Tiruneh (2004) developed a model of democracy, he termed as 'normal democratic model'. This model according to him emphasize on 'social justice and the welfare of the people'. Ojajorotu & Allen (2009) maintained that, this model combined some of the essential elements of both classical and

representative models to express concern for the welfare and overall improvement of the conditions of the society.

From the above, one could deduce that democracy entails political, social and economic freedom which individuals possess to participate in governance that affects them. It is in this light that, Enumeo (2008) refers to democracy as a set of ideals, institutions and process of governance that allow broad mass of peoples' participation to choose their leaders and their civic rights are guaranteed. This depends on how social and economic conditions of the people are uplifted (Ake, 1993). Nigeria adopts a representative model of democracy; in which leaders are elected at all levels of governments (Federal, States and Local governments) in various offices of the executives (President, Governors and Chairmen/Chairpersons), and Legislative offices (Senate/House of Representatives, State Assemblies and Councillors) to represent the generality of people in government for fair play, equity and distribution of resources and development. Though, with sort of abuses, especially on open access to issue of power and citizens role in government.

### **2.3 Conceptual Review of Local Democracy**

Local democracy is relatively a recent concept that appeals to local or rural marginalization in the governance process. This makes it having a global acceptance as it complements developmental strides to ensuring balance development across sectors of the economy and human settlement. It is in this light that, Eyong (2007) says "until recently, development planning and execution were centrally planned and executed; without necessarily involving the local people.

This was further corroborated by the International Idea Handbook (2000) when it says; there is a dramatic revival in emphasis on local democracy around the world. This renewed interest has risen for many different reasons. In establishing democracies, new social pressures emanating from the influences of globalization, urbanization, and increasing human migration, have led to a review of how cities can cope with these challenges. That local democracy responds to a wide range of practical challenges that affect governance.

According to Craig (2001) local democracy and democratic decentralization are often presented as synonymous to overall efficient rural development. It is argued that, it is an effective strategy for institution building and, thereby, more responsive to the needs, yearnings and aspirations of the local people.

Given the scenario of local democracy in Africa, Eyong (2007) says that, existing studies reveals that most central government in Africa historically took decisions, designed policies and implemented them without consulting local people; those who affect and can be affected in the realization of these policies (top-down). This approach failed mainly because of the absence of basic freedoms for local people; their exclusion from the decision-making process; and the failure to incorporate local cultures and grassroots concern in development projects. This assertion was corroborated by the First Global Report on Cities and Local Governance (2007) that, local democracy is not fully realized through the electoral process alone. There is increasing demand provided for greater inclusion in local decision making. That representative democracy in Africa poses some problems that have yet to be resolved. This clearly indicates the shift of emphasis of the true local democracy

from its actual practice of inclusiveness in governance by reducing it only to the mere election of representatives, which may not necessarily be accountable to the yearnings and aspirations of the people.

Furthermore, Oruonye (2013) asserts that, local democracy is the people-driven participation in the political process and governance to champion their interest and the common good. It is a tendency towards designing political process where as much decision-making authority is shifted to the local community. This is practically not applicable within the Nigerian democratic arrangement. In the sense that the rural communities are not carried along in decisions making process, particularly on development issues that affect them. The current arrangement of electing the community representatives in government seems not to have yielded the desired impact to the development of rural areas. This is because, electing local representatives alone is not sufficient for effective local democracy. The greater and considerable attentions are needed for inclusion of local people in decision making (Sunday & Chinedum 2014). Lack of this has created an imbalance, particularly in Nigeria, due largely that, there is an inappropriate institutional framework put in place for effective grassroots participation in democracy asides that provided by the electoral process. It doesn't mean well to peculiar Nigerian democratic process and leaves those elected to enrich themselves at the expense of the communities and becomes an issue of grave concern.

## **2.4 Overview on the Concept of Development**

We will start discussing development by accepting the statement made by So (1990) when he says; the concept of development like many concepts in social

science, suffers from various submissions of scholars; this is manifested in different literatures; depending on the author(s) perception. In the same vein, Lanes and Ersson (1997) maintained that, the multidimensionality of development itself, inform its complexity for a clear definition. It was viewed to cover political, economic and social dimensions. These were critically explained within the development parlance in the established literature on the subject. Todaro (1985) on his part says; development is a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty.

Todaro (1989) has further identified core values of development to mean: ability to provide many people with basic social needs, adequate food, shelter, health care and protection for human development. Development also entails the perception of individuals or groups of self-worth and esteem as a respected member of the society; and freedom in the sense that individuals and society at large have an expanded range of choice, not only with respect to the material necessities for self-reproduction, but also in their ability to have a say in, if not to determine, the method and process by which values are allocated in the society. It also connotes essentially enhancement in the wellbeing of the people, which is central to democratic institutions. This is however lacking, hence the concern of most African states and Nigeria in particular. This view was equally shared by Lorenzo (2011) when he refers to development as a multi-dimensional concept in its nature, because any improvement of complex systems, and indeed socio-economic systems, can occur in different ways, at different speeds and driven by different forces.

Additionally, the development of one part of the system may be detrimental to the development of the other; giving rise to conflicting objectives and conflicts. Looking at it from another perspective, Thomas (2004) refers to development as a process of structural societal changes. The key important perspectives here are the focus on the process of structural change; its history and a long-term outlook. For example, a change from rural agricultural base society to an urbanized industrial based society.

Sen, (1999) has offered that, the concept of development connotes capacity expansion' and synonymous with freedom. It requires adequate empowerment of the state and the society such that they can adequately distil their complementary responsibilities. In his own view, Omotola (2007) say; development requires an enhanced state capacity as well as institutional and governmental stability. That it is only within such framework that individual members of the society can find fulfillment in terms of the necessities of life and freedom. That, it also requires latitude of autonomy of the political community and its constituent parts and for the individual members of such communities. In this case, the level of popular participation is highly important. Idris (2011) viewed development as a normative concept, almost a synonym for improvement. Development always implies a favourable change; a step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better (Nawichai, 2008). It is in this light that Esteva (1992) says development indicates that one country is doing well because it is advancing towards a desirable state.

Goulet (1977) maintained that, development means obtaining the good life, and has identified three (3) elements of a good life, termed 'core values' - life sustenance; self-esteem; and freedom. These represent standards of life by all individuals and societies. "Life sustenance is concerned with the ability to provide basic needs such as housing, clothing, and food, health care and minimum education" (Sanjay and Rajesh, 2012). The main objective of development, therefore, must be to raise individuals and society as a whole from poverty and to provide them with basic needs. The inability to provide basic needs to people depicts underdevelopment, and, therefore, a society is developed if they (basic needs) are adequately in supply. Self-esteem dwells on having independence and self-respect. Development should entail having control and influence to conduct relations equally. Self-esteem depicts lack of feeling, of external dominance that leads to inferior social and economic status. Goulet sees freedom, as one of the core values, as freedom from servitude, emancipation from the evils of 'want, ignorance and squalor' in order for people to determine their destiny. Freedom is all about choice. Material development expands the range of human choice open to individuals and societies at large.

Goulet's conceptualization sheds light on the fulcrum of development. Life sustenance as a core value of development stresses economic development given the fact that the greater the ability shown by a society to provide food, shelter, and health care and so on, the more developed the society. On self-esteem, the higher the capacity of a society to relate on equal terms in the comity of nations, the most develop such society. Freedom encompasses political, economic and sociocultural development which eschews any form of economic, political and social servitude;

and any form of a cul-de-sac in choice. Esteva (1992) submits that it is now time to recover a sense of reality not to borrow ones (country) development.

Leftwich (2006) sees development as a transformative process that is inescapable of changes that involves economic growth, social transformation and political transition. This means that economic growth without commensurate transformation of social and political transition cannot bring development. Many African states do records high economic growth, yet with lots of social issues of poverty, unemployment and high level inequality. Nigeria for example record high level economic growth and has been among the top in Africa (World Bank, 2013), yet engulfed with high poverty rates.

All discussions on development may not be complete without an emphasis on general transformation of a society from its present state of absence of the necessities of life to a more desirable state. It is only when the grass roots are developed that the overall general development of the nation as a whole can holistically and evenly be ensured.

## **2.5 Rural Development Paradigm**

The definition of rural development has evolved through time as a result of changes in the perceived mechanisms and goals of development. Rural development is that kind of development that benefits rural population; where development is understood as the sustained improvement of the population's standards of living and welfare. Anton & Udovc (2012) maintained that; this definition of rural development, however, has to be further qualified in the 1960's and early 1970's



the consensus was that intense industrialization was the main characteristic of the perceived development path. In this context, rural development is essentially heavily oriented towards agriculture to the latest strategy, “reaching the rural poor” in which the role of agriculture is substantially less prominent, a part of structural transformation characterized by diversification of the economy away from agriculture (World Bank, 2003 & 1997 and Aref & Aref, 2011). This process is facilitated by rapid agricultural growth, at least initially, but leads ultimately to a significant decline in the share of agriculture to total employment and output and in the proportion of rural population to total population. In his explanation on the differences between agriculture and rural development, Lacroix (1985) says, agricultural development tries to raise agricultural production and productivity and is of a technical nature. It is similar to other efforts to develop physical capital as a means for economic growth.... By this definition rural development is focused more on basically benefiting the poor. Thus, placing the emphasis of agricultural development on capital developments, while that of rural development on human capital development. It is in this light that, Anriquez & Stamoulis, (2007) say, rural development is the improvement of the welfare of all members of the rural populations. And also maintained that, its focus on human capital formation, through the provision of social services in rural areas has been constantly stressed since the 1970’s. That, this focus stemmed from social equity considerations: it is fair that all of society’s members have access to services like education and health.

Over time, the agriculture-centric concept of rural development underwent changes. This is especially by the early 1980s, when the World Bank (1980) defined it as “a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group

of people—the rural poor.” Ladyange (2011) outlined four major factors that have led to this change: increased concerns about the continuous and deepening of rural poverty; changing views on the meaning of the concept of development itself; emergence of a more diversified rural economy; where rural nonfarm enterprises play an increasingly vital role; and increased recognition of the importance of reducing the non-income dimensions of poverty to achieve sustainable improvements in the socioeconomic well-being of the poor. Also, the introduction of the Millennium Development Goals has reasonably reinforced the concerns about non-income poverty. With the paradigm shifts in economic development from growth to broadly defined development.

Alinno & Sule (2012) says, rural development involves creating and widening opportunities for rural individuals to realize their full potential through education and share in decision making that affect their lives. While the World Bank (2010) conceptualizes rural development to mean the improvement of sustainable livelihoods of the deprived groups with careful attention paid to local characteristics. Viewing from different perspectives, Van Der Poeg Et al (2000) conceptualizes rural development to mean, a new developmental model for the agricultural sector.

Fernando (2008) further stresses that, today there seems to be a universal consensus that the major objective of rural development is to improve the quality of life of rural people. This makes it essential to go beyond the income-related factors such as prices, production, and productivity for a range of non-income factors that influence quality of life and hence inclusiveness of rural development. Inclusive

rural development is a more specific concept than the concept of rural development. In broad terms, inclusive rural development is about improving the quality of life of all members of rural society. More specifically, inclusive rural development covers three different but interrelated dimensions. The first is the economic dimension that encompasses providing both capacity and opportunities for the poor and low-income rural households in particular to benefit from the economic growth process in such a way that their average incomes grow at a higher rate than the growth of average incomes in the sector as a whole. The economic dimension also includes measures to reduce intra- and inter-sectoral income inequalities to reasonable levels. Second is the social dimension of supporting social development of poor and low-income households and disadvantaged groups, eliminating inequalities in social indicators, promoting gender equality and women's empowerment, and providing social safety nets for vulnerable groups. The political dimension however, has to do with improving opportunities for the poor and low-income people in rural areas, such as; women and ethnic minorities, to participate effectively in the political processes at the rural level and beyond comparison with any other categories of the population in and out of rural areas (ADB, 2011). The involvement of rural communities towards maintenance of their areas is also important, this goes in line with the views of Topcu (2012:2) when he says "rural development emphasized on facilitating change in rural environment to enable the poor people earn more, invest in themselves and their communities and contribute towards maintenance of the infrastructures key to their livelihood".

The emphasis on the livelihood of the people fits the foundation of ideas on rural development. This means 'desirable change in rural area'. Chambers (1991)

however, notes that, what is considered desirable differs; by country, by region, by person, and overtime. Rural development has been identified variously with economic growth, with modernization, with increased agricultural production and with services basic needs such as health, education, transport, water supply, electricity and many others. Rural development encompasses concerns that go well beyond improvements in growth, income, and output. This includes an assessment of changes in the quality of life, which is broadly included improvement in health and nutrition, education, environmentally safe living conditions, and reduction in gender and income inequalities.

Nuhu (2006) sees democratization of National Development as an aspect of the philosophy of democracy whereby a national government supports and encourages its citizens to exercise their rights without regard to class division. In this context, rural development entails a situation whereby the national government makes opportunities and services open and accessible to everyone regardless where they live. At present, the realities in most developing societies appeared disappointing as the link between the urban and rural development is widening. Nuhu further maintained, one outstanding problem being suffered by national economic growth and development is the unequal access to opportunities between the urban and rural areas. While only a handful of privileged individuals have unlimited access and can afford the basic necessity of life and resources living in the urban centres where government investment is concentrated. The majority of Nigerians wallow in abject poverty because they are denied access to the good things of life and they live in the rural areas.

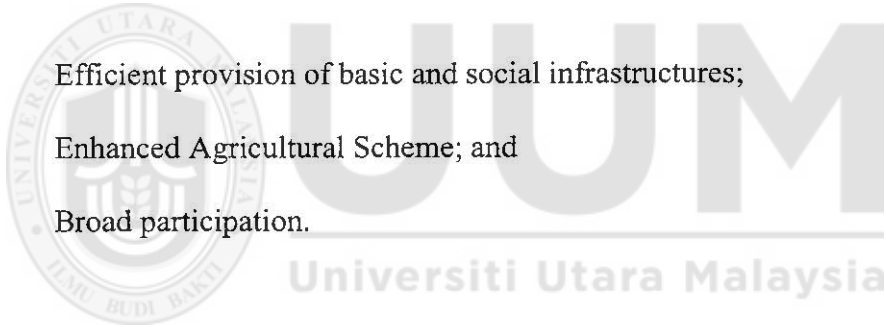
Otaki (2005) argues that increase in crime in our major cities may not be disconnected to the existing harsh conditions in rural areas leading to rural- urban migration. Many of these migrant peasants who cannot secure white collar jobs in the cities becomes an urban nuisance and take to all forms of socially unacceptable behaviours.

The UN (2009) maintained that, the task of accelerating rural development through the provision of socioeconomic services is a joint responsibility of government and the people. It is within this context that people are encouraged to joint government in its efforts in rural development by Ministries responsible for carrying out Rural and Community Development Programmes. Chukwuemeka & Okida (2013) submit that, in all ramifications, development in general is for the people and therefore must be designed to meet people's needs. This means that all rural development efforts ought to have been derived from the felt needs and aspirations of the rural people and not necessary in response to the needs of the urban political economy... But as noted by Heyer *et al* (1981) over the years, rural actions were initiated from outside by governments or their agencies and international organizations and are normally imposed on a community or communities of rural people, who are accused of being an obstacle to their own development, or unable to grasp the benefits of development until exposed to persuasion that is, indeed in their interest.

In the words of Abdulrahman (1992), rural development is essentially mass education with the objective of satisfying the social, economic and psychic needs of the rural people. By implication, when adequate education is given to the rural

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dwellers, it will be easier to get them mobilized towards meeting up with the social, economic and even the psychological needs and challenges of the rural populace which invariably means a leverage as far as the living conditions of the rural people in a holistic manner as against the wretchedness inherent in such areas where development strategies are ineffective. He added that, but the development of the rural areas is not in any way a natural or automatic phenomenon; a lot of purposeful, determined and highly coordinated efforts must be firmly put on the ground to achieve it. This, therefore, necessitates the employment of some strategies for the attainment of a complete rural development. In this respect, the following strategies are readily applicable:

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- i. Efficient provision of basic and social infrastructures;
  - ii. Enhanced Agricultural Scheme; and
  - iii. Broad participation.

A critical look at this submission, could lead to the following analysis; in the first place, the quest for development from below is substantiated due to the apparent absence of facilities capable of sparking real development from below. Secondly, basic facilities must be provided in the rural areas by the authorities' concern alongside the people's efforts for the living standard of the down-trodden to be bettered. Specifically, amenities such as hygienic water supply, electricity, feeder roads, health care services, and so forth, form the base of any methodology for improving on the conditions of living of the rural dwellers residing in the rural areas. Apart these, educational structures and facilities, public enlighten facilities also need to be provided and above all, mobilizing the rural dwellers to actively

participate in the identification, planning and implementation of local projects becomes not only desirable, but inevitable if at all, rural development is to be meaningfully attained.

Reasoning from the above line, Idris (2011) sees rural development as a continued set of actions by government agencies, NGO's and the rural populace, meant to improve the living standard of the rural people and also as a process which lead to a series of changes within the confines of a given rural setting and which eventually result in the improvement in the general conditions of the rural dwellers. The changes in living conditions depend on a variety of factors such as improvement in education, health, water supply, feeder road networks, electrification amongst others. Provision of these means democratic dividends in the Nigerian democracy. This is because; they all constitute campaign promises and political manifestos of election campaigns in Nigeria.

Olatunbosun (1975) on his own part sees rural development as a comprehensive model of social transformation, a socioeconomic change seeking to bring about a more equitable distribution of resources within the society, and a veritable acceptance of the principle of growth from below. This emphasized on the need to ensure socioeconomic balance and equitable distribution of wealth and resources among people and among the rural populace. Failure to do so makes an economy, yet underdeveloped. Nigeria for example experienced an unprecedented economic growth in recent times; but without commensurate development. Currently, World Bank (2014) rated Nigeria as the biggest economy in Africa, but yet, remains among the poorest countries in the world. Although, the country is rich and the

economy is growing, still majority of its population is poor. These pose a great challenge to the managers and drivers to the economy. The only way is to ensure equitable distribution among people and among the sectors and ensure that the growth witnessed by the economy is all inclusive.

Rural development, according to Lele (1975) is all about improving the living standard of the low income population residing in rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining. This process of development has three unique features; improving the living standard of the subsistence by resource allocation in order to reach a desirable target over time, to the subsistent rural sector; Mass participation; through resource allocation to the lower income group and classes, such that the productive and social service could actually reach them; and lastly, making the development process self-sustaining, which requires the development of appropriate skills and implementing capacities and the availability of instructions at the local, regional and national levels to ensure the effective use of existing resources.

Consequently, Lele (1975) added that, local participation may mean involvement in planning including- assessment of local needs, even if local people do not participate in planning at the very minimum, they should be informed of the plans designed for their areas if they are expected to consent and to cooperate with program implementation. Participation in planning and implementation of programs can develop the self-reliance necessary among rural people for accelerated development.



In the real sense of things, failure to involve the rural populace in carrying out developmental projects in their localities in the name of rural development usually leads such projects to become a wasted effort and this happens not only in Nigeria, but in other countries both developed and third world countries.

Rural development could be broadly seen as an integrated process on the implementation policies of agriculture, health, education, provision of social amenities and other community infrastructures under the monitoring and effective participation of the government, its relevant agencies and the rural people. It is also essential, an educational process which seeks to create opportunities for rural people to satisfy their human, economic, social and psychic needs. This shows that, the success of rural development lies in implementation of the programs and policies initiated. This had been the problem in Nigeria; in the sense that successive government came up with various programs that were laudable, but marred with implementation problems which left rural communities undeveloped.

## **2.6 Democracy and Rural Development in Nigeria**

Rural development is that aspect of development concerned with an upliftment of the living conditions and general welfare of the rural populace. To establish therefore the nexus and the relationship between democracy as a system of government and rural development in Nigeria here adequate emphasis is given to the ideals of democracy and its response to the needs of the people; specifically the development of rural communities. However, the general literature on democracy and development seems to have found it difficult in establishing that link and correlations as it normally ends with incomplete empirical evidence. As rightly

observed by Przeworski & Limongi (1993) when they said, the problem with an empirical analysis of establishing relationship between democracy and development is that they do not conclusively prove or otherwise, a causal process. What the empirical studies have best been able to produce are “educated guesses”.

Ojakorotu & Allen (2009) argued that, some scholars have attempted to demonstrate that such relationship does exist. In the sense that political democracy facilitates economic development that in turn impact welfare of citizens positively. However, the history of Nigerian democracy, particularly since its return in 1999 portrays a negative correlation between democracy and development. For example, Ake (1995) views that in Nigeria, history of democracy, economic development and welfare of the people has been that of disappointment. This is evident in the sense that, the returns to democracy in 1999 has placed the country on an agenda with high expectations on economic sustainability and development. Yet the democratic performance remains insignificant. Buttressing this further, Ojakorotu & Allen (2009) asserts that, in Nigeria democratic institutions emerged in 1999 to date, yet remained ineffective, in response to the economic, social and political needs of people.

Nigeria experienced unprecedented economic growth and huge revenue generations accrued from excess crude oil since its return to democracy, yet that has not been translated in the meaningful development of the nation, this is worst when it comes to rural areas. “In an effort for example, in rural development since the return of Nigeria’s democratic dispensation from 1999 to date; a four year development plan was initially articulated from 1999-2003 with the objective of

pursuing a strong, virile and broad-based economy that is highly competitive, responsive to private sector-led, diversified, market oriented and open, but based on the momentum of its growth” (Akpan, 2012b). This does not affect rural development. Between 2003-2007 a very comprehensive and all-encompassing policy document was formulated. “The National Economic Empowerment and Development strategy (NEEDS); with broad national implementation strategy across all levels of government. At the state level, there is (SEEDS) State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy; while at the Local Government (LEEDS) Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy” (Omotola, 2007; Okeje, 2009). It has a general framework for poverty reduction, employment generation and the provision of social safety nets for most afflicted groups and empowerment of rural populace amongst others. Furthermore, 7 Points agenda of President Yar’adua was initiated in 2007 and subsequently, the Transformation agenda of President Goodluck. All these, were mere political programs that end unexecuted. Akpan (2012) captures this scenario rightly by saying that “Nigerian development practice towards rural areas has over the years been shaped by the political and economic circumstances prevailing at a particular period of its development”.

In an effort to describe the practice of Nigerian democracy, Adeyinka & Emmanuel (2014) says, while some countries aspire to and do indeed practice democracy for the socio-economic benefit of the generality of the people or at least as many people as possible; others, like Nigeria, make their own brand of democracy as government of the few by the few and for the Socioeconomic benefit of the few. The democracy of waste practiced in Nigeria invests, first and foremost, in the comfort of officials

rather than in human and material resources. This is evident from the Nigerian budget over times (1999 to 2015) of preference to unnecessary recurrent expenditures at the expense of capital expenditure.

Suffice it to say that, the democratic practice in Nigeria is fundamentally put to questions of how responsible is it? Is it neglectful of rural areas? And of what impact and value is it to the welfare, survival and socioeconomic well-being of the rural people? These and many more questions remain and continue to serve as the dilemma of democratic practice and rural development in Nigeria that masses had to continue asking and bear.

## **2.7 Gap in Literatures**

Arising from the reviews of existing literature it can be deduced that democracy is at the crossroads in Nigeria. The quest for development has indeed makes a lot of writers contributed to issues of democracy and development in Nigeria in which several conclusions were drawn from. For example, Ojakorotu & Allen (2009) in their studies “from authoritarian rule to democracy in Nigeria, a citizen’s welfare myth or reality” contend that, democracy portrait a negative correlation between democracy and development in Nigeria. They concludes that, there is a gap between the volume of resource allocations and development projects at both Federal, State and local governments, but the politicians are feeding fat on citizens welfare. The writers however, did not points out what was responsible for that gap resulting into non-execution of developmental projects under democracy by the respective levels of government in spite of the volumes of resources that was said to have been allocated to them?

Another study on the problems of democratic governance in Nigeria by Idada & Uhummwangho (2012) looks at the problems that constitutes major challenges to Nigerian democracy. The paper highlighted on corruption in governance and electoral malpractices among major problems of democratic governance in Nigeria and concludes that, political leaders are not altruistic and have a vision of self-aggrandizement of the nations' resources. The authors however, did not investigate those institutional government frameworks and their effective functioning within a democratic government to unveiling whether the problems are from the institutions themselves or democracy as a system.

Igwe (2010) in his studies on democracy and development in Nigeria; issues and challenges tries to establish a nexus between democracy and development. He maintained that, democracy in Nigeria has not been able to deliver the much anticipated development and dividends to the people. He concludes that, there is huge gap between the rich and the poor and exploitation of the downtrodden masses by the leaders, hence, underdevelopment in Nigeria. This according to him was due to absence of virile political party that is committed to change and also lack of well-organized democratic and strong Civil Society Organizations to support such a change process. Deducting from his own submission therefore, one could see that, the role of government as major player in the development of the state is not adequately captured and addressed but rather emphasising on party commitments to change agenda; which mostly is to favours party interest first at the expense of national interest and also, virile organizations for sustainable development is the function of established ideal typical democracies. It is instructive to note that,

effective functioning of all these depends on transparent democratic practices and environment; which this study tends to examines.

Okeke (2014) explores on democracy and sustainable national development in Nigeria; in which she contends that, in Nigeria there is democracy but without development and also, there is politics without progress. She concludes that, in order to ensure sustainable development, democracy must lead to the creation of new Nigeria and the core of the brand of democracy that would link democracy with development has to be deliberative. Holding a similar position, Adeyinka & Emmanuel (2014) in their studies on democracy in Nigeria, practice, problems and prospects, finds that, there is mismatch and imbalance between the actual democracy and the Nigerian democratic practice and concludes that, the practice of Nigerian brand of democracy is not beneficial to the common man, but however remain optimistic for better democracy in the future.

In his own part, Omobolaji (2010) assessed democracy, participation and development in Nigeria, where he used democracy interchangeably with participation. Participation especially of the lower level of government in revenue allocation process and redistribution. He established that there is a direct relationship between democracy, social and economic development. It was further argued that, the soundness of the intergovernmental fiscal relations facilitate development. It also foster cooperation and regulate competition between the tiers of government for speedy development. That, effective functioning of the intergovernmental fiscal relation system would provide and facilitate both the social and economic development. The paper concludes that, democracy in Nigeria has witnessed a tremendous successes in all economic indices especially that of the GDP growth rates

overtime and the exchange rates for Naira that witnessed an upward progression between 1999-2003. But the paper has failed to find out how has these growth in the economy translated into the real social and economic life of ordinary citizens especially the rural people. Also how does the intergovernmental fiscal relations in Nigeria still remain contentious in spite its importance to facilitating speedy development as emphasized by the author? This research has attempted to fill those gap to finding out the extent the political arrangements as far the intergovernmental fiscal relations and how these was practically expedient in Nigeria without one tier of government usurping on another for speedy development especially at the rural areas.

Furthermore, Ugwuanyi & Emma (2013a) has analysed the major impediments and explored measures to enhancing rural development in Nigeria. They argued that, rural sub-sector has not witnessed significant level of development and attributed that to the neglect of rural policies, poor commitments of political representatives in government among others. They concludes that, enhancing rural development is a pre-requisite for sustainable national development. Viewing from same perspectives, Oruonye (2013) examines the grass root democracy and the challenges of rural development in Nigeria with Bali LGA of Taraba State as the case. The results of his study shows that, Local governments that are at the grassroots under democracy are incapacitated to deliver services to rural communities due to corruption in Local government administration and State/Local government joint account. The author however did not find what institutional frameworks of democratic arrangements impedes the delivery of services at rural areas of Taraba State and Nigeria in particular?

Philip & Felix (2013) in their studies, deficits in some theories of democracy and political participation in Nigeria uses the qualitative data through the use of observational research. In the paper, they contends that, democratic theorising and participation in Nigeria has defied basic rights and disregards rule of law that allows for fair play among elites and political grassroots. The paper interrogate some of the theories of democracy vis-avis political participation traversing Nigerian political history with a view to getting best out of it for viable and stable democratic participation, national integration and development of underdeveloped communities of especially Niger Delta and Northern Nigeria.

Akpan, (2012a) in his studies, analysed the changes that has occurred on Nigeria's rural development as a result of agricultural based economy to petroleum oil production. It was found that, rural development in Nigeria has not been successful whether viewed from the perspectives of agricultural development or oil resource exploration. It argues that, corruption, poor leadership and absence of institutional capacity amongst other factors works against rural development in Nigeria.

Yakubu & Aderonmu (2010) in their studies on rural poverty alleviation and democracy in Nigeria's fourth republic uses qualitative methods through the use of observational research design by making inferences to descriptive research. The paper argues that, the various poverty alleviation programmes put in place have not made any meaningful impact on the lives of majority of rural people who are living below poverty line. That, under the present democratic dispensation; the rural folks that constitutes majority in Nigeria lives in abject poverty and are neglected in terms of socio-economic and political wellbeing. They concludes that democracy cannot



thrive in an impoverished society where people live in abject poverty and other deprivations. This study however, looks beyond poverty alleviation programmes but rather assessed the implementation of rural development programmes by democratic government and how it has performed in bringing development to rural folk.

Craig (2001) in his works on local democracy, democratic decentralization and rural development; theories, challenges and options for policy; argues that, democratic decentralization may not be necessarily for rural development. He suggested that, central planning has an important role to play in ensuring the development and implementation of substantive pro-poor policies. This findings is in tandem with the current practice in Nigeria that had not been yielding results over the years. Looking at it from democracy challenges in rural areas, Wangchuk (2013) in his study on the challenges to democracy in rural Bhutan has argued that rural people do not partake in decision making process and their level of education is low. They do not have adequate ideas about the changes and implementation in government progressions administered by political leaders.

Ake (1996) in his book democracy and development in Africa argues that a lot of factors has been erroneously attributed to explaining the persistent failure of development in Africa, these includes colonial legacy, social pluralism, corruption, poor planning and incompetent management, limited inflow of foreign capital, and low levels of saving and investment. According to him, these factors may not be a serious impediments to development, especially in Africa. He contends that the problem is not that development has failed, but that it was never really on the agenda of governments' of African states. Rather the political conditions in Africa are the greatest impediment to development. He traces the evolution and failure of

development policies, including the IMF stabilization programs that have dominated international efforts. He believes that the authoritarian structure the African states inherited from colonial rule created a political environment that was hostile to development. He suggested for the alternatives measures to be taken by African states to getting out of these economic calamitous failure to include: economic development based on traditional agriculture, political development based on decentralization of power, and reliance on indigenous communities that have been providing some measure of refuge from the coercive power of the central state. However, this study emphasised on the effectiveness of the Nigerian decentralized political power structure and arrangements as one of the important variable for effective delivery of service especially rural level.

Leftwich (2008) in his article developmental states, effective states and poverty reduction: the primacy of Politics he elaborates, that, what is to be meant by politics and goes on to suggest that the politics of growth and development is a special and difficult kind of politics, most dramatically reflected in what have come to be called developmental states. He suggests that only effective states and preferably development ones – whether democratic or not – are capable of elaborating the institutions which will establish poverty reducing growth and associated welfare regimes. He also argues that building such states cannot be had to order and that their evolution will depend on the political processes that have everywhere and always established them. The paper concludes by suggesting that the challenge for donors is a difficult one, but that it is time to start thinking how they move into new areas of assistance and aid so as to be able to invest in, and support, the political processes which contribute towards the negotiated construction of effective developmental

states. This study looks into the political institutions not the process to facilitating those process established for developmental states.

Mainwaring & Perez-Linan (2003) in their article, the relationship between modernization and democracy in Latin America from 1945 to 1996, which was analyzed on the basis of quantitative data. The paper made three argument. First, it is shown that the level of development had a modest impact on the likelihood of democracy in Latin America from 1945 to 1996. That, democracy in Latin America has survived in the face of a low level of development, and it has faltered despite moderately high per capita income. Second, it is shown that per capita income is a markedly worse predictor of democracy in Latin America than in other countries with the same income range or in the world as a whole. Thirdly, some explanations on Latin American exceptionalism are addressed. Our study however, used both the quantitative and qualitative methods to analysed democracy and development by looking at the three core important variables: the effectiveness of policy implementation, democratic performance on social services and the impact of the Nigerian political arrangements.

Oyeranti & Olayiwola (2005) in their article policies and programmes for poverty reduction in rural Nigeria, examines certain indicators of performance showing the domestic and international poverty reduction measures which had minimal impact in addressing the problems of poverty and also had insignificant impact on the living conditions of the poor. They found that, the general consideration of these measures indicates that the strategies were badly implemented and even had no particular focus on the poor in terms of design and implementation. That the strategies try as much as possible to create the opportunity and empower the poor, but they are found

wanting in the areas of pro-poor growth and resource redistribution. The effort of international agencies cannot be sustained due to lack of domestic supportive measures to guarantee its sustainability. They associated such facts by saying that states and local governments in Nigeria which have responsibilities for health care and education at the grassroots level and programmes which affect poverty alleviation, have much less share in the Federation Account. They concludes that efficient design of poverty reduction programmes in Nigeria requires that the poor must be identified and targeted and policies adopted should be consistent and sustainable. This study went beyond implementation of poverty reduction strategies alone but rather concern about the implementation of all those policies meant to addressing myriads of rural problems.

Olu-Adeyemi (2012) has assessed the challenges to democratic governance in Nigeria. The paper discussed poor leadership, corruption, human right abuses, civil strife and electoral reforms as major challenges to consolidating democratic governance in Nigeria. He concludes that, for democratic governance to thrive in Nigeria, the people must be vigilant and demand accountability from the leaders. That, the strength of a democracy is only as great as the will of the people to uphold it. This study however assessed the impact of democratic government on rural development by looking at how it has performed in spite those inherent challenges to bringing the desired development especially to Nigeria and Taraba state in particular.

Oyedele (2012:1) in his paper the challenges of infrastructural development on democratic governance reiterates that, "infrastructure development is the basis of measuring the performance of democratic leaders and it is the foundation of good

democratic governance”. He found that, most infrastructures in Nigeria are decayed and need repair or replacement. He further maintained that, the challenges of infrastructures in Nigeria include finance, technology for development, maintenance and design and also the international requirements of project to be sustainably developed. This study however, was particular about the availability of those infrastructures in rural areas particularly. Also, it examines how democratic government performs in providing those infrastructures especially where they are inadequate which is common to rural communities in Nigeria.

Okoro (2012) wrote on democracy and governance in a multi-ethnic society in Nigeria. He maintained that, the divergence in political mind-set derives from the Nigeria's' multi-ethnic composition has created a non-solid but soluble political environment. The thesis probed that the poor runs on the democratic experiments and its premise was based on the perspectives of people within the three ethnic dominant groups in Nigeria. It was found that the political philosophies of the various personalities in the first republic of 1960-1965, and the second republic of 1979-1983 still dominate the present democratic process. That, the political rivalry among divergent group in Nigeria has contributed to the persistent violent ethnic influenced crises among the three ethnic groups. These undermines consolidation of democratic governance.

He further maintained that, unlike during the regional system adopted after independence in 1960 where regions were competing for development, Nigeria under the current arrangements experienced high level imbalance under federal system which is meant to ensure balance and even development. This study however,

was concerned about how has development is achieved under the current democratic arrangements and structures not minding the ethnic composition and it's likely impediments for effective service delivery especially at the rural level.

Akujuru & Enyioko (2015) made an empirical assessment of democracy and social service delivery in Nigeria with focus on free medical Programme of Rivers State Government within the period 2007-2013. They used both survey questionnaire; personal observation and interview to collect data. They found that Rivers state government has averagely performed in social service delivery more especially as it concerns free medical care. In this study however, though survey method was adopted with interviews and observation, but focus group discussion too was added to get a balanced information. We attempted at assessing the performance of democratic government beyond medical programmes alone. Social infrastructural facilities, education, agriculture, human empowerment programmes and job creation were also assessed to measure democratic government performance on rural development in Nigeria and Taraba in particular.

Enyon (2007) in his study on local government and rural development in Buea, Cameroon, examines democratic decentralized systems via the framework of empowerment. He discussed the consequences of power devolution from the central government to the LGs. It was argued that political empowerment is a necessary prerequisite in development and also that political decentralization enhances empowerment which provides an appropriate framework for responding efficiently to the needs of the local populace. Hence, democratic decentralization is perceived as an engine for development. It was found that power has not been devolved

effectively from the central government to the decentralized units and that the rural masses are still not empowered and therefore do not participate fully in the development of *Bue*. That there is decentralization without empowerment. This study however, is not restricted to local government alone but covers all the democratic apparatus within the Nigerian Federal state and more importantly the institutions of the state in the initiation, execution and performance that can aid development at rural level of Nigeria and Taraba in particular.

In line with the above perspectives, Ibietan (2010) also assessed the local government in rural development issues. The paper contends that the Nigerian political arrangement negates the essence of federalism by being highly centralized. That, the fiscal practices mostly favours the central government couple with lack of accountability among the governing elites conjoin to thwart efforts at meaningful development in the third tier of governance. This study however, does not only looked into those arrangements that undermines the plain fiscal practices in Nigeria but further examines those factors as independency and autonomy, powers and capacities to exercise assigned functions and responsibilities among the components unit of governments toward rural development, the synergy and cooperation among the levels of government and free and fair electoral authorization to carrying out their mandates for rural development.

Similarly, Lawal & Oladunjoye (2010) writes on local government, corruption and democracy in Nigeria. They maintained that, democracy serves as veritable avenue through which the purpose for which local government is created can be achieved. But, unfortunately in Nigeria, democracy has not thrived at the grassroots level due to endemic corruption. They examined the effects of corruption on grassroots

democracy and development, and concluded that corruption tendencies be halted and punished accordingly the local government system to enhance democratic participation of citizenry and effective service delivery. This study however, examines the institutions of the state generally to ascertaining their linkages on executing rural development.

Furthermore, Adeyemi (2013) in their paper, efforts has been made to discuss the challenges to services delivery at local government level in Nigeria. The paper also examines the role of the local government in provision of services delivery at grassroots and submitted that local government has done little in caring out this their constitutional responsibility. That the incapacity to generate its own revenue sources leads to its continued dependence on federal allocation, the result of which makes it a stooge rather than a partner in developmental process among the tiers of government in Nigeria leading to little evidence of performance at local level. However, the paper failed to establish those impediments that hampers local government from delivery effectively at the grassroots. This study however examines those overriding influence of other higher levels of government on local government that affects directly or indirectly rural development; which need to be address.

Looking at the plethora of studies and literatures highlighted above, one could understand that, there is paucity of literatures and studies on democratic government and rural development in Nigeria and Taraba State in particular. This study therefore, looks at democracy not as a system only but rather as a government by examining its institutional framework and arrangements of Nigeria being a federal state to better



understanding of variety of factors that hampers or strengthened speedy development among states, local governments and rural communities. This study therefore, is an attempt to fill these gaps by specifically identifying the perceptions and attitudes of people towards democracy as it affect rural development, analyzed the democratic government commitments to implementation of rural programmes, evaluates the democratic government performance to rural development and lastly, assessed the Nigerian political arrangements vis-à-vis federal structure as it affects rural development in Taraba State.

## **2.8 Chapter Conclusion**

The above chapter discussed literature review in which the democracy and its models were reviewed. It was discovered that, the Nigerian democratic experiments shows that, representative democracy was adopted but with flaws in the system in its real sense. The local democracies was also reviewed with a view to seen how grass root political participation is being practiced. Rural development was considered paramount for the general wellbeing of the rural people, therefore the democratic government in Nigeria was viewed to have lived below expectation in uplifting the myriads of problems bedevilling the rural vulnerable as established by literature.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter discussed the two combinations of theories that were adopted for this study to explaining the problem underpinning the nature of democratic governance and rural development in Nigeria. These are the Urban-biased theory and Democratic developmental state theory.

#### **3.2 The Urban-biased Theory**

According to Varshney (1993) the urban bias theory which has long been influential in development studies is associated primarily with the works of Lipton and Bates. The theory has contributed to the understanding of the happenings of rural life in the developing world and Nigeria in particular.

According to Bates (1981) the urban bias theory suggests that the African state is urban biased, that it mostly privileges the interests of urban centres over the rural. That, the squeezing of agriculture extracts resources constitutes rents for the political elites. It is considered to be at the roots of underdevelopment in sub-Saharan Africa.

Varshney (1993) maintained that, “the theory has two propositions: that, the

development process in the third world is systematically biased against the countryside; and secondly, this bias is deeply embedded in the political structure of these countries, dominated by the urban groups. In other words, the rural area is economically poor because it is politically powerless. If it were more powerful, it would be taxed less, it would get more public investment, and it would get better prices for its products”.

Lipton, argued that urban bias involves “an allocation, to persons or organizations located in towns, of shares of resources as large as to be inefficient and inequitable, and or a disposition among the powerful to allocate resources”.

While summarizing his thesis in 2005, Lipton suggested that “urban bias, which was absent in nineteenth-century in Europe and North America, had become pervasive in developing countries since about 1950, when a new ideology of urban-industrial developmentalism took hold. That this ideology was championed by marginalists, Keynesians and Marxists alike, and was aided by rural neopopulism, like that of Gandhi, which failed to present the rural areas as a source of economic progress or a site for efficient state investments”. He further argued that, urban bias was evident in the provision of education and healthcare resources and in the broader geography of public spending decisions.

While objecting to urban bias on the grounds of equity and efficiency. Lipton says, the rural sector contains most of the poverty, and most of the low cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the articulateness, organization and power. That the urban classes have been able to win most of the

series of the struggle with the rural areas; but in doing so; they have made the development process slow and unfair (Lipton, 1977). He further stresses “given higher rates of poverty in the countryside than in the city, urban biased policies transferred resources from the poor to the less poor. These policies deteriorates the creation of human capital in rural areas (the development of better educated and healthier rural workers), led to the draining away of such talents and wealth as could be accumulated in the countryside, and represented poor value for money”. This led to “substantially worse in rural than urban outcomes in most developing countries. The persistent happening of this, however, ensured the following: the pro-urban and industrial bias of conventional development theory; and secondly, the political power of the ‘urban class(es)’ to distort government taxation, purchasing, and spending policies in favour of urban dwellers”.

### **3.2.1 Criticism of Urban bias theory**

As discussed above, urban bias theory formed an important theoretical exposition underpinning this study. The theory however was criticized in a number of ways. Urban bias theory was first criticized by its lack of empirical validity and its assumptions overly generalized. It has failed to prove that, the inter-sectoral linkages is against the rural people. This is because, many reasons can be adduced for the concentration of resources in urban areas. It was further argued that, urban bias theory was inattentive to urban poverty; that most of the rural poor in South Asia sells labour to benefit from cheap food, and that urban bias has neglected the power of rural voice (Griffin 1997; Moore 1984).

Secondly, the theory was criticized on sound theoretical standing. For instance, Griffin (1997) maintained that, Lipton has attempted to account for intra-sectoral differences in wealth and power by counting members of the 'rural elite' as members of the 'urban class' and members of the urban poor as part of the 'rural class' and members of the urban poor as part of the 'rural class'. This assertion maybe a serious theoretical deficiency that can't stand with empirical facts.

Another strong arguments against the urban bias theory is what constitutes the term 'urban' and what also constitute 'rural', this in some countries or regions might be out of place and thus misleading as a guide for policy. To effectively guide policies, two important issues are necessary. The measurement issues and conceptual issues, in the sense that, poverty for example maybe under-represented if for example, household expenditure surveys do not include costs of land, housing and others. More so, a slide change in population threshold of an urban area from say 5,000 to 10, 000 people can change the perception and measures about rural areas (Deshingkar & Anderson 2004).

Conceptually, the rural/urban dichotomy was basically on functioning of urban centres as industrial base necessary for urban growth; which derives rural-urban migration for necessary urban expansion at the expense of rural areas. This assumption in most cases are erroneous, in the sense that a large number of manufacturing and service jobs now are found in rural areas of developing world (Eastwood & Lipton 2000, Overman & Venables 2005).

Varshney (1993) also criticized the theory of urban bias in number of ways. He maintained that, the theory neglects political institutions, in the sense that the outcomes of the theory on political system was not true. For example, the democracy and authoritarian debate and the ideological orientation on the ruling elites (pro-rural or pro-industrial). These has varying political implication to not only power of the rural sector but also for its economic well-being (Majumdar, Mani & Mukand 2004). He further viewed that, the theory did not anticipate how technical change over time; especially agriculture could make the rural sector powerful (Braverman & Kambur 1987).

Varshney's criticism on urban bias theory continuous on its doubtful assumption that, rural interest are expressed in politics strictly based on economic issues. He viewed that, ethnic and religious identities may cut across the rural and urban sectors and concludes that the cross cutting nature of rural identities and interest may thus weaken the rural areas more than the urban centres.

### **3.2.2 Relevance of Urban-biased Theory to the Study**

In spite of its shortcomings and criticism, this study finds urban bias theory relevant.

This study investigates the impact of democratic government on rural development in Nigeria with focus on Taraba state. But, it seems that democracy in Nigeria has impacted more in the urban areas and neglects the rural areas in terms of development. To situate the theory of urban-bias in the study, therefore, it is important once again, to bring the central issue in the theory. Yakubu & Aderonmu (2010) say, its central argument is that, the governing elite and the decision makers

concentrate their development efforts in the urban areas to the total neglect of rural areas. It is in this sense that, Aderonmu (2007) argues, over the years, successive governments in Nigeria concentrated their major development programs in the urban areas and either neglect or give token to rural areas. This was driven by the wrong belief that rural areas are outside production and therefore contributes little to socioeconomic and political development of the country. This has had a negative impact on rural dwellers. The young and energetic youths who supposed to work in the productive sector of rural economic development have found their ways to urban centres to look for jobs that are not available. Efforts by successive governments in Nigeria across states are more at the urban centres to the expense of the rural settings. As it is evident that, many of the Executive Governors are making efforts to develop the major cities most especially the state capitals under new slogans 'New city' or 'Mega city project'. This is at the detriment of the rural centres. In Taraba for example development is concentrated at the state capital (*Jalingo*) leaving the rural areas undeveloped and neglected; thereby compounding the rural-urban migration (Abubakar, 2012).

More so, the Local government, which is said to be the government that is closer to the people at the grassroots level is politically and financially powerless. This is specifically encouraged by the provision of the constitution of 1999 as a result of State/Local government joint account and local electoral process determined by the State governments in Nigeria. In this scenarios, the financial allocations to local governments is not coming directly to them but rather through the State/Local government accounts. This make it difficult for them to access that fund and many state government hijacked such funds. Also, elections into the local governments

in Nigeria is handled by the state governments and often been criticised of manipulation and not conducted in a free and fair contest, but rather impositions of candidates and flagrant electoral malpractices. This is practiced in almost all the states of Nigerian federation. Hence, undermines effective representation of rural community in government.

### **3.3 Democratic Developmental State Theory**

The democratic developmental state theory can be presented with the submission of Peet & Hartwick (2009); Matlosa (2007) and Leftwich (2000). Peet & Hartwick, argues that, the question of development should be understood within the context of social and democratic control over economic progress. That, development process across the globe is viewed as social transformation for betterment of poor people, which is democratic in intent and effect. The general conditions for democracy; according to Peet & Hartwick (2009) includes “equality, possibility, livelihood and removing the might of material conditions; which are equally viewed as collective freedom to make major decisions that determine individual and social existence must be transformed with the development”. They also posit that, “development is equality and only equality will allow democracy to flourish”. The social transformation here described the need for societal change and critical stance by the democratic government towards those old ideas and process that impedes development in the society.

While exploring the feasibility of democratic developmental states in Africa, Matlosa (2007) says; democratic developmental state, is one which possesses the vision, leadership and capacity to bring about a positive transformation of society



within a specified period of time; a state which intervenes in the development process and facilitates economic growth.

According to him, the following are major features of a democratic developmental state has:

- i. Developmentalist ideology;
- ii. Ruling elite that is independent of societal social cleavages and external forces, yet, hegemonic in its pursuit of the development goal;
- iii. An embedded ruling elite that is responsible for the development process, yet, responsive to popular demands;
- iv. Efficient bureaucracy that discharges its mandate for the achievement of development;
- v. A regime that is legitimate, accountable and popular; and
- vi. Secure state at peace with itself and its external environment. The state must be effective in managing the nation's affairs if its authoritativeness is to be assured.

He further maintained that, such a state must be able to provide key basic services that cannot be left to market forces alone to provide; play regulatory functions including the formulation, implementation and enforcement of laws and regulations; and perform redistributive functions for improving social justice, e.g., furthering gender equality and redressing regional and sectoral imbalances.

The author finally concludes that, the world over, social democracies tend to be more developmental to liberal democracies.

Leftwich (2000:4) in his own contributions to developmental states emphasized that “politics is the dominant variable that determines developmental success or failure in any society”. In his write-up; governance, democracy and development in the Third World, Leftwich (1993:614) argued that “development performance of a particular country is not a function of the regime type, but rather influenced by the character of the state and its associated politics”. He further stressed that the emergence and consolidation of a developmental states is conditioned by six major factors a follows:

- i. Developmental state is governed by a political elite which is developmentally oriented and demonstrates high levels of commitment and will attain economic growth. State must possess sufficient capacity to influence, direct and set the terms of operations for private capital.
- ii. Developmental state should be managed by a highly powerful, professional and competent bureaucracy.
- iii. Emergence of developmental state is associated with social context in which the presence and role of civil society has been weak and negligible.
- iv. High level of capacity for effective economic management of both domestic and foreign interest.
- v. Exhibits record of an uneasy mix of repression and poor human rights adherence.
- vi. The legitimacy of political elites to govern is highly linked to state ability to perform.

The above formed the bedrock of an effective developmental state according to Leftwich (2000). However, Meyns & Musamba (2010:19) contends that, “the major issue to note with regard to Leftwich’s approach is both a question of whether conditions of authoritarianism and insulation on the one hand and weakened social groupings on the other hand remain a necessity for undertaking a coherent developmental project under contemporary conditions. Therefore, what remains unclarified in Leftwich’s model of the developmental state is the question of how the effective representation of major interests in society can be guaranteed”.

### **3.3.2 Criticism of Democratic Developmental Theory**

In spite of its theoretical disposition, the developmental state has been criticized in number of ways especially for its application to Africa and third world societies; for instance Mkandaware (2001) argued that, the developmental state theory is not viable in Africa and maintained that the East Asian development experience cannot serve as model for Africa. This argument was influenced by the view that the emergence which led to the developmental states in East Asia regime cannot be easily replicated due to differences in political history. More so, it has been further argued that, the replication of the developmental state is impossible given the significant changes in global conditions in particular economic globalization (Fine, 2006).

Developmental state theory was also criticized due to its incompatibility with globalization. That, “the contemporary international regulatory apparatus and the dominance of the neo-liberal paradigm have created a less hospitable environment

for the viability of the developmental state appearance” (Beeson 2004:34-38). This has serious implications for weaker economies especially that of Africa that Nigeria belong. In the sense that, they rely on foreign loans and aids and other technical assistance for development.

Another criticism for developmental state approach is that of the problem of transferability of institutions. It has been argued that “it is impossible to replicate the developmental state approach especially in Africa because, the institutions associated with East Asian developmental state are both highly contextual and time specific” (Musamba, 2010:31). It is in this light that Hewitt (2000) says none of the four Asian Tigers provide a model that can be replicated in territorial states of the third world because, of the uniqueness of their institution, international relations and geographical conditions characteristics. Singapore and Hong Kong for example are single city states and not territorial, while South Korea and Taiwan had special relations with the best world power states (Japan and United States of America), which third world countries hardly emulate.

Traditions and cultures also had profound influence on East Asian societal values especially on education, hard work and business orientation (Hong-Jang, 2003; Low 2004). These are difficult to be emulated and transplanted for effective developmental state especially for Africa.

### **3.3.1 Relevance of Democratic Developmental State Theory to the Study**

Meyns & Musamba (2010:9) argued that “the debate on the developmental state in Africa was characterized by two dominant position. The first view posits that the

condition which facilitated the successful developmental state experience in East Asia do not exist in Africa and the other position views that, the failure of the post-colonial states developmentalist ideologies and subsequent market-oriented structural adjustment". It is in this light that Mkandawire (2005:47) says "what Africa need is a democratic developmental and socially inclusive state strategy perspectives".

Democratic development state is considered preferable to Africa because, in the East Asian experience developmental state has been autocratic rather than democratic, but yet facilitated development. "What counted for the state in East Asia was developmental performance rather than its political regime which was regarded secondary" (Fine 2006). This has been corroborated by Leftwich (2000:174) when he says "despite poor human rights records, ruling regimes in developmental states tend to enjoy widespread support and high degree of legitimacy". In Africa however, Edigheji (2005:10) avers that "there is no positive correlation between autocratic regime and development. African countries would have been the most developed in the world". This makes it imperative for advocating for a democratic developmental state in Africa as this will in a way checkmates the excesses of the political regimes for better performance towards development.

Looking at the features outline above and underline ideology of the theory, the theory is very relevant to studies on democratic governance and rural development in Nigeria. For example, an ideal democratic government should be responsive and accountable to the people in ensuring social, political and economic development.

This is in line with the assumption that, the ruling elite must be responsible for the development process, and to the popular demands. More so, it emphasizes on a regime that must be legitimate, accountable and popular; amongst others.

Importantly, an efficient bureaucracy must be put in place, to discharge its mandate for the achievement of development; and also the government, should carry a regulatory role in ensuring the formulation, implementation and enforcement of laws and regulations. Looking at all these, they explain the nature of problems of democratic process in achieving meaningful development in Nigeria. This is in the sense that, successive democratic government in Nigeria from the return to democracy since 1999 came up with developmental policies that are said to have laudable objectives for examples; the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS); which parts of its strategy are reflected at all tiers of government. State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) at state level, and; Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS) at Local level, 7 Point Agenda, Transformation Agenda. But, the regulatory framework to ensure those policies are effectively implemented by the government and bureaucratic arrangement is weak (Umezurike 2012; Okeke 2014). This affects the intended outcome in bringing development.

More so, the accountability, transparency and responsibility question of the political elites to the electorates in Nigeria is another issue of major concern. This is in the sense that, from 1999 available records have shown that, in terms of statutory allocations to all levels of government, a total of 16.5 trillion Naira was allocated from 1999 to 2007 only; while the Federal government receives 7.4

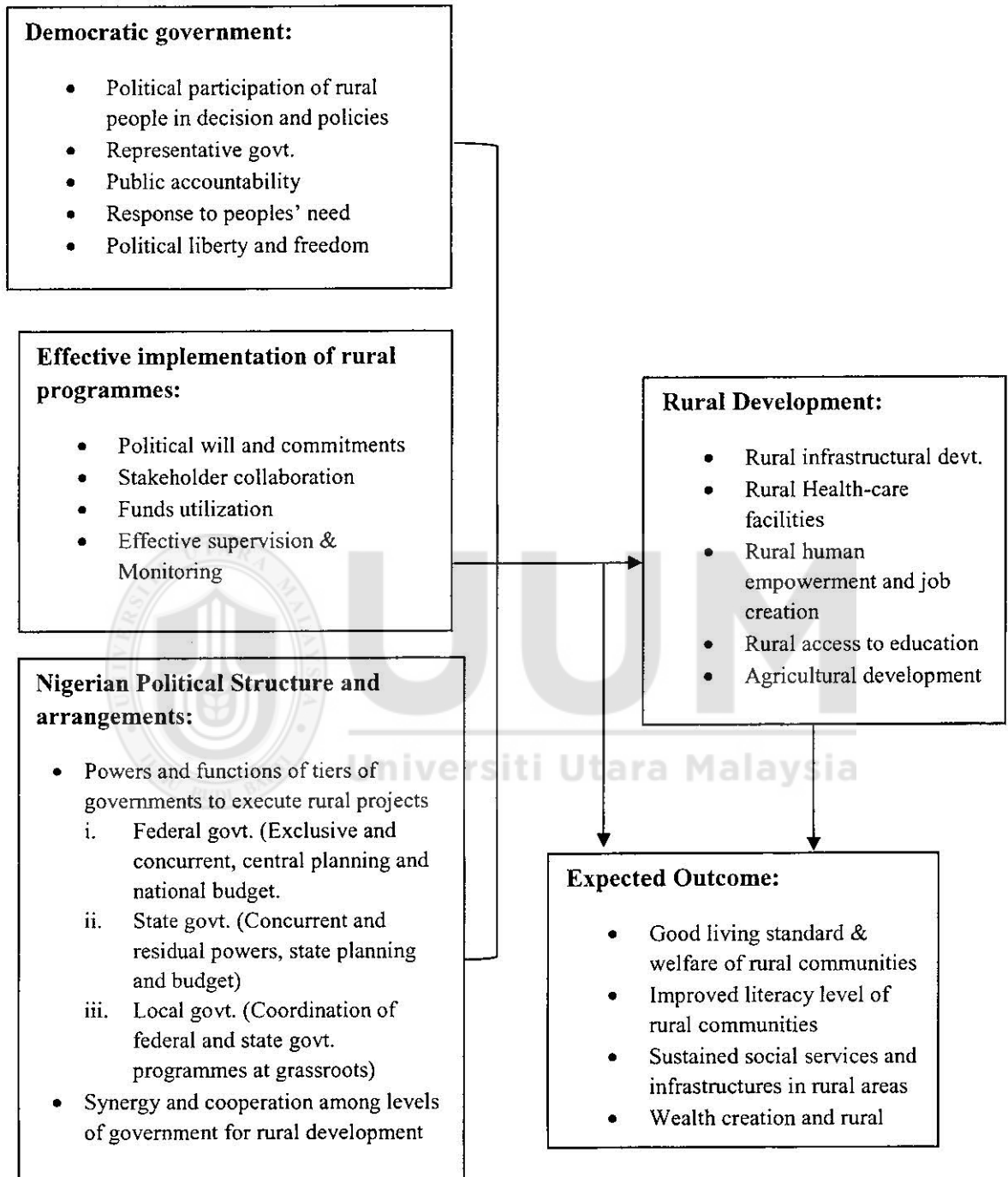
trillion Naira, States receives 5.7 trillion Naira and Local Governments receive 3.3 trillion Naira. The Taraba State government receives 103 billion Naira and its LGAs receive 72.9 billion Naira. Yet, the socioeconomic indicators in Nigeria show a devastating revelation. This is even worst in Taraba for example, with the population of 2, 577, 051 it has the GDP growth rate of 43, 020 million, GDP Per Capita of 17, 840, GDP of only 0.2% and poverty incidence of 86% as of 2010 (NBS 2011, CBN 2012, RMAFC, FMF, 2007, World Bank 2013 and UNDP 2010). These do not also translate into meaningful development.

Therefore, for a development to occur in Nigeria the ideologies and principles posed by the developmental democratic state theory must be adhered to, provided that, the challenges of development and democracy are to be tackled effectively.



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### 3.4 Conceptual Framework



*Figure 3.1. Conceptual Framework for Democratic government and rural development in Nigeria*

**Source:** Design by the author, 2015.



The figure 3.1, above, shows the relationship between the independent variables (democratic government, effective implementation of rural programmes and Nigerian political structure and arrangements) and dependent variable (rural development). As shown in the figure, the study developed five important indicators in determining and measuring the (democratic government) as: political participation of rural people in decisions and policies, representative government, public accountability and transparency, response to people needs, and political liberty and freedom; (effective implementation of rural programmes) having: political will and commitments, stakeholder collaboration, funds utilization and effective supervision & monitoring; (Nigerian political arrangements) with; powers and function to executes development projects among levels of governments (federal, state and LG) and synergy and cooperation among them for development purposes respectively. The dependent variable is rural development having: rural infrastructural development, access to rural health care facilities, rural empowerment and job creation, rural access to education and agricultural development respectively as major indicators of measures.

To achieve, effective coordination and causal relationship between the democratic government and rural development, however, in Nigeria; the Federal, State and LGs are of paramount importance as major stakeholders; they serve as providers of public goods. This is evident from the fact that, at the Federal level various Ministries and Agencies have major responsibilities in key sectors in rural development. While assuming full responsibility in carrying out its specific functions, each of these Ministries and Agencies will contribute its special insights

and capabilities to the implementation, monitoring and review of any policy formulated for rural development.

The Federal government is constitutionally empowered with the exclusive and concurrent powers to make a wide range of policies which must be implemented at all levels. It is also mandated to make national planning and budget towards national development. The State Governments too are constitutionally empowered to establish a Ministry or an appropriate Agency or Institution to take care of rural development and other related functions. States also can make policies on issues concurrently with the Federal government to address its local need and also makes its own local budget and planning towards development.

More so, the Local Government constitutes the most basic level of government that is closer to the people at the grass root level. The constitutional allocation of functions to this tier of government emphasizes this role. Each local Government with a significant rural population will therefore function primarily as a rural development agency. Accordingly, the Chairman of the local government will co-ordinate the entire rural development program in the local government area. In this regard, he will establish a close and functional linkage with local communities, state and federal government, agencies and other development agents operating in the local government area and ensure that there is understanding and cooperation among the various actors and that effort are harmonized and integrated.

The above specific roles of the three levels of government in Nigeria however, are affected by the lop-sidedness in the fiscal jurisdiction and allocation of function.

This is due to the fact that, the Federal government is said to be more powerful, while the States and Local government rely heavily on the centre for survival. This is more pathetic when it comes to the issue of financial autonomy, especially to local government; which is closer to the people at the grassroots level. This is in the sense that based on the constitutional arrangements; the Local government receives all finances accrued to it through the established State/Local government joint account. They find it difficult to execute rural projects and programmes.

As shown also, in the figure 1, the expected outcome and end beneficiary as a result of this relationship is the rural communities and the rural people. When the government effectively carries out its constitutional responsibilities based on the democratic ideals at all levels to ensure balanced development and societal wellbeing, the rural communities would have a good living standards and welfare, enhanced literacy level, sustained social services and infrastructures, wealth creation and poverty reduction etc.

### **3.3 Chapter Conclusion**

The above chapter discussed and reviewed theories underpinning this study. The combination of urban bias theory and democratic developmental state theory was discussed to guide the study. Though the two theories were criticized on limitations posed for their empirical and practical replications particularly in African sub-region where Nigeria belong. However, it is instructive to note that no theory is perfect to explaining phenomenon due to contextual, historical and other factors hinged on issues. Nevertheless, the two theories were found relevant to the study. The urban bias for example is still relevant to understanding the political struggles

of the elites influencing policies against the rural areas in Nigeria and many African states, while the democratic developmental state theory was found relevant to understanding the nature of the Nigerian environments as regards most of its postulations. The chapter also unveils the framework to explain the nature of the relationships between democratic government and rural development in Nigeria.



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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methodology that was adopted in the course of the study. It discusses issues such as the design of the research, sources and methods of data collection; questionnaire variables and measurement, scaling and coding, reliability and validity of survey instrument, pilot study test Cronbach Alpha, qualitative data coding and classification of generated themes, population and sample size of the study, techniques of sampling as well as a method of data analysis and research location.

#### **4.2 Research Design**

Research design according to Zikmund, Barbi, Carr, & Griffin, (2012) is the master plan specifying the methods and procedures for collecting and analyzing the needed information. Also, it specifies the way data are collected, interpreted and analyzed and or systematic process involving a series of specific guidelines for data collection.

In this research, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. The researcher adopts the survey research method. According to Ngu (2005) survey research has to do with a systematic collection of data from population or samples

of the population. It deals with the study of fractions or parts of large or widely spread groups of people. The justification for the choice of survey method is that of its versatility and practical nature as it enables the researcher to identify present conditions and point present needs of the research. The method can also provide us with the information on which to base sound decisions in accordance with the research findings. The survey method, also interprets, synthesizes, and integrates these data and point to implications and interrelationship among variables. It is considered to be realistic as it investigates phenomena in its natural setting. This method focuses on the population or the universe in which data collected from the said population are used for intensive study and analysis. A sample from a subset of the population or universe is carefully selected to represent the characteristic of the population. This provides the opportunity to generalize the findings of the study of the whole population.

The qualitative research aspect of the study adopts in-depth interview and focus group discussion. According to Adler & Adler (2012) qualitative research generally, study many fewer people, but rely more into those individuals, settings, subcultures, and scenes, hoping to generate a subjective understanding of *how* and *why* people perceive, reflect, role-take, interpret, and interact. They further maintain that, qualitative researchers, working in the context of discovery, are more open-ended, and often follow emergent empirical and conceptual findings in unexpected ways.

Lacey & Luff (2001) maintained that, in qualitative data, the mass of words gathered from interviews or observational data needs to be described and

summarized. The question may require the researchers to seek relationships between various themes that have been identified, relate behaviour or ideas to biographical characteristics of respondents such as age or gender. The policy implication or practice may be derived from the data, or interpretation obtained from the findings of previous research.

### **4.3 Source and Methods of Data Collection**

Data collection refers to the process through which empirical data are collected or obtained using different methods, some qualitative, other quantitative. For the purpose of this study, however, data were generated from both primary and secondary sources.

#### **4.3.1 Primary Source**

This refers to the source of information that is considered as ‘first hand’ data and that brings the researcher as close to the event or issue being investigated as possible. In this study, the primary data stands for the first hand data collected by the researcher with other six research assistants from the field. These data were gathered through the instruments of interview, focus group discussion and questionnaire.

##### **4.3.1.1 Interview**

This research used a semi structured interview. This is because it avoids the rigidity of highly structured schedules which sacrificed depth for standardization. At the same time, avoiding the weakness of standardization by the unstructured interview. Hence, the semi-structured interview used in this study combines the benefits of

both standardization and depth. In this research, Face-to-face interview were conducted from February 2015 to June, 2015 with a Director (the staff of Taraba State Ministry of Rural Development), eight village and community heads within the localities of the state, four leaders of community based organizations, two academics, two Local Government Chairmen, and three Ward Councillors (see table 4.2) for the distribution. The interview schedule was designed for all the category of interviewees to ensure fairness in views and perceptions on each of the issues raised in the question for easy facilitation and judgement.

#### **4.3.1.2 Questionnaire**

The questionnaire is a data collection instrument in which respondents are asked to answer to the research questions in a written form and it can take closed or open ended questions. The questionnaire for this research comprised of close ended questions using five Likert scale of strongly disagree (SD), disagree (D), neutral (N), agree (A) and strongly agree (SA) for easy coding, tabulation and subsequent analysis. However, the questionnaire was administered to the entire rural dwellers as the beneficiaries of all developmental projects within their localities based on the samples of 360 (see 4.80). The questionnaire method was used because of its reliability in providing required information. Apart of this, it is also economical as it permits wider coverage at a minimum cost.

#### **4.3.1.3 Focus Group Discussion**

Focus Group Discussion was carried out with some rural community people in the selected rural communities under the study. Four sessions were conveyed, one each in Bali LGA, Gassol LGA, Karim-Lamido LGA and Lau LGA respectively. Eight



(8) people were selected to form each group. This in line with the submission made by O'Neil (2014) that, focus groups typically range from six to twelve members, best practices vary on what the minimum and maximum should be. However, more than twelve is generally difficult to manage and control, and could cause the moderator difficulty.

The interaction with these groups availed the researcher an opportunity to gather various group perceptions and views on the development of their communities. This also made the researcher observed, the general perception of the people in groups rather than on individual capacity.

#### **4.3.2 Secondary Data**

The secondary source of the data deals with the information, which have already been generated and stored, in texts and files. The information obtained from secondary sources may either be published or unpublished. The instrument of secondary data used include: data or information regarding the various projects undertaken by Taraba State government under democratic regime of 1999-2015, etc. were sourced from the periodic reports and other official documents of the state. Other forms of secondary data explored include: official publications of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), and National Population Commission (NPC), and reports of various studies carried out by government and other NGOs; United Nations Reports, World-Bank reports, periodicals and Newspapers, Magazines, scholarly articles, textbooks, unpublished research materials, internet sources and other related materials.

#### **4.4 Questionnaire Variables, Measurement, Scaling and Coding**

The questionnaire instruments used for this research consist of two parts. The part A of the questionnaire deals with the demographic characteristics variables of respondents. Under this part, respondents were asked to state their characteristics using property of nominal scale of each statement to measure two dimensions of gender (male and female) coded as 1 and 2; four dimensions of age (15-30, 31—45, 46-60 and 61 and above) coded as 1,2,3 and 4 respectively; three dimensions of marital status (married, single and others) coded as 1,2, and 3 respectively; five dimensions of educational qualification (First School Leaving Cert, School Cert/Higher Sch. Cert, Diploma/Cert. in Education, BSc/HND and Postgraduate) coded as 1,2,3,4 and 5 respectively and also, five dimensions of occupation (farmer, public servants, private business, community leader and others) coded as 1,2,3,4 and 5 respectively.

The part B of the questionnaire was structured to explore democratic government and rural development in Nigeria using a five-point Likert scale of strongly disagree coded as 1, disagree coded as 2, Neutral coded as 3, agree coded as 4 and strongly agree coded as 5, based on the following informants views: perception and attitudes of people towards democracy; with ten items, which were coded as PATD 1-PATD 10. Democratic government and effective implementation of rural development programmes; with eight items, which were coded as DIRD 1-DIRD 8. Democratic government performance to achieving rural development; with seven items coded as DPRD 1- DPRD 7. Nigerian political arrangements and rural development, with six items coded as NPRD 1-NPRD 6 and lastly, Rural Development with seven items coded as RD1-RD7.

## **4.5 Reliability and Validity of Survey Instruments**

Data reliability is very important in measuring constructs in research. Reliability is the degree to which measures are free from errors and can be capable of producing consistent results. Sekaran & Bougie (2013) maintained that, the reliability of measures is an indication of stability and consistency with which the instrument measures the concepts and ascertain its goodness of measures.

The survey instruments used for the data collected for this study were validated by conducting a pilot study before finally going to the field. It was conducted through self-administered questionnaires with 36 respondents in Ahmadu Bello University Zaria-Nigeria. The 36 respondents that were used represents 10% of the 360 total samples size selected for the survey as mentioned in 3.8 of this study. Fink (2003) suggested that samples for pilot study are commonly smaller in number.

The reliability were subjected to using Cronbach and Alfa based on the identified benchmark in the literature between 0.5 to 0.9 (Garson, 2011, Sekaran, 2003, Hulland, 1999 and Nunally, 1979). We subjected our Cronbach and Alfa to 0.60.

The SPSS version 20 was used to test the reliability of the instrument, using thirty one (31) items under four (4) variables.

### **4.5.1 Pilot Study Reliability Test for Perception and attitudes toward Democracy**

Ten items coded as PATD1- PATD10 were measured and all the items were found fit and reliable for measures at Cronbach Alpha .830. This is above the recommended benchmark of 0.60 we have selected for this study.

#### **4.5.2 Pilot Study Reliability Test for Democratic Government and Effective Implementation of Rural Development Programmes**

Eight items coded as DIRD 1- DIRD 8 were measured and all the items were found fit and reliable for measures at Cronbach Alpha .825. This is equally, above the recommended benchmark of 0.60 we have selected for this study.

#### **4.5.3 Pilot Study Reliability Test for Democratic Government Performance on Rural Development**

Seven items coded as DPRD1- DPRD7 were measured and all the items were found fit and reliable for measures at Cronbach Alpha .897. This result is above the recommended benchmark of 0.60 we have selected for this study.

#### **4.5.4 Pilot Study Reliability Test for Nigerian Political Arrangement and Rural Development**

Six items coded as NPRD1- NPRD6 were measured and all the items were found fit and reliable for measures at Cronbach Alpha .639. This is also, above the recommended benchmark of 0.60 we have selected for this study.

#### **4.5.5 Pilot Study Reliability Test for Rural Development**

Seven items coded as RD1- RD7 were measured and all the items were found fit and reliable for measures at Cronbach Alpha .816. This is also, above the recommended benchmark of 0.60 we have selected for this study.

#### **4.6 Qualitative Data Coding and Classifications of Generated Themes**

For easy coding and identification the 20 informants used during the interview sessions were coded as Info. 1- Info. 20 and the four FGD sessions were coded as info. G1- info. G4. NVIVO version 10 software for qualitative research was used

for categorization of the generated themes and sub-themes. Four (4) main themes with the total of fourteen (14) sub-themes and thirty seven (37) sub-sub-themes were generated for analysis. Each of the themes represents the four research questions and objectives of this study respectively that were stated earlier in chapter one of this study.

The views and perceptions of the informants as expressed in the interview were analysed and interpreted with literature backup using thematic and descriptive analysis.

#### **4.7 Population of the Study**

The population of this study is the entire total population of Taraba state which stood at 2, 577, 051 (NBS, 2011). Two local governments were selected from each of the three senatorial districts of the states making six. In Taraba North, Karim-Lamido, and Lau Local Governments was selected, in the Taraba South Senatorial District; Takum and Donga LGAs, and in Taraba Central Senatorial District Gassol and Bali LGAs were selected.

The population of the selected LGAs is as follows: Karim-Lamido (217, 776), Lau (106, 898), Gassol (275, 231), Bali (236, 979), Takum (151, 128) and Donga (149, 476). Source: (National Bureau of Statistics, 2011 accessed 10<sup>th</sup> October 2011 @ [www.nigerianstat.gov.ng](http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng)).

The population is presented as follows:

Table 4.1

*Population of the Selected LGAs*

<b>Selected LGAs</b>	<b>Population</b>
Karim-Lamido	217, 776
Lau	106, 898
Gassol	275,231
Bali	236,979
Takum	151,128
Donga	149,476
<b>Total</b>	<b>1, 137, 488</b>

**Source:** National Bureau of Statistics, 2011.

The total number of the selected LGAs as shown in table 3.1 above were used as population of the study, i.e. one million, one hundred and thirty seven thousand four hundred and eighty eight (1,137,488). While, the target population of the study are the Local government chairmen, government officials, community based organization's leaders, Members of academia, village heads, ward councillors and the rural people.

#### 4.8 Sample Size

Ngu (2005) maintained that, a sample study is deemed to be a representative of the whole population study and the findings from the sample population are used for generalization on the whole population. Salant & Dillman, (1994) sees a sample as a set of individual or participants selected from a population for the purpose of a survey.

The sample size selected for this study is three hundred and eighty four (384). This was scientifically selected based on the tables for determining sample size developed by Krejcie & Morgan (1970) see appendix III. According to them, 384

should be selected as sample size for the population above a million. Out of the number, three hundred and sixty (360) was used to obtain data through questionnaire from the rural informants, while only 20 was used to obtain data through interviews and four (4) focus group discussions (FGD) sessions was conducted one (1) each in four (4) LGAs (see table 4.2) for the distribution. This is in line with the submission made by Baker, Doidge & Edward (2012) that, the number of people required to make an adequate sample for a qualitative research project can vary from one to a hundred or more. Also, Guest, Bunce & Johnson (2006), maintained that, the number of respondents is immaterial so long as researcher strives to reach the saturation point in the investigation. The important point is the persistent endeavour by the researcher to attain saturation, which is central to the good conduct of a qualitative research. The researcher bearing this in mind, was persistent in probing the informants until convinced that a level of saturation point had been reached.

In the interviews for this study therefore, the researcher used the twenty samples selected as follows: two local government Chairmen, one top official (Director) of the ministry of rural development, three Councillors, two members of the academia, eight village heads, and four leaders of the Rural Community Based Organizations. Moreover, four different sessions of the Focus Group Discussions was conducted in the selected LGAs.

These respondents' samples and methods of its data collection are presented in the table below:

Table 4.2  
*Respondents Sample and Method of Data Collection*

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Method of Data collection</b>
LG Chairmen	2	Interview
Top official of the ministry	1	Interview
LG Councillors	3	Interview
Academics	2	Interview
Leaders of RCBOs	4	Interview
Village Heads	8	Interview
Rural people	364	Questionnaire and FGD
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	

**Source:** Survey sample, 2015

#### **4.8.1 Informants Interviewed and their Coding**

Based on the interview sample highlighted in 8.1 above the table below show the distribution of informants interviewed and their coding for easy identification in chapter seven under qualitative data analysis.



Table 4.3  
*Informants Sample and Their Coding*

S/No.	Informants	Coding
1	LG politician 1	Inf. 1
2	LG politician 2	Inf. 2
3	LG Councillor 1	Inf. 3
4	LG Councillor 2	Inf. 4
5	LG Councillor 3	Inf. 4
6	Academics 1	Inf. 6
7	Academics 2	Inf. 7
8	Public servant	Inf. 8
9	Rural Community Based organization Leader 1	Inf. 9
10	Rural Community Based organization Leader 2	Inf. 10
11	Rural Community Based organization Leader 3	Inf. 11
12	Rural Community Based organization Leader 4	Inf. 12
13	Village head 1	Inf. 13
14	Village head 2	Inf. 14
15	Village head 3	Inf. 15
16	Village head 4	Inf. 16
17	Village head 5	Inf. 17
18	Village head 6	Inf. 18
19	Village head 7	Inf. 19
20	Village head 8	Inf. 20
21	Focus group 1	Inf. G1
22	Focus group 2	Inf. G2
23	Focus group 3	Inf. G3
24	Focus group 4	Inf. G4

**Source:** Field interviews and FGD, 2015

#### 4.9 Sampling Techniques

For the purpose of this research, purposive sampling technique was adopted. Patton (2002) maintained that, a purposive sampling technique derived from its ability to bring out rich information and in-depth data. In order to explore the impact of democratic government on rural development in Nigeria; the rural people and major stakeholders on rural issues are purposefully selected in order to address the issue at hand reliably and effectively as shown in table 3 above.

The study considers the laid down procedure governing audience research, which prescribed that measures must be taken into consideration to ensure that those purposefully selected are actually relevant to the issue under investigation and must represent the diverse interest. This study, therefore purposefully considers the samples selected from the three senatorial districts of Taraba State, with two LGAs selected from any of the three senatorial districts of the state, comprising of government officials and interest group and academia to represent different social strata as shown in table 4.2 above.

#### **4.10 Method of Data Analysis**

Both the quantitative and qualitative methods of data was analysed using concurrent mixed procedures (Creswell, 2013). In the quantitative data, descriptive statistics were used to analyse the frequency tables, while in the inferential aspect Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20 software package was used for correlation and simple linear regression analysis to analyse the questionnaire data. The qualitative data obtained from the interviews and FGD was synthesized, transcribed, categorised and coded for analysis using Nvivo version 10 Qualitative Analysis Software Package and thematic analysis. Both the data was triangulated to obtain reliable results for findings and conclusion.

#### **4.11 Hypotheses Development**

The following hypotheses were developed from empirical literatures, conceptual framework, theories and objectives of the study in order to guide our analysis and conclusion:

- H<sub>1</sub>: There is significant effect of perceptions and attitudes towards democracy on rural development in Taraba State Nigeria.
- H<sub>2</sub>: Democratic government has significant effect in implementing development programmes for rural development in Taraba State Nigeria.
- H<sub>3</sub>: Democratic government performance is significantly related to rural development in Taraba State Nigeria.
- H<sub>4</sub>: The Nigerian political arrangements have significant effects on rural development in Taraba State Nigeria.

#### **4.12 Chapter Conclusion**

The above chapter made use of the mixed methodology approach, in which in-depth interview was used for data collected on 20 informants. Four sessions of focus group discussions were held. Also, 360 questionnaires were administered to rural respondents. The quantitative data collected were analysed using correlation coefficient of simple linear regression, while the qualitative data collected through interviews and focus group discussion were transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis. Subcategories were developed based on the information elicited via the interview. Nvivo 10.0 software was used for the analyses of the data. The hypotheses were developed in line with the objectives of the research and empirical literature of the study.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE NIGERIAN DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE, OPERATIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND REVIEW OF PAST POLICIES ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the Nigerian democratic structure and operations of government as it affect rural development. It discusses the nature of Nigerian federal arrangements vis-a-vis the federal, state and local governments with their statutory roles and capacity to deliver services at the grassroots. Also, the agencies responsible for rural development at all levels of government were highlighted and discussed. Finally past policies and programmes on rural development were also discussed.

#### **5.2 Structure of Government**

Nigeria operates a presidential system of government with a federal structure; in which power is being shared among three tiers of government: Federal with a Capital territory (FCT) at the centre, thirty six (36) States and seven hundred and seventy four (774) Local Governments Areas. Each tier of government is constitutionally vested with powers in its area of jurisdiction. Thus, the constitution of 1999 in section 1 (2) stipulates that “Nigeria shall be a Federation consisting of States and Federal Capital Territory.” Also, in section 3 (6), it provides that “There

shall be 768 Local Government Areas in Nigeria as shown in the second column of Part I of the First Schedule to this Constitution and six (6) Area Councils as shown in Part II of that Schedule; making the number of local governments 774". The country is further divided into six geo-political zones: North-east, North-west, North-central, South-east, South-west and South-south. It has three legal systems in operation: Common Law, Islamic Sharia and Customary Law. The Supreme Court is the apex court with jurisdiction to hear cases from lower courts, including the Sharia Court of Appeal and the Customary Court of Appeal. Also, chapter II, under the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy section 14 (1) stipulates "the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice".

#### **5.2.1 Federal Government Structure, its Constitutional Jurisdiction and Powers**

The Federal government is the highest central level of government in Nigeria. At the Federal level there is President; who is also referred as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, assisted by Vice-President and his cabinet ministers in carrying out executive functions. While, the Legislative branch is structured based on Bi-cameral system and manned by the National Assembly of two chambers; the upper chamber referred to as Senate and the lower chamber referred to as the House of Representatives; representing various electoral constituencies across states of the federation. The powers and functions of the Federal governments is constitutionally assigned as follows:

Section 4 (1) of the 1999 constitution stipulates "the legislative powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be vested in a National Assembly for the

Federation which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Sub-section 2 further states “the National Assembly shall have powers to make laws for peace, order and good government of the Federation...”

The federal government has exclusive powers to legislate as stipulated in second scheduled part I of the 1999 constitution. Also, both the Federal and State governments has concurrent powers being shared as stipulated in part II of the second scheduled of the constitution. Section 5 (1)a provides the executive powers of the Federation to be vested in the President and may subject as aforesaid and the provision of any law made by the National Assembly, be exercised by him either directly or through the Vice-President and Ministers of the Federation or officers in the public service of the federation.

In summary, the Federal government has exclusive power to exercise. The exclusive legislative list consists of 68 items, while at the same time; both the federal and state governments have concurrent authority to exercise the concurrent legislative list consisting of 12 items. This provides the basis for criticizing Nigeria's federal system (Ayua & Dakar 2010).

The items of exclusive powers allocated to federal government includes amongst others: defence, foreign affairs, police, extradition, security, services, currency, taxation of income, profits, capital gains, mines and minerals, aviation, regulation of political parties and creation of states etc. More so, Both the federal and state governments can legislate on concurrent lists as follows; the allocation of revenues, archives, tax collections, electoral laws, electric power, commercial and

agricultural development, scientific and technological research, statistics, topographical surveys, university, technological and post-primary education etc.

In pursuant to the concurrent powers however, if a law made by a state government is found inconsistent and in in conflict with the federal laws, that of the federal government law shall prevail and the state government laws shall to the extent of the inconsistency be void (section 4 (5) of the 1999 constitution).

### **5.2.2 State Government Structure, its constitutional Jurisdiction and Powers**

The state government is the next level of government in the governance structure of Nigeria. It occupies a significant political structure in Nigerian democratic cycle representing a diverse cultural and environmental setting. It made up of thirty six (36) states. Barkan et'al (2001) maintained that "the importance of Nigeria's state and state level government is arguably greater today than any time since independence. The return of civilian government in 1999 has profoundly altered the relationship between the federal government and the states. In the sense that, after many years of week structures and power from the federal government; the state political leaders are now challenging the centre by demanding devolution of authority and resources".

At the state level the Governor; who is elected to serve for four years is the Chief Executive and Chief Security Officer (CSO) of his state; assisted by his Deputy Governor and appointed Commissioners in carrying out executive functions. While, the legislative body is manned by a unicameral body of State House of Assembly consisting of the elected House of Assembly Members; representing

various constituencies of the state. The powers and functions of the state government is constitutionally assigned as follows:

Section 4 (6) of the 1999 constitution states “the legislative power of a state of the federation shall be vested in the House of Assembly of the state”. It went further in section 4 (7) to states “the House of Assembly shall have power to make laws for peace, order, and good government of the state or any part thereof with respects to the following matters:

- a. Any matter not included in the exclusive legislative list set out in part I of the second schedule of this constitution”.
- b. Any matter included in the concurrent list set out in the first column of part II of the second schedule of this constitution...”
- c. Any other matter with respect to which it is empowered to make laws in accordance with the provision of this constitution”.

Furthermore, section 5 (2)a provides for “the executive powers of the state to be vested in the Governor and may subject as aforesaid and the provision of any law made by a house of Assembly, be exercised by him directly or through the Deputy Governor and Commissioners of the government of that state or officers in the public service of the state”.

In summary therefore, the state government has concurrent power shared with the federal government on 12 items mentioned in 4.2.1 above and also section 7 (1) of the constitution empowers state government to control and manage Local



Government Councils. It states “...the government of every state shall subject to section 8 of this constitution ensure the existence of Local Government Councils (LGCs) under a law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils”. This shows the silence of the constitution in allocating a clear power and operational guidelines of the LGCs, but rather left at the mercy of the state government.

### **5.2.3 Local Government Structure, its Constitutional Jurisdictions and Powers**

Unlike the federal and state governments, local governments in Nigeria has no unified structure; cutting across all states of the federation; but however, their existence is recognized and guaranteed by the constitution. This is because, the composition, structure and functions of Local Government is determined by their respective state governments. In this light, section 7 (1) of the constitution states “the system of Local government by democratically elected local government councils is under this constitution guaranteed and accordingly, the government of every state shall, subject to section 8 of this constitution ensure their existence under law which provides for the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils”.

Based on the above however, Local government Councils in Nigeria has a Chairman, who is the elected Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Council, assisted by the Vice-Chairman and Supervisory Councillors. While, the legislative body is manned by elected Councillors in the Local Government Legislative Council (LGLC). The power and functions of the Local government councils is

determined by the state government, through the state House of Assembly as provided by the constitution sated above.

However, section 7 (5) of the 1999 constitution as highlighted in the fourth schedules provides Local Government Councils with the functions as follows:

- a. The consideration and making of recommendations to a State Commission on Economic Planning or any similar body on: The economic development of the State; and proposals made by the said commission or body;
  - b. Collection of rates, radio and television licenses;
  - c. Establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial grounds and homes for the destitute.
  - d. Licensing of bicycle, trucks, canoes, wheel barrows and carts;
  - e. Establishment, maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs, markets, motor parks and public conveniences;
  - f. Construction and maintenance of roads, street lightings, drains and other public highways, parks, gardens, open spaces, or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the House of Assembly of a State;
  - g. Naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses;
  - h. Provision and maintenance of public convenience, sewage and refuse disposal;
  - i. Registration of all births, deaths and marriages;
  - j. Assessment of privately owned houses or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of a State;
- and

- k. Control and regulation of: out-door advertising and boarding; movement and keeping of pets of all description; shops and kiosks; restaurants, bakeries and other places for sale of liquor; laundries; and licensing, regulation and control of the sale of liquor.

The functions of a local government council shall include participation of such council in the government of a State on the following:

- a. The provision and maintenance of primary, adult and vocational education;
- b. The development of agriculture and natural resources;  
The provision and maintenance of health services; and
- c. Such other functions as may be conferred on a local government council by the House of Assembly of the State.

Isa (2015) examined the above functions and maintained that, “the mandatory functions which are exclusive to local governments are more of planning and revenue generating functions, while the concurrent are the social services functions (primary education, health, agriculture) which require the assistance of other tiers of government especially the State, because of their cost and non-profit making implications”. He further concludes that, “leaving these concurrent functions in such a loose way may not augur well for local government, since experiences in the past show the tendency of State Governments to push most of these burdens to local governments”.

### **5.3 Major Institutions and Agencies of Rural Development in Nigeria**

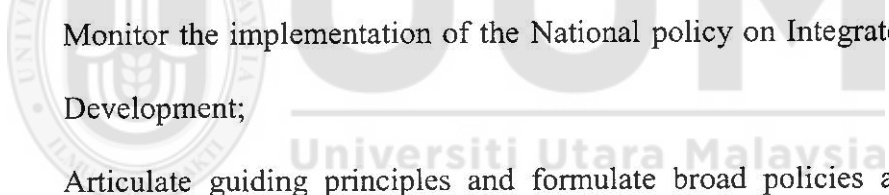
While assuming full responsibilities each tiers of government; federal, state and local government has different Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) responsible for formulating and coordinating rural development activities. At the federal level, there is Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, with various agencies and departments. While, at the state level there are replication of similar or relevant ministries. In Taraba state there is State Ministry of Water Resources and Rural Development, while at its local governments there is no specific department of rural development but rather specialized departments such as community development, education, agriculture and health were used to coordinating various development programmes that affects their community.

#### **5.3.1 Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development**

According to the Nigeria Rural Development Sector Strategy Report (2004), the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD) and its various agencies have major responsibilities as major stakeholders in rural development. While assuming full responsibility in carrying out its specific functions, the ministry and its respective agencies contributed special insights and capabilities to the formulation, implementation, monitoring and review of any policy formulated for rural development. As stated earlier the federal government is constitutionally empowered with the exclusive and concurrent powers to make a wide range of policies which must be implemented at all levels. It is also mandated to make national planning and budget towards national development.

The Ministry being key agency for agriculture and rural development has relevant departments/units to include: Agriculture; Rural development; Agricultural Sciences; Land Resources; Fisheries; Livestock and Pest Control Services; and Project Coordinating Unit. The Federal Department of Rural Development (FDRD) among all other departments and units of the ministry is the lead, national institution for promoting sustained and accelerated transformation of rural areas in the country. The mandate of the Department is to ensure that stakeholders pay due attention to rural development in all sectors of the national development effort.

The Rural Development Sector Strategy Report Document (2004) highlighted the following as the lead roles of the Federal Department of Rural Development (FDRD):

- 
- i. Monitor the implementation of the National policy on Integrated Rural Development;
  - ii. Articulate guiding principles and formulate broad policies aimed at promoting sustainable livelihood;
  - iii. Set priorities and targets to be in integrated rural development, in collaboration with all development partners;
  - iv. Co-ordinate the activities of all rural development institutions and partners in addition to monitoring their performance and assessing their impacts vis-à-vis setting priorities and targets, and
  - v. Identify, involve and support viable community-based rural development organizations in the effective mobilization of rural dwellers so as to promote greater community participation and decision making in current and future rural development initiatives.

The above laudable role and functions to be performed by this important department in spite of its professional and technical capacity remains unattained. This was confirmed by the 2004 Rural Development Strategy Report when it says “the performance of the Department over the years have been hampered by inadequate funding and institutional instability. This adversely affected the momentum of development efforts in the rural sector since necessary guidance, funding and inspiration from the federal level through FDRD to galvanize rural development efforts at the state, LG and community levels have been hazy and shaky”.

### **5.3.2 Taraba State Ministry of Water Resources and Rural Development**

The State Governments too are constitutionally empowered to establish a Ministry or an appropriate agency or institution to take care of rural development and other related functions. They can also make policies on issues concurrently with the Federal government to address its local need and also makes its own local budget and planning towards development. The Rural Development Sector Strategy Report (2004) states that “the delivery of services for agriculture and rural development at the state level has two dimensions: the traditional institutional framework and the donor/financiers propelled services-tied management units. That, key important state-level institutions for rural development are the Ministries of Agriculture and Rural Development, Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs), LG, Community Development and Health.

It is in the light of the above that, the Taraba State Ministry of Water Resources and Rural Development was established since 1991 at state creation. The Ministry has the mandate for the development of water resources, sanitation, infrastructure, rural access roads, rural electrification and community empowerment services for self-reliance. According to the Ministry's Rural Sector Development Blue-Print Draft (2011) "the ministry has seven departments and three parastatals as follows: Administration and Finance; Planning Research and Statistics, Community Development, Electrification, Engineering, Urban Water Supply, and Rural Water Supply Departments with Taraba State Water Board (TSWB); Rural Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Agency (RWSESA) and Rural Electrification Agency (REA)".

The ministry acknowledged the enormous challenges in infrastructural deficits and service coverage gap in the state and the rural nature of the state. For example, the RDSB-Rural Development Sector Blue-Print (2011) reports that, "the service coverage for both rural and urban water supply across the state stood at only 20 percent and 30 percent respectively. That, the service coverage gap stood generally at about 60-70%". More so, in the area of rural electrification service coverage is very low as over 95 percent of rural Taraba still lives in darkness and also as regards rural feeder roads there are challenges. In the sense that, it was only the state government that was undertaken major projects in that respect with little support from the federal government programmes, the report said.

To effectively carry its mandate effectively, the Ministry has the following vision, mission statements, goals and objectives:

**Vision:** To ensure equitable access to sustainable water supply for domestic, agriculture, recreational and industrial purposes, safe sanitation services and rural transformation of the state.

**Mission Statement:** To engage in water supply, sanitation and rural development services and other support programmes that will promote equitable and sustained access to safe water supply, sanitation and rural facilities and services for the enhanced well-being of all Tarabans.

The specific focus in each of the sub-sectors being addressed are as follows:

**Sector Wide:** hasten action on formulation of water supply for the state; encourage private sector participation and funds mobilization from government, private sector and external donor agencies.

**Rural Water Supply and Sanitation:** Improved coordination between many players in the sub-sector, improved data/ information on the status of rural water supply facilities, improved community participation in planning and implementation of projects, increased sanitation interventions in households, schools and public places; hygiene promotion services in school and communities.

**Rural Feeder Roads:** Improved government budgetary allocation, decentralized services to senatorial district levels; provision of new equipments and vehicles; construction of new rural access roads; rehabilitation of existing dilapidated feeder roads and engagement o additional skilled manpower.



**Goals and Objectives:** The overall Rural Development Policy trust of the state is “to ensure sustainable provision and access to water supply and sanitation services and rural transformation through planned and targeted initiatives to the people of Taraba State”.

The objectives include:

- i. To accelerate the provision of safe water supply in urban, small towns and rural communities
- ii. To accelerate the promotion of household and public sanitation infrastructural facilities and services in small towns and rural communities
- iii. To promote rural transportation through the provision and maintenance of rural access roads.
- iv. To provide rural electricity to enhance grassroots economic development.
- v. To complete the articulation of all outstanding sectoral policies programmes for effective service delivery.
- vi. To ensure community empowerment through community mobilization for effective participation in water supply and rural development programmes delivery and sustainability.
- vii. To implement effective revenue generation from services.
- viii. To implement functional Monitoring and Evaluation for all services.
- ix. To implement capacity building for effective delivery and operation and maintenance.

- x. To implement water quality control and overall quality assurance and surveillance.

The above laudable mandates and objectives of the Ministry were not effectively implemented due to some institutional problems and lack of budgetary priorities and funding by successive government in the state. This is confirmed by the Rural Development Sector Blue-Prints report of the state (2011) when it concludes by saying “the provision of water supply, sanitation and rural infrastructure has been below average in spite of successive government commitment in the sector for obvious reasons which includes: inadequate funding, inadequate manpower, low tariff regime and non-involvement of the private sector in funding and management of infrastructure amongst others..”

### **5.3.3 Local Government and Rural Development**

The Local Government constitutes the most basic level of government that is closer to the people at the grass root level. The constitutional allocation of functions to this tier of government emphasizes this role as highlighted in 4.2.3 above. Each local government council is composed of a significant rural population will therefore function primarily as a rural development agency. Accordingly, the Chairman of the local government through respective specialized departments in the council is to co-ordinate the entire rural development program in the local government area. In this regard, the LG will establish a close and functional linkage with local communities, state and federal government, agencies and other development agents operating in the local government area and ensure that there is

understanding and cooperation among the various actors and that effort are harmonized and integrated.

Local government functions of providing some facilities in rural communities and its participation in the provision of primary healthcare and education are constrained by the state and federal policy in terms of adequate power and autonomy. It is in this light Barkan *et al* (2001) says “the provision of services by the LG is constrained by state and federal policies. As it is, LGs projects are to be carried out under state supervision and the funding of the projects is supposed to be allocated from LGA capital budgets through their participation in the economic planning process of their state through membership of State Economic Planning Board as required by law. The board yet to be established”.

#### **5.4 Review of Past Rural Development Programmes in Nigeria**

The successive Nigerian government overtimes came out with various policies and programmes on rural development, some of them are presented here for discussion.

##### **5.4.1 The National Policy on Integrated Rural Development**

Integrated Rural Development is a multidimensional strategy meant to improve the quality of life for rural people. Aminuzzaman (1985) is of the view that, Integrated Rural Development is a new and complex organizational innovation. It aims to serve a target population through multi-agency efforts. It is quite comprehensive in its coverage and components.

The IDRs basic assumption is that “economic growth and modernization of productive processes do not contradict socio-political development, rather, they are mutually reinforcing. In other words, IDR calls for politico-economic as well as administrative developments to bring about the desired changes in the lives of the rural poor. Its major features include: identification of the rural poor as major beneficiaries, conceptualization of development in holistic terms considering social, economic and political development as interacting and mutually reinforcing, broadly gauged definition of program objectives, covering agricultural, productivity, rural employment, agricultural reform, equitable distribution of income, popular peoples’ participation and the recognition of the importance of local initiative and resources in program viability and of the limits in scope and impact of external inputs for rural development (Aminuzzaman, 1985).

It is against this background that, the Nigerian government came out with a policy document on Integrated Rural Development in 2002.

#### **5.4.1.1 Policy Objectives of Integrated Rural Development in Nigeria**

The National Policy on Integrated Rural Development has some of the following objectives:

- i. To ensure a significant reduction of poverty and ultimately its eradication in the shortest possible time.
- ii. To mobilize and empower the rural population to create wealth through increased agricultural, industrial and other productive activities.
- iii. To promote the expansion of the productive base of the rural economy through the creation and expansion of non-agricultural enterprises.

- iv. To provide rural support services needed to bring about increased production of goods and services and provide access to extension services, inputs credit and marketing services, and to raise rural productivity in general.
- v. To promote the delivery of mass literacy in rural areas.
- vi. To promote the formation and proper management of producer co-operatives.
- vii. To strengthen organizational and institutional capacities of democratic and autonomous development.
- viii. To establish 'worthy life' as an inalienable right of the rural dwellers.

#### **5.4.1.2 Strategies for Integrated Rural Development**

The following strategies were stated by the government:

1. Community-Driven Participatory Approach (CDPA) in project identification, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
2. Rationalization and realignment of public sector rural development institutions.
3. Heavy reliance on the private sector to lead investment in the rural sector to promote economic growth
4. Collaborative efforts between government and other stakeholders for input delivery and marketing of agriculture and other rural products, and
5. Promotion of even development as cardinal objectives of integrated rural development (Omonona, 2009).

#### **5.4.1.3 Major Priority Areas of Integrated Rural Development**

The Policy lays special emphasis on the following five areas:

- a. Promotion of rural productive activities, e.g. agriculture, manufacturing, marketing and distribution etc.
- b. Supports human resources development, e.g. rural financial system.
- c. Enhancement of enabling rural infrastructure, e.g. electrification, water supply etc.
- d. Special programs for target groups e.g. women, youths, children, elderly and the retired, handicapped, disadvantage area etc.
- e. Rural community organization, e.g. community based rural development organizations.

Looking at the above laudable policy documents/statement yet, rural areas in Nigeria are still bedevilled with major problems. For example the major priority areas stated above are still left un-pursued as rural areas still remain poor and with other associated socioeconomic problems.

#### **5.4.2 The Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructure Programme (DFRRI)**

DFRRI was introduced in 1986 by Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida's administration saddled with the responsibilities of promoting rural development in Nigeria. According to DFRRI Decree (No. 4) of 1987, Section 5 (a-r), DFRRI is responsible for:

*Identifying, involving and supporting viable Local Government Community Organizations in the effective mobilization of the rural population for sustained rural development activities, formulating, and supporting a national rural feeder road network programme, involving construction, rehabilitation, improvement and maintenance, especially in relation to*

*national food self-sufficiency programme as well as general rural development; formulating and supporting a national rural water supply programme together with a national on-farm storage programme and identifying and promoting other programmes that would enhance greater productive economic activities in the rural areas; also its meant to improve the quality of life and living standard of the rural people among others (Mabogunje, 1995:48-49).*

The programme was targeted at the rural areas. This was appropriate given that infrastructure like rural feeder roads, rural water supply and on-farm storage programmes are central for the development of the rural areas and improved standard of living which are lacking in this sector. DFRRI acknowledged the efforts associated with basic necessities such as food, shelter, potable water, and so on.

Records have revealed that DFRRI had significant impact on the rural areas. For example, during its seven years lifespan (1986-1993), over 278,526 km of roads were completed and over 5,000 rural communities has been electrified (Omonona, 2009). However, the programme was marred with poor project execution, lack of coordination among the three (3) tiers of government and subsequently abandoned projects with the truncation of the program as a government that initiated the program had been changed in 1993.

#### **5.4.3 The Agricultural Development Project (ADP) Strategy**

The ADP strategy is one of the project/approaches to rural development in Nigeria (Otaki, 2005). As one of the numerous initiatives of government and the World Bank, the ADP strategy was popular in the 1970s; the Nigerian Government, for example, adopted the ADP strategy on the advice of the World Bank. In 1970, the Pilot Projects were started in Funtua, then in Kaduna state, Gombe, then in Bauchi

state and Gusau, then in Sokoto State. The Federal Government also expanded the programme to cover Plateau State (the popular Lafia Agricultural Development Project, LADP. (Presently, Lafia is in Nasarawa state) and Ayingba in Kogi state, then in Benue state. Other ADP projects were later established in Ilorin, Kwara state, and Oyo etcetera.

The objective of the ADP strategy was to improve the conditions of the low income earners in the rural communities. This implies the supply of farm inputs such as fertilizer, fungicide, pesticide, High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds, credit facilities in cash and kind, land clearing services, the development of feeder roads and extension services.

The Federal Government had also planned to make the programme nationwide. Thus, by January 1982, the World Bank as one of the financiers of the ADP programme had spent well over ₦277 million (equivalent of USD 55, 123 billion) on eleven (11) ADP Projects in Nigerian. According to Akpan (2012b) “The Federal Government had in the Third (3rd) National Development Plan (1975-1980) for example, committed nearly ₦260 million (equivalent of USD 51, 740 billion) to the three (3) Pilot Projects in *Funtua, Gusau and Gombe*. Out of this amount, the World Bank gave the Federal Government of Nigeria ₦43 million (equivalent of USD 8, 557 billion) as loan for the projects. By 1980, the ADP Strategy was extended to other parts of Nigeria and in 1981 nearly every part of Nigeria was covered by the ADP Strategy” (Akpan, 2012b).



This is reflected in the Fourth (4th) National Development Plan (1980-85), where the government had nearly committed ₦2.3 billion (equivalent of USD 457.7 billion) to the ADP Strategy. For the successful implementation of the programme, the ADP Strategy also categorized the rural producers into three (3) based on their receptivity to this programme of development for the purpose of distributing farm inputs: The Large-scale farmers; the Progressive farmers; and the Traditional farmer.

The Large-scale farmers are on one hand, those who accept the ADP Strategy and own large-scale agricultural enterprise. They also use modern agricultural equipment, because they can afford them. On the other hand the Progressive farmers are not those who own large-scale agricultural enterprises, but embrace the ADP Strategy on the advice of the Extension Officers who are trained by the World Bank while the Traditional farmers are the small-scale farmers who do not totally patronize the ADP Strategy, even with the advice of the ADP Extension Officers, but preserved within the framework of the ADP advice, their values and traditional system of production.

In spite of the existence of ADP programmes, the rural sector and the deplorable rural conditions remained where it was several decades ago with little improvement and if, adequate care is not taken, this dismal trend will for a very long period of time perpetuate itself (Olatunbosun, 1975).

The ADP Strategy, for example, was modelled as a response to the welfare of rural areas and to create self-sufficiency in food production, but after a decade of its

existence, the results of the ADP Strategy have not been pleasant. Otaki (2005) argued that instead of the ADP Strategy to serve as a tool for realizing self-sufficiency in food production, the strategy became a conduit for the distribution of western agricultural technology through the ADP's farm service centres. This has led to the establishment of a farming system whose base was not in Nigeria or any Third World Countries of African since the ADP Strategy requires the use of equipment, which the host country (Nigeria) cannot afford. The host country had to depend on the importation of agricultural inputs from Western Europe and America. Additionally, the ADP Strategy has created high demand for the use of agro-chemicals which Nigerian industries cannot produce.

The ADP Strategy has also become an agent for rural differentiation. For example, it has encouraged and entrenched the phenomenon of land concentration and speculation on a large scale as many ex-bureaucrats, Army Generals and Admirals, politicians, merchants, businessmen, traditional rulers' etcetera have been empowered by the ADP Strategy to embark on a large-scale farming. Also, with the phenomenon of land concentration, peasants were dispossessed of their lands. Consequently, labour was commercialized and peasants in the rural communities transformed into rural proletariat, whose survival had to depend largely on their labour power.

The failure of the programme also results from the government's inability to give due consideration to the peasant's social structure and values. The neglect of the social and structural obstacles to rural development by the development planners is critical. The social and structural obstacles which include the bureaucratic

bottleneck, affect the processes of achieving a rapid and sustainable rural development in Nigeria over the years.

Since virtually all programmes of rural development are part of the initiatives of the Federal Government of Nigeria, funds have to be released by the government and it has to undergo several processes for approval. The effect of this has been that large part of this funds end up in some cases, in private pockets of the politicians and bureaucrats. In addition to this, the values and beliefs of the peasantry attached to externally influenced programmes of rural development was part of the problem. The peasants were also not part of the planning process and implementation of agricultural development programs.

#### **5.4.4 The Green Revolution Programme (GRP)**

The GRP was also one of the project approaches to rural development programmes of the Nigerian state. The programme was first started in Mexico In 1943, out of the research works of four (4) American Plant Geneticists, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation (Otaki, 2005). The plant geneticists discovered the High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds, which were capable of enhancing its production capacity within a small parcel of land.

As one of the rural development strategies, the GRP aimed at ensuring mass food production through the provision of all year round irrigation services. The Green Revolution Strategy has encouraged the mass use of fertilizer and other agro-chemicals not only in Nigeria, but nearly all the countries that have tried the GRP globally. Fertilizer use in Turkey, Nepal, and Afghanistan etcetera had, for

example, increased by more than sixty percent (60%). The same thing applied to India, the Philippines and North Africa, where GRP was tried. However, the GRP did many things in the third world, but did not wipe out poverty. Many African states are still categorised as poor (Jhamtani 2010).

The programme which was a package approach to Rural Development in the third world, had among other things led to dependency and exploitation. Brown (1970) maintains that it is only the multinationals that can afford to supply the equipment needed for the Green Revolution Strategy. Also, George (1976) argues that countries that adopted the GRP had also discovered that the GRP was a tool for rural class formation and social differentiation. He added that the programme for example, had created a strong class of capitalist farmers in the rural third world, who depend largely on imported inputs/equipment from the western Countries and America.

The GRP required chemical and equipment for food production and Standard Oil had to establish Agro-service Centres in the Philippines for Esso Oil, where fertilizer, High Yield Variety (HYN) seeds, pesticides and other agro-implements were produced for the third world markets.

On the whole, GRP as one of the Nigeria's Rural Development Programs and Projects had an ecological impact; the persistent use of fertilizer and other agro-chemicals have major impacts on soil acidity in rural communities. Again, users of these agro-chemicals we're exposed to the danger of cancer because of these chemicals are cancerous. Lastly, the persistent use of the High Yield Variety (HYV)

seeds, which was central to the Green Revolution Programme, was/is a threat to the indigenous seeds which are tough and resistant to draught and other climatic forces. Therefore, all these social and structural obstacles ought to have been taken into consideration for the GRP and subsequent rural development programmes to succeed.

#### **5.4.5 The River Basin Development Programme**

The River Basin Development Programme, otherwise known as River Basin Development Authority, is one of the project approaches to rural development in Nigeria. The programme main aim is to develop River Basin and its adjacent rural areas through the provision of irrigation, land clearing and tractor hiring services; it also aimed at providing fertilizer, pesticides and other agricultural inputs to the farmers in the River Basin and those in the adjacent sides of the River Basin. There were over eleven (11) River Basins in Nigeria in 1986. These include- “The Chad Basin Development Authority; the Hadeja-Jama’are River Basin Development Authority, Owena River Basin and Rural Development Authority, the Upper Niger and Lower Niger River Basin Development Authority, the Sokoto Rima River Basin Development Authority” (Otaki, 2005).

The River Basins provides services among others that are aimed at arresting the impact of drought in some Northern states and to lay a foundation for Import Substitution Industrialization Policy for wheat, sugar, rice, fertilizer etcetera. The import substitution industrialization is aimed at reducing Nigeria’s dependence on the import of the commodities mentioned above. Thus, in the Third (3<sup>rd</sup>) National Development Plan (1975-1980), the sum of ₦535 million (equivalent of USD 106,

465 billion) was allocated to the River Basin and Rural Development Authority nationwide (Akpan, 2012a). Also, in the Fourth (4<sup>th</sup>) National Development Plan, the sum of ₦2.1 billion (equivalent of USD 417.9 billion) was committed to the River Basin Development Programme nationwide (Salau 1986).

The Bakalori Project, for example, was a subsidiary of the Sokoto Rima Basin Development Authority, which had signed its contract in 1975 for the sum of ₦110 million (equivalent of USD 21, 890 billion) with an Italian Transnational Corporation, the *IMPRESIT*. A subsidiary contract was also signed for ₦44 million (equivalent of USD 8, 756 billion) in 1977 with the Italian Consortium. The project was to be completed in March 1980, at the cost of ₦154 million (equivalent of USD 30, 646). But by January 1980, the cost of this project had risen to ₦350 million (equivalent of USD 69, 650 billion). The government also had to pay the Italian Consortium, the sum of ₦1 million (equivalent of USD 199 million) monthly as disturbance allowance caused by the rioting peasants, whose land was confiscated/revoked by the government without compensation (Otaki, 2005). However, it is interesting to note here that despite this large sum of money committed to the River Basin Development Strategy, the programmes has not created a significant impact on the lives of the Nigerians farmers.

The River Basin Development Programmes (RBDP) like the other programs had its own problems. Records have it that; in spite of the existence of the programme, Nigeria still imports over 3 million metric tons of wheat and rice annually. This has encouraged Nigeria to continue to depend on the importation of these food crops

from Europe and Asia. Indeed, up to 2013, Nigeria remained a net importer of wheat and rice from America, Thailand, and India (Terwase & Madu, 2014).

The River Basin Development Programme like the ADP Strategy has also fostered the phenomenon of land concentration. Peasants whose lands were taken away from them for instance, the case of Bakalori Projects (Sokoto Rima River Basin Development Authority) consequently got transformed into wage labourers.

A study conducted by Wallace (1998) cited in Otaki, (2005) shows that twenty-five percent (25%) of all the household heads and thirty-four percent (34%) of their dependents became wage labourers in Hadeja on the Kano River Projects. Thus, rather than serving as instruments for peasant welfare, the project has become instrumental for polarizing peasantry into the classes of rich farmers on one hand and poor and dispossessed peasants on the other.

Generally, therefore, for many obvious reasons, the RBDP was a big hoax. Instead of reducing importation of wheat and rice, Nigeria continues to import rice and wheat despite the large sum of money sank into the programme and above all, the programme is anti-peasant as they are dispossessed of their lands and subsequently transformed into rural wage labourers as studies revealed (Otaki, 2005).

## **5.5 Chapter Conclusion**

Chapter five discussed the Nigerian democratic structure and operations of government with its jurisdictional power as it affects rural development. It was observed that, the federal government is constitutionally more powerful than the other sub-central tiers of government (state and local governments). However, each

levels of government is meant to exercise one form of responsibility or the other to achieving mandates of rural development. The exercise of these functions are usually usurping and overriding especially on state/local government relationship; which make local government more powerless and not fully autonomous in executing rural development. It was also highlighted that, various agencies of government assumed certain responsibilities at all the levels of governments to complementing effective implementation of rural development policies and programmes in Nigeria. Various policies over time were reviewed and it was found that much is still expected for effective rural transformation and development in Nigeria.



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## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **QUANTITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This research employed a mixed method approach. This chapter therefore contains the presentation, analyses and interpretations of the quantitative results from the data collected for this study. Generally, it covers the descriptive analysis of demographic characteristics of the respondents, inferential analysis of correlation and simple linear regression analysis of the data using SPSS version 20. Finally, hypotheses developed were tested.

#### **6.2 Rate of Questionnaire Response**

The total of three hundred and sixty (360) questionnaires as sample size of the study that was selected (see chapter four; 4.8 of this thesis) were administered to the respondents; out of which only three hundred and thirty two (332) copies; representing (92.22%) were duly completed and returned. In the entire total; twenty eight (28) questionnaires; representing (7.8%) were not returned. Thus, the total number of questionnaires properly filled and returned were three hundred and thirty two (332) copies; the number which were used for our analysis.

Table 6.1 below shows the rate of questionnaire response:

Table 6.1  
*Rate of Questionnaire Response*

<b>Questionnaires Administered and Returned</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Questionnaires returned	332	92.22
Questionnaire not returned	28	7.8
<b>Total Questionnaires administered</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

### 6.3 Descriptive Analysis of Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The tables below presents the description of demographic features of the research respondents.

Table 6.2  
*Distribution of Respondents by Gender*

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	286	86.1
Female	46	13.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.2 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 286 (86.1%) were male, while 46 (13.9%) were females. This explains the apathy of women participation in the research at areas under study; as a result of some cultural and religious believe that, women are sacred and doesn't interact with men indiscriminately. This is in the sense that, in the Northern part of Nigeria where Taraba state belong women are usually not making public appearances and often stay home. The culture and religion of the people uphold to this practice.

Table 6.3  
*Distribution of Respondents by Age*

Age range	Frequency	Percentage
15-30	119	35.8
31-45	162	48.8
46-60	44	13.3
61&above	7	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.3 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 119 (35.8%) are within the age of 15-30 years, 162 (48.8%) are within the age of 31-45, 44 (13.3%) within the age of 44-60, 7 (2.1%) are from the age of 61& above. This shows that, majority of the respondents are within the age of 15-45, which represents the working populations of mainly youths. This indicates the active involvements of the youths in given useful views, opinions and perceptions towards the research.

Table 6.4  
*Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status*

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	212	63.9
Single	114	34.3
Others	6	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data from the table 6.4 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 212 (63.9%) are married, while 114 (34.3%) are single and 6 (1.8%) others. This shows that, majority of the respondents are married and are regarded as matured and responsible to giving reliable information on the issues investigated.

Table 6.5  
*Distribution of Respondents by Educational Qualification*

<b>Educational Qualification</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
FSLC	9	2.7
SSCE/HSC	47	14.2
OND/NCE	129	38.9
BSc/HND	136	41.0
PGS	11	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.5 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 9(2.7%) are FSLC (First School Leaving Certificate) holders, 47(14.2%) are SSCE/HSC (Senior School Certificate Examination/Higher School Certificate) holders, 129(38.9%) OND/NCE (Ordinary National Diploma/National Certificate in Education) holders, while 136(41.0%) are BSc/HND (Bachelor Degree/Higher National Diploma) holders and 11(3.3%) are PGS (Postgraduate Studies) holders. This show that, majority of the respondent were graduates and diploma holders. This indicates the level of literacy among the respondents, which gives informed sound judgements as regards the activities of government towards developments of rural areas.

Table 6.6  
*Distribution of Respondents by Occupation*

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Farmer	37	11.1
Public servant	194	58.4
Private Business	40	12.0
Community Leader	5	1.5
Others	56	16.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the 6.6 table above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 37 (11.1%) are Farmers, 194 (58.4%) are public servants, 40 (12.0%) have private Business, while 5 (1.5%) are community leaders and 56 (16.9%) are others. This shows that, most of the respondents are public servants residing in the rural areas. They cooperate to participate in the study as the result of their informed ability on the important of research of this nature. Many illiterate villagers were afraid to participate and consider the researcher as an intruder who may be on secret mission in their community.

Table 6.7  
*Democracy is the Best Form of Government*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	14	4.2
Disagree	16	4.8
Neutral	20	6.0
Agree	171	51.5
Strongly Agree	111	33.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.7 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 14 (4.2%) strongly disagreed, 16 (4.8%) disagreed, 20 (6.0%) have neutral views, while 171(51.5%) agreed, and 111(33.4%) strongly agreed. This shows that, majority of the respondents were of the view that, democracy is the best government to be practiced as compared to other forms of government. This may be as a result of the prolonged bitter experience of the military government in Nigeria for over twenty nine years since its independence in 1960. Under the military government in Nigeria policies were promulgated by decrees and there are

serious cases of human right abuses and people are not properly represented in government.

Table 6.8  
*Democracy Allows my Right to be Protected*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	20	6.0
Disagree	26	7.8
Neutral	31	9.3
Agree	176	53.0
Strongly Agree	79	23.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.8 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 20 (6.0%) strongly disagreed, 26 (7.8%) disagreed, 31 (9.3%) have neutral views, while 176 (53.0%) agreed, and 79 (33.4%) strongly agreed. The implication of this is that, majority were of the opinion that, democratic government allows their right to be protected.

Table 6.9  
*Democracy Tells Me What My Rights Are*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	13	3.9
Disagree	9	2.7
Neutral	19	5.7
Agree	204	61.4
Strongly Agree	87	26.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data from the table 6.9 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 13 (3.9%) strongly disagreed, 9 (2.7%) disagreed, 19 (5.7%) have neutral views, while 204 (61.4%) agreed, and 87 (26.2%) strongly agreed. This shows that, majority of

the respondents agreed with the statement that democracy informed them of what their rights are actually are.

Table 6.10  
*Democracy Is the Bridge Between The Rural People And The Government*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	17	5.1
Disagree	35	10.5
Neutral	34	10.2
Agree	188	56.6
Strongly Agree	58	17.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.10 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 17 (5.1%) strongly disagreed, 35 (10.5%) disagreed, 34 (10.2%) have neutral views, while 188 (56.6%) agreed, and 58 (17.5%) strongly agreed. Majority based on this, were of the view that, democracy bridges people with the government. As such it is expected that, people are represented in government for their demands to be channelled.

Table 6.11  
*Whether There Is Correlation Between Democracy and Rural Development*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	32	9.6
Disagree	55	16.6
Neutral	51	15.4
Agree	148	44.6
Strongly Agree	46	13.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.11 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 32 (9.6%) strongly disagreed, 55 (16.6%) disagreed, 51 (15.4%) have neutral

views, while 148 (44.6%) agreed, and 46 (13.9%) strongly agreed. This indicated that, the respondents agreed with the assertion that, there is correlation between democracy and rural development. The implication is that, democracy is expected to enhance rural development and the wellbeing of the rural people.

Table 6.12  
*Whether People Benefit Most from Democracy in Taraba State*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	11	3.3
Disagree	8	2.4
Neutral	13	3.9
Agree	82	24.7
Strongly Agree	218	65.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.12 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 11 (3.3%) strongly disagreed, 8 (2.4%) disagreed, 13 (3.9%) have neutral views, while 82 (24.7%) agreed, and 218 (65.7%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents as indicated viewed that, they benefits more from Nigerian brand of democracy. They perceived that, unlike their experienced of military rule, many communities’ benefits from one developmental projects or the other.



Table 6.13  
*Whether Democracy Enhances Development*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	17	5.1
Disagree	26	7.8
Neutral	61	18.4
Agree	175	52.7
Strongly Agree	53	16.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.13 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 17 (5.1%) strongly disagreed, 26 (7.8%) disagreed, 61 (18.4%) have neutral views, while 175 (52.7%) agreed, and 53 (16.0%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents agreed with the assertion that, democracy enhances development.

Table 6.14  
*Whether People Are Satisfied with the Democratic Role in Bringing Development To local Communities*

Level of satisfaction	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Dissatisfied	66	19.9
Dissatisfied	69	20.8
Neutral	62	18.7
Satisfied	109	32.8
Strongly Satisfied	26	7.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.14 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 66 (19.9%) strongly dissatisfied, 69 (20.8%) dissatisfied, 62 (18.7%) have neutral views, while 109 (32.8%) satisfied and 26 (7.8%) strongly satisfied. From the table; it can be seen that, though majority agreed to been satisfied with the democratic role in bringing development to their communities. This however, constituted a minority voices when the views of those that strongly dissatisfied and

dissatisfied are aggregated. The implication is that, much is still expected from government to bring more development to rural communities.

Table 6.15

*Whether Democracy Promotes Formation of Community Organisations*

<b>Level of agreement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly Disagree	16	4.8
Disagree	25	7.5
Neutral	61	18.4
Agree	195	58.7
Strongly Agree	35	10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Data presented from the table 6.15 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 16 (4.8%) strongly disagreed, 25 (7.5%) disagreed, 61 (18.4%) have neutral views, while 195 (58.7%) agreed and 35 (10.5%) strongly agreed. This shows that, majority were of the view that, democracy allows and promotes the formation of community organizations. The implication is that, many organizations can be formed to put more pressure on government to act on certain community demands.

Table 6.16

*Whether Democracy Allows People to Influence Policies Towards Development Of Their Areas*

<b>Level of agreement</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly Disagree	21	6.3
Disagree	40	12.0
Neutral	35	10.5
Agree	171	51.5
Strongly Agree	65	19.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.16 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 21(6.3%) strongly disagreed, 40 (12.0%) disagreed, 35 (10.5%) have neutral views, while 171 (51.5%) agreed and 65 (19.6%) strongly agreed. This shows that,

majority has perceived and agreed that democracy allows them to influence government policies towards development of their areas.

Table 6.17  
*Whether Political Office Holders Are Committed to Implementing Rural Development Programmes*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	73	22.0
Disagree	93	28.0
Neutral	53	16.0
Agree	89	26.8
Strongly Agree	24	7.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.17 above, it shows that 332 people responded out of which 73 (22.0%) strongly disagreed, 93 (28.0%) disagreed, 53 (16.0%) have neutral views, while 89 (26.8%) agreed and 24 (7.2%) strongly agreed. This shows divergent views from the respondents; as significant number of them still either strongly disagree or disagree with the claim that, political officers are committed to implementing rural programmes. Significant number too viewed it on the affirmative. This clearly explained the need for political officers to double effort in ensuring effective implementation of programmes meant for rural development.

Table 6.18  
*Whether Rural Development Programmes Are Effectively Implemented Under Democratic Government*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	49	14.8
Disagree	95	28.6
Neutral	64	19.3
Agree	98	29.5
Strongly Agree	26	7.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.18 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 49 (14.8%) strongly disagreed, 95 (28.6%) disagreed, 64 (19.3%) have neutral views, while 98 (29.5%) agreed and 26 (7.8%) strongly agreed. This table shows also, in level of disagreement among the respondents on effective implementation of the rural programmes. Many have agreed to the assertion at the same time significant number also doesn't agree. Much need to be done in that respect to achieve desired result.

Table 6.19

*Whether Rural Communities Are Carried Along In Implementing Rural Development Programmes*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	66	19.9
Disagree	87	26.2
Neutral	65	19.6
Agree	95	28.6
Strongly Agree	19	5.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.19 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 66 (19.9%) strongly disagreed, 87 (26.2%) disagreed, 65 (19.6%) have neutral views, while 95 (28.6%) agreed and 19 (5.7%) strongly agreed. Looking at the table, it clearly shows that, majority did not agree that rural people are carried along in implementing rural development programmes. About 87 and 66 strongly disagree and disagree; while, 95 and 19 agree and strongly agreed respectively. This calls for effective engagements of the rural people at implementations of programmes.

Table 6.20

*Whether The Rural Development Programmes Has Impacted On The Lives Of The Rural People*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	39	11.7
Disagree	79	23.8
Neutral	54	16.3
Agree	125	37.7
Strongly Agree	35	10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.20 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 39 (11.7%) strongly disagreed, 79 (23.8%) disagreed, 54 (16.3%) have neutral views, while 125 (37.7%) agreed and 35 (10.5%) strongly agreed. This shows that, majority of the respondents agreed and were of the view that, rural development programmes has impacted on the lives of rural people.

Table 6.21

*Whether Democracy Has Set Standard Criteria For Effective Implementation Of Rural Development Programmes*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	31	9.3
Disagree	64	19.3
Neutral	66	19.9
Agree	138	41.6
Strongly Agree	33	9.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.21 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 31 (9.3%) strongly disagreed, 64 (19.3%) disagreed, 66 (19.9%) have neutral views, while 138 (41.6%) agreed and 33 (9.9%) strongly agreed. This shows that, majority of the respondents agreed with the assertion democracy set standard

criteria for effective implementation of rural development programmes. About 19.9% of the respondents however were neutral.

Table 6.22  
*Opinion On Whether Rural Development Programmes Are Laudable but Marred With Implementation Problems*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	25	7.5
Disagree	35	10.5
Neutral	38	11.4
Agree	117	35.2
Strongly Agree	117	35.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.22 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 25 (7.5%) strongly disagreed, 35 (10.5%) disagreed, 38 (11.4%) have neutral views, while 117 (35.2%) agreed and 117 (35.2%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents were of the view that, Nigeria's' rural development policies are laudable but only marred with implementation problems. This indicates that, deliberate attempt is required to implementing the said programmes for rapid development in rural areas.

Table 6.23

*Whether Democracy Ensures Effective Coordination of Implementing Rural Development Programmes Among All Levels of Government*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	33	9.9
Disagree	67	20.2
Neutral	58	17.5
Agree	148	44.6
Strongly Agree	26	7.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

From the table 6.23 above, it shows that 332 people responded out of which 33 (9.9%) strongly disagreed, 67 (20.2%) disagreed, 58 (17.5%) have neutral views, while 148 (44.6%) agreed and 26 (7.8%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents were of the opinion that, democracy ensures effective coordination to implementing rural development programmes among all the levels of government in Nigeria.

Table 6.24

*Whether There Is Public Confidence In The Effectiveness Of Democratic Government And Its Political Leadership Towards Rural Development*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	41	12.3
Disagree	88	26.5
Neutral	58	17.5
Agree	118	35.5
Strongly Agree	27	8.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.24 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 41 (12.3%) strongly disagreed, 88 (26.5%) disagreed, 58 (17.5%) have neutral views, while 118 (35.5%) agreed and 27 (8.1%) strongly agreed. Looking at the representation of the views above; majority were of the view that there is



public confidence on the effectiveness of democratic government and its political leadership towards rural development. However, this does not go well with the views expressed by significant number of the respondents for being either strongly disagree, disagree or even remain neutral to the assertion. The implication is that, many are still sceptical and remain adamant to reposed confidence on the political leadership towards development of rural communities.

Table 6.25  
*Democracy Has Provided Rural Infrastructural Development*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	70	21.1
Disagree	76	22.9
Neutral	42	12.7
Agree	124	37.3
Strongly Agree	20	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.25 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 70 (21.1%) strongly disagreed, 76 (22.9%) disagreed, 42 (12.7%) have neutral views, while 124 (37.3%) agreed and 20 (6.0%) strongly agreed. This indicates that, majority agreed that, democracy provides rural infrastructural development. But, significant number of the respondents was having a divergent view, which should not be ignored by this study. This is because, the dissatisfaction on the provision of rural infrastructural development as expressed by other respondents also shows high level of their level of disagreement; while significant number too remain neutral to assess it.

Table 6.26  
*Whether Democracy Has Provided Rural Health Medical Facilities*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	57	17.2
Disagree	85	25.6
Neutral	48	14.5
Agree	130	39.2
Strongly Agree	12	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2105

Data presented from the table 6.26 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 57 (17.2%) strongly disagreed, 85 (25.6%) disagreed, 48 (14.5%) have neutral views, while 130 (39.2%) agreed and 12 (3.6%) strongly agreed. Looking at the proportional representation of the views expressed by the respondents above; majority agreed with the assertion that, democracy provided health medical facilities. Significant number of them also disagreed with the claim and many remain neutral to assess it. The research observed that, many of the rural dwellers considers the effort of government on health facilities; irrespective of its standard and effective service delivery, because of the presence of some health centres in their communities; which were completely not there before democratic government were put in place.

Table 6.27

*Whether Democratic Government Provides Rural Human Empowerments And Job Creation*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	70	21.1
Disagree	86	25.9
Neutral	47	14.2
Agree	104	31.3
Strongly Agree	25	7.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.27 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 70 (21.1%) strongly disagreed, 86 (25.9%) disagreed, 47 (14.2%) have neutral views, while 104 (31.3%) agreed and 25 (7.5%) strongly agreed. Going by the responses above; majority either strongly disagree or disagree with the statement that, democratic government provided the rural people with empowerments and jobs. Significant number too agreed with the claim. The implication is that, government's effort towards empowerments and job creation is still not adequate to cater for teaming rural needs.

Table 6.28

*Whether Democratic Government Provide Access to Efficient Education*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	52	15.7
Disagree	109	32.8
Neutral	58	17.5
Agree	98	29.5
Strongly Agree	15	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.28 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 52 (15.7%) strongly disagreed, 109 (32.8%) disagreed, 58 (17.5%) have

neutral views, while 98 (29.5%) agreed and 15 (4.5%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents disagreed with the claim that, democratic government has provided access to efficient education. Significant number however, agreed to the claim. This shows that, government effort towards providing efficient education is still not efficient. This calls for serious concern and efforts for improvement.

Table 6.29

*Democratic Government Improves Agricultural Development*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	45	13.6
Disagree	86	25.9
Neutral	57	17.2
Agree	126	38.0
Strongly Agree	18	5.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.29 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 45 (13.6%) strongly disagreed, 86 (25.9%) disagreed, 57 (17.2%) have neutral views, while 126 (38.0%) agreed and 18 (5.4%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents agreed that, government has improves agriculture. This however did not go well with the opinions as expressed by significant number of the respondents. That government did not improve agriculture. This calls for serious improvement too.

Table 6.30

*Whether Democracy Improves the Wellbeing Of The Rural Populace*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	69	20.8
Disagree	100	30.1
Neutral	58	17.5
Agree	91	27.4
Strongly Agree	14	4.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source: Survey, 2015**

Data presented from the table 6.30 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 69 (20.8%) strongly disagreed, 100 (30.1%) disagreed, 58 (17.5%) have neutral views, while 91 (27.4%) agreed and 14 (4.2%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents disagree with the assertion that, democracy improves the general wellbeing of the rural people. Government need to adequately improve on that too.

Table 6.31  
*Level of Peoples' Confidence On the Ability of Democratic Government to Solve the Problems Confronting Rural Communities and Their Ability to Influence It*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	61	18.4
Disagree	80	24.1
Neutral	70	21.1
Agree	99	29.8
Strongly Agree	22	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source: Survey, 2015**

Data presented from the table 6.31 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 61 (18.4%) strongly disagreed, 80 (24.1%) disagreed, 70 (21.1%) have neutral views, while 99 (29.8%) agreed and 22 (6.6%) strongly agreed. This clearly indicates the level of disagreement on the confidence of the ability of government to solve rural problems. Majority agreed to the assertion, but inferences drawn above shows a high degree of disagreement with the assertion, while significant number remains neutral on it.

Table 6.32

*Whether the Nigerian Political Arrangement Negatively Affects Rural Development*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	32	9.6
Disagree	73	22.0
Neutral	43	13.0
Agree	113	34.0
Strongly Agree	71	21.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.32 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 32(9.6%) strongly disagreed, 73 (22%) disagreed, 43 (13%) have neutral views, while 113 (34%) agreed and 71 (21.4%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents agreed that, the current Nigerian political arrangements negatively affect rural development. This indicates that, there is perceived structural imbalance among the federal, state and LG in ensuring development at the grassroots level.

Table 6.33

*Whether The Sub-Central Tiers of Government (State/LG) Are Independent From The Centre (Federal)*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	68	20.5
Disagree	102	30.7
Neutral	52	15.7
Agree	79	23.8
Strongly Agree	31	9.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.33 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 68 (20.5%) strongly disagreed, 102 (30.7%) disagreed, 52 (15.7%) have neutral views, while 79 (23.8%) agreed and 31 (9.3%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents as seen above disagree with the statement that lower levels of

governments are independents from the centre. The implication is that, the lower levels of governments are powerless and not independent. Thereby undermining their effective operations as an autonomous entity.

Table 6.34  
*Whether The Sub-Central Tiers of Government Has Power and Resources To Carry Out Rural Development*

Scale	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	50	15.1
Disagree	79	23.8
Neutral	54	16.3
Agree	121	36.4
Strongly Agree	28	8.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.34 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 50 (15.1%) strongly disagreed, 79 (23.8%) disagreed, 54 (16.3%) have neutral views, while 121 (36.4%) agreed and 28 (8.4%) strongly agreed. Majority agreed that lower tiers of government have power and resources to execute rural development. This is however been disputed by the significant numbers extracted from those strongly disagreed and disagreed with the said statement. This shows the need for adequate power provision to lower levels of governments in order to provide complementary desired development to rural areas.

Table 6.35

*Whether There Is Effective Cooperation of Government at The Most Level with Rural Communities in The Formation and Implementation Of Policy And Service Provision To Rural Areas*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	53	16.0
Disagree	104	31.3
Neutral	87	26.2
Agree	75	22.6
Strongly Agree	13	3.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.35 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 53 (16%) strongly disagreed, 104 (31.3%) disagreed, 87 (26.2%) have neutral views, while 75 (22.6%) agreed and 13 (3.9%) strongly agreed. Majority of the respondents disagree with the above statement. This confirms to us that, there is no effective synergy and cooperation at most levels of government in the formation and implementation of rural policies. The implication to which will results in to poor policy outcome.

Table 6.36

*Whether All Levels of Government Are Subjected to Free and Fair Electoral Authorization, Criteria of Openness, Accountability and Responsiveness in Their Operations*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	80	24.1
Disagree	66	19.9
Neutral	38	11.4
Agree	115	34.6
Strongly Agree	33	9.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey, 2015



Data presented from the table 6.36 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 80 (24.1%) strongly disagreed, 66 (19.9%) disagreed, 38 (11.4%) have neutral views, while 115 (34.6%) agreed and 33 (9.9%) strongly agreed. This data presents divergent views of proportionate importance. This is because, while the majority of the respondents were of the view that, all the levels of governments are subjected to free and fair electoral authorization, accountability and openness. Significant number of them however, either strongly disagrees or disagrees with the assertion. Reasonable number also remains mute and neutral to assessing the issue.

Table 6.37  
*Whether State/Local Government Joint Account Has Significantly Impacts Rural Development*

Level of agreement	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Disagree	149	44.9
Disagree	91	27.4
Neutral	36	10.8
Agree	44	13.3
Strongly Agree	12	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source:** Survey, 2015

Data presented from the table 6.37 above, shows that 332 people responded out of which 149 (44.9%) strongly disagreed, 91 (27.4%) disagreed, 36(10.8%) have neutral views, while 44 (13.3%) agreed and 12 (3.6%) strongly agreed. This data indicates clear absolute majority of the respondents disagreeing with state/LG joint account impacting on rural development. It shows level at which the joint account affects development of rural areas; where the LG is constrained to provide enough.

#### **6.4 Reliability Test of the Research Instrument**

The data collected for this study has undergone through an internal consistency test that measured the degree to which items that made up the instrument were measuring the same underlying attribute. The validity and reliability test shows the goodness of measures used in the study (Sekaran & Bougie, 2013). The test measured the extent to which the items in the instrument 'hang together'. This means that reliability test shows how the items in the instrument measure the construct under study. Nunnally (1978) recommends a minimum of 0.70 Cronbach Alpha. However, the following were recommended as reliable Cronbach alpha coefficients, 0.81-0.95 is a very good reliability, 0.71-0.80 is considered a good reliability, 0.60 - 0.70 is considered fair. Additionally, a Cronbach's alpha of 0.60 is recommended by Sekaran (2003), while 0.50 and higher, is considered appropriate for measuring reliability according to Hulland (1999). Therefore, this study adopts 0.50 thresholds as suggested by Hulland (1999) to measuring the internal consistency of the instrument. Table 6.38 below depicts the summary of the reliability test results for all the variables.

Table 6.38  
*Analysis Summary Item by Item Reliability Test*

S/NO	ITEMS	NO.	MEAN	CHRONBACH'S ALPHA	REMARK
Objective 1	Perception and attitudes towards democracy	10	3.727	0.795	Good
Objective 2	Democratic Government and effective implementation of rural development programmes	8	3.098	0.720	Good
Objective 3	Democratic government performance to achieving rural development	7	2.819	0.880	Good
Objective 4	Nigerian political arrangements and rural development	6	2.771	0.641	Fairly good
Objective 5	Rural Development	7	2.788	0.816	Good

The above table 6.38 shows that the Cronbach's alpha for perception and attitudes towards democracy with ten items stood at 0.795, which means that 79.5% of the items measured the construct. Also, the Cronbach's alpha for the democratic government and effective implementation of rural development is 0.720 which indicates that 72% of the eight items used were good measures of the construct. Similarly, the Cronbach's alpha for democratic performance to achieving rural

development with seven items is 0.880. This implies that 88% of the items used measured the construct. The Cronbach’s alpha for Nigerian political arrangements and rural development is 0.641; which means that 64.1% of the six items used measured the construct. Lastly, the Cronbach’s Alpha for Rural Development is 0.816, which means that 81.6% of the seven items used measured the construct. The coefficients for all the variables fall within the thresholds provided by scholars cited in 6.4 above. Thus, the general reliability of the instruments can be said to be good as per the Sekarans’ (2003) recommendation adopted by the author.

### 6.5 Analysis Summary of the Regression Results

The analysis here presents the linear regression results of the four independent variables; perception and attitudes towards democracy (PATD), democracy and effective implementation of rural development programmes (DIRD), democratic government performance on rural development (DPRD), Nigerian political arrangements on rural development (NPRD) and the dependent variable rural development (RD). These are presented in 6.51, 6.52, 6.53 and 6.54 as below:

#### 6.5.1 Regression Summary of Perception and attitudes Towards Democracy against Rural Development

Table 6.39  
*Model Summary<sup>b</sup> for PATD AND RD*

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.435 <sup>a</sup>	.189	.187	.90216

a. Predictors: (Constant), PATD  
b. Dependent Variable: RD

The column labeled R in the model summary table 6.39 above, shows the linear relationship (correlation =0.435) between the dependent variable (Rural

development) and the independent variable (perception and attitudes towards democracy) is positive, the column labeled R Square (R<sup>2</sup>) is the square of the correlation coefficient and is telling us that 18.9% (0.189) of the dependent variable (Rural development) is explained by the independent variable (perception and attitudes towards democracy).

Table 6.40  
*ANOVA<sup>a</sup> PATD AND RD*

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	62.702	1	62.702	77.040	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	268.586	330	.814		
	Total	331.289	331			

a. Dependent Variable: RD

b. Predictors: (Constant), PATD

The ANOVA table 6.40 above is a test on how well did the regression model (obtain by the regression equation) fit the actual data. Thus, from the table it can be seen that, the P-value of the ANOVA (0.000) is less than 0.05; therefore we conclude that the model is fit for use, signifying that the model can be used to forecast the effectiveness of perception and attitudes towards democracy on rural development.

Table 6.41  
*Coefficients<sup>a</sup> PATD AND RD*

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.215	.301		.713	.476
	PATD	.699	.080	.435	8.777	.000

a. Dependent Variable: RD

The coefficient table 6.41 above gives us information about the regression parameters, the column labeled B in the table under unstandardized coefficients

gives the intercept and the slope of the model ( $\beta_0 = 0.215$  and  $\beta_1 = 0.699$ ) respectively, therefore the model here can be written as Rural development =  $0.215 + 0.699$  (perception and attitudes towards democracy), indicating that there is 0.699 unit change on rural development as a result of perception and attitudes towards democracy. The last column in the table gives us the significance values of the hypothesis that the intercept with significance value ( $0.476 > 0.05$ ) is insignificant but the slope with significance value ( $0.000 < 0.05$ ) is significant thus agreeing with the initial analysis of variance (ANOVA) in the model.

**6.5.2 Regression Summary for Democratic Government Effective Implementation of Rural Development Programmes**

Table 6.42  
*Model Summary<sup>b</sup> of DIRD and RD*

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.652 <sup>a</sup>	.425	.423	.75973

a. Predictors: (Constant), DIRD

b. Dependent Variable: RD

The column labeled R in the model summary table 6.42 above, shows the linear relationship (correlation =0.652) between the dependent variable (Rural development) and the independent variable (democratic government and effective implementation) is positive, the column labeled R Square (R2) is the square of the correlation coefficient and is telling us that 42.5%(0.425) of the dependent variable (Rural development) is explained by the independent variable (democratic government and effective implementation)

Table 6.43  
ANOVA<sup>a</sup> of DIRD AND RD

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	140.815	1	140.815	243.964	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	190.474	330	.577		
	Total	331.289	331			

a. Dependent Variable: DPRD  
b. Predictors: (Constant), RD

The ANOVA table 6.43 above is a test on how well did the Regression model (obtain by the regression equation) fit the actual data. Thus, from the table it can be seen that, the P-value of the ANOVA (0.000) is less than 0.05; therefore we conclude that the model is fit for use, signifying that the model can be used to explain the effectiveness of democratic government and effective implementation on rural development.

Table 6.44  
Coefficients<sup>a</sup> ON DIRD AND RD

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta	
1	(Constant)	.472	.156		3.030 .003
	DIRD	.757	.048	.652	15.619 .000

a. Dependent Variable: RD

The coefficient table 6.44 above, gives us information about the regression parameters, the column labeled B in the table under unstandardized coefficients gives the intercept and the slope of the model ( $\beta_0 = 0.472$  and  $\beta_1 = 0.757$ ) respectively, therefore the model here can be written as Rural development =  $0.472 + 0.757$  (democratic government and effective implementation), indicating that there is 0.757 unit change in rural development as a result of change in democratic government and effective implementation. The last column in the table gives us the significance values of the hypothesis that the intercept with significance value ( $0.003 < 0.05$ ) is significant and also the slope with significance value ( $0.000 < 0.05$ ) is significant thus agreeing with the initial analysis of variance (ANOVA) in the model.

### 6.5.3 Regression Summary for Democratic Government Performance Rural Development Programmes

Table 6.45  
*Model Summary<sup>b</sup> of DPRD and RD*

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.631 <sup>a</sup>	.421	.420	.75784

- a. Predictors: (Constant), DPRD
- b. Dependent Variable: RD



The column labeled R in the model summary table 6.45 above, shows the linear relationship (correlation =0.631) between the dependent variable (Rural development) and the independent variable (democratic government performance) is positive, the column labeled R Square (R2) is the square of the correlation coefficient and is telling us that 42.1% (0.421) of the dependent variable (Rural development) is explained by the independent variable (democratic government performance)

Table 6.46  
ANOVA<sup>a</sup> of DPRD AND RD

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	140.713	1	140.713	245.145	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	189.452	330	.574		
	Total	330.165	331			

a. Dependent Variable: DPRD

b. Predictors: (Constant), RD

The ANOVA table 6.46 above is a test on how well did the Regression model (obtain by the regression equation) fit the actual data. Thus, from the table it can be seen that, the P-value of the ANOVA (0.000) is less than 0.05; therefore we conclude that the model is fit for use, signifying that the model can be used to explain the effectiveness of democratic government performance on rural development.

Table 6.47  
Coefficients<sup>a</sup> ON DPRD AND RD

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta	
1	(Constant)	.465	.153		.002
	DPRD	.751	.042	.650	.000

a. Dependent Variable: RD

The coefficient table 6.47 above, gives us information about the regression parameters, the column labeled B in the table under unstandardized coefficients gives the intercept and the slope of the model ( $\beta_0 = 0.465$  and  $\beta_1 = 0.751$ ) respectively, therefore the model here can be written as Rural development =  $0.465 + 0.751$  (democratic government performance), indicating that there is 0.751 unit change in rural development as a result of change in democratic government performance. The last column in the table gives us the significance values of the hypothesis that the intercept with significance value ( $0.002 < 0.05$ ) is significant and also the slope with significance value ( $0.000 < 0.05$ ) is significant thus agreeing with the initial analysis of variance (ANOVA) in the model.

### 6.5.4 Regression Summary of Nigerian Political Arrangement and Rural Development

Table 6.48  
*Model Summary<sup>b</sup> NPRD AND RD*

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.512 <sup>a</sup>	.262	.260	.86050

a. Predictors: (Constant), NPRD

b. Dependent Variable: RD

The column labeled R in the model summary table 6.48 above, shows the linear relationship (correlation = 0.512) between the dependent variable (Rural development) and the independent variable (Nigerian political development) is positive, the column labeled R Square (R<sup>2</sup>) is the square of the correlation coefficient and is telling us that 26.2% (0.262) of the dependent variable (Rural development) is explained by the independent variable (Nigerian political arrangements).

Table 6.49  
ANOVA<sup>a</sup> *NPRD AND RD*

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	86.939	1	86.939	117.413	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	244.350	330	.740		
	Total	331.289	331			

a. Dependent Variable: RD

b. Predictors: (Constant), NPRD

The ANOVA table 6.49 above, is a test on how well did the Regression model (obtain by the regression equation) fit the actual data. Thus, from the table it can be seen that, the P-value of the ANOVA (0.000) is less than 0.05; therefore we conclude that the model is fit for use, signifying that the model can be used to forecast that Nigerian political development has effect on rural development.

Table 6.50  
Coefficients<sup>a</sup> *of NPRD AND RD*

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.924	.181		5.103	.000
	NPRD	.684	.063	.512	10.836	.000

a. Dependent Variable: RD

The coefficient regression 6.50 above gives us information about the regression parameters, the column labeled B in the table under unstandardized coefficients gives the intercept and the slope of the model ( $\beta_0 = 0.924$  and  $\beta_1 = 0.684$ ) respectively, therefore the model here can be written as Rural development =  $0.924 + 0.684$  (democratic government and effective implementation) indicating that there is 0.684 unit change in rural development as a result of change in Nigerian political development. The last column in the table gives us the significance values of the hypothesis that the intercept with significance value ( $0.003 < 0.05$ ) is

significant and also the slope with significance value ( $0.000 < 0.05$ ) is significant thus agreeing with the initial analysis of variance (ANOVA) in the model.

## 6.6 Hypotheses Testing

The coefficient for the study as shown in the model summary in table 6.39 column labeled R, shows the linear relationship (correlation = 0.435) between the dependent variable (Rural development) and the independent variable (perception and attitudes towards democracy) is positive. The column labeled R Square ( $R^2$ ) is the square of the correlation coefficient and is telling us that 18.9 % (0.189) of the dependent variable (Rural development) is explained by the independent variable (perception and attitudes towards democracy).

Secondly, The column labeled R in the model summary table 6.42 above, shows the linear relationship (correlation = 0.652) between the dependent variable (Rural development) and the independent variable (democratic government and effective implementation) is positive, the column labeled R Square ( $R^2$ ) is the square of the correlation coefficient and is telling us that 42.5% (0.425) of the dependent variable (Rural development) is explained by the independent variable (democratic government and effective implementation).

Thirdly, The column labeled R in the model summary table 6.45 above, shows the linear relationship (correlation = 0.631) between the dependent variable (Rural development) and the independent variable (democratic government performance) is positive, the column labeled R Square ( $R^2$ ) is the square of the correlation coefficient and is telling us that 42.1% (0.421) of the dependent variable (Rural

development) is explained by the independent variable (democratic government performance).

Lastly, the column labeled R in the model summary table 6.48 above, shows the linear relationship (correlation = 0.512) between the dependent variable (Rural development) and the independent variable (Nigerian political arrangements) is positive, the column labeled R Square (R<sup>2</sup>) is the square of the correlation coefficient and is telling us that 26.2% (0.262) of the dependent variable (Rural development) is explained by the independent variable (Nigerian political arrangements).

The table 6.51 below is presented as general summary of testing the significant value of the variables under study and their relationships.

Table 6.51  
*General Summary of Coefficients<sup>a</sup> for PATD, DIRD, DPRD AND NPRD*

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.215	.301		.713	.476
	PATD	.699	.080	.435	8.777	.000
2	DIRD	.472	.156	.652	3.030	.003
		.757	.048		15.619	.000
3	DPRD	.465	.153	.650	3.011	.002
		.751	.042		15.517	.000
4	NPRD	.926	.181	.512	5.103	.000
		.751	.063		10.836	.000

Dependent variable: RD

### **6.6.1 Hypothesis 1**

Thus, hypothesis one which states that, there is significant effect of perceptions and attitudes towards democracy on rural development in Taraba State Nigeria was supported by the statistical analysis at  $p$  value = .000 and Beta coefficient = .435. This shows that perceptions and attitudes towards democracy is statistically significant to rural development. The hypothesis is therefore accepted.

### **6.6.2 Hypothesis 2**

Hypothesis two which states that, democratic government has significant effect in implementing development programmes for rural development in Taraba State Nigeria was found significantly related to rural development and the results ( $p$  value = .000 and  $\beta$  = .652) indicates that, democratic governments' implementation of rural development programmes was statistically significant to rural development. Thus, the hypothesis was supported and thereby accepted by the results of the analysis

### **6.6.3 Hypothesis 3**

Hypothesis three which states that, democratic government performance is significantly related to rural development in Taraba State Nigeria was found significantly related to rural development and the results ( $p$  value = .002 and  $\beta$  = .650) indicates that, democratic governments' performance was statistically significant on rural development. Thus, the hypothesis too was supported.

#### **6.6.4 Hypothesis 4**

Hypothesis four which states that, Nigerian political arrangements has significant effect on rural development in Taraba State also, was found statistically significant on rural development. This was significant at  $p$  value = .000 and  $\beta$  = .512. Thus, this hypothesis too was supported and thereby accepted.

#### **6.7 Discussion of Findings for Quantitative Data**

The quantitative data for this study has been analyzed using Pearson Coefficient Correlation and Simple Linear Regression analysis as shown in previous headings of this chapter. To ensure that the assumptions underlying the application of Pearson Coefficient Correlation and Simple Linear Regression Analysis were not violated, preliminary analysis was conducted on the data to achieve that. The investigation revealed a positive relationship between rural development (dependent variable) and democratic government (independent variable) as discussed below.

##### **6.7.1 Finding 1**

The findings for this study reveals that, perceptions and attitudes towards democracy was statistically significant with rural development. This shows that, recognising democratic government by the people as the best form of government, which upholds to accountability and transparency with representation and protection of the interest and right of the people can influence the level of development at rural areas.

The findings further reveals that, through democracy leaders would emerged with a genuine mandates of the people and rule of law. Under democracy people can questions the performance of leaders through freedom of expressions. This signifies

that, when democratic values are fully inculcated and strictly adhered to by the leaders in government, rural development can be ensured. This is in line with findings made by Cyril (2008) that, democracy has taken roots and gained legitimacy as the most viable form of governance underlined by the rule of law as opposed by the rule of force.

The study shows that, despite the fact that, democracy was perceived the best, people were found not to be fully satisfied with democratic role in bringing development in their communities. They perceived poor representation in government by their political representatives. This is in line with the findings made by Afro barometer (2006) that, democracy was preferable to any kind of government in spite its shortcomings in Nigeria.

#### **6.7.2 Findings 2**

Secondly, the findings reveals democratic government has significant effect in implementing rural development programmes. This indicates that, democratic governments' implementation of rural development programme was statistically significant to rural development. The results reveals that, an effective implementation of rural development programmes can enhance rural development in Nigeria.

Previous researches has confirmed that, rural policy implementation remained an important factor to rural development in Nigeria. That the problem has not been the conception and initiation of rural programmes but rather its effective implementation (Coker & Obo 2012).



### **6.7.3 Findings 3**

Thirdly, the findings of this study shows that, there is significant statistical relationship between democratic government performance and rural development. This indicates that, the performance of democratic government in addressing myriads of rural programmes such as agricultural development, provision of rural infrastructures, provision of rural health facilities, empowerments programmes and job creation and access to education will significantly improves the life of rural people.

### **6.7.4 Findings 4**

Lastly, the findings of this study also reveals that, Nigerian political arrangements is statistically significant on rural development. This indicates that, an effective structural political arrangements among all the levels of government can ensure speedy even development and delivery of service towards rural development in Nigeria. Also, the efficacy of these arrangements would do away with contentions and conflicts on jurisdictional powers of the tiers of government resulting to development.

Findings from previous studios studies also confirms that, effective political arrangements in a federal state can enhance rapid development (Ewatan 2012; Akpan 2011; & Arowolo 2011).

## 6.8 Chapter Conclusion

Chapter six above analyzed and discussed quantitative data of the study. The data were analyzed using correlation coefficient of simple linear regression. All the four hypotheses postulated were supported and found statistically significant. The independent variables: perception and attitudes towards democracy, democratic government implementation of rural development programmes, performance of democratic government and the Nigerian political arrangement influenced the, dependent variable rural development. The findings of this study was also supported by previous studies (Coker & Obo 2012; Ewatan 2012, Arowolo 2011; Afrobarometer 2006).



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## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **QUALITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **7.1 Introductions**

Chapter seven here contains the presentation and analysis of qualitative data in which the interview and focus group discussion data collected were categorised, synthesised and analysed by using Nvivo 10 qualitative software to come up with models based on themes with thematic analysis. The themes were developed from the objectives and research questions of the study. Findings of the qualitative data were also discussed.

#### **7.2 Theme One: Perception and Attitudes towards Democracy in Taraba State**

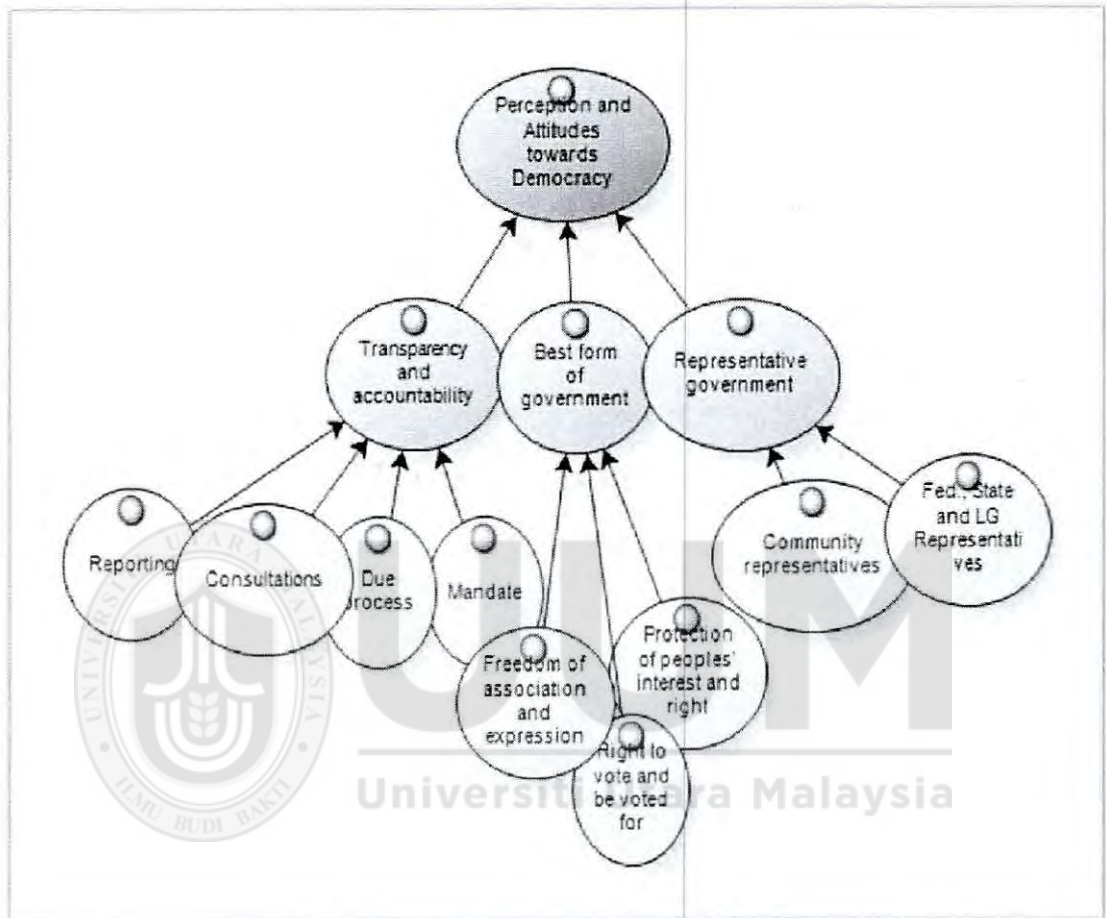
Democracy is a system of government under which the power to make or amend laws of a given state and its structural functioning lies, ultimately with the citizenry. In established democracy, the decisions are made by the people either by themselves and or through their representatives; who acts with their mandates and consents, through established electoral processes.

Democratic promoters and scholars alike believe that, democracy is a powerful system that enhances or determines economic growth and development (Bell 2006; and Acharya, 1998). The continuous growth and acceptance of democratic

institutions in Africa and Nigeria in particular becomes issue of concern and discussions. It is in this light that, Cyril (2008) says, with a few exceptions, democracy has taken root and gained legitimacy in Africa as the most viable form of political organization and governance underlined by rule of law as opposed to the rule by force.

Nigeria successfully returned to democratically elected government since 1999 till date (2015) after series of military rule. This transition however, may degenerates into diffrences in perceptions, views, attitudes and understanding it among its people. In the words of Chull Shin & Cho (2010) democracy has its global appeal, but litle is known about how general public may understand it. The question now is, how an average Nigerian and Tarabans in particular capable of understanding democracy? What are the general perceptions and attitudes towards it? And how is it been perceived to bringing the desired change and development of their areas? This theme, addresses these questions by analysing the interview reponses; which led to the emergence of following sub-themes: Transparency and accountability; Best form of government and Representative government.

The figure 7.1 below shows the relationships between the main theme; perception and attitudes towards democracy in Taraba State and its sub-themes; transparency and accountability, best form of government, and representatives government as generated from informants response, all with their dimensions.



*Figure 7.1: Model for perception and attitudes towards democracy with it sub-themes*

### **7.2.1 Transparency and Accountability**

Democratic governance upholds to good governance practices. The democratic practices and effective delivery of service to citizenry can only be ensured when there is good governance. Transparency and accountability therefore, made up of these core important characteristics of an ideal typical democracies. This is clearly stated in the UNDP report of governance for sustainable human development.

The transparency and accountability are considered good democratic credential any established democracy can possess and adhere to. According to Olu-Adeyemi (2012) good democratic governance were glaringly deficient during the military rule in Nigeria; thus making it a constitutional requirement even at the early stage of its democratic struggle. This is contained in the 1999 constitution, under the fundamental objectives and directive principle of the state policy. This is however been flagrantly abused as observed by Okekecho (2013) that, lack of accountability cost government due to poor leadership and inefficiency in the execution of duties. He further maintained that, the public sector in Nigeria is not accountable to the people and there is no transparent system that allow citizens participate in the formation and implementation of policies. That, in spite of its natural resources Nigeria lack accountability measures. Transparency and accountability, therefore becomes issue of serious concern in Nigeria (Ejere, 2012). It is indeed, one of the critical issue dominating public sector management in Nigeria (Addison, 1996).

Suffice it to say that, transparency and accountability are important to determining an ideal democratic practices of a given state. The Figure 7.2 below depicts the levels of transparency and accountability in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its dimensional relationships developed from the interviews and FGD. These are; due process, mandate, reporting and consultations.



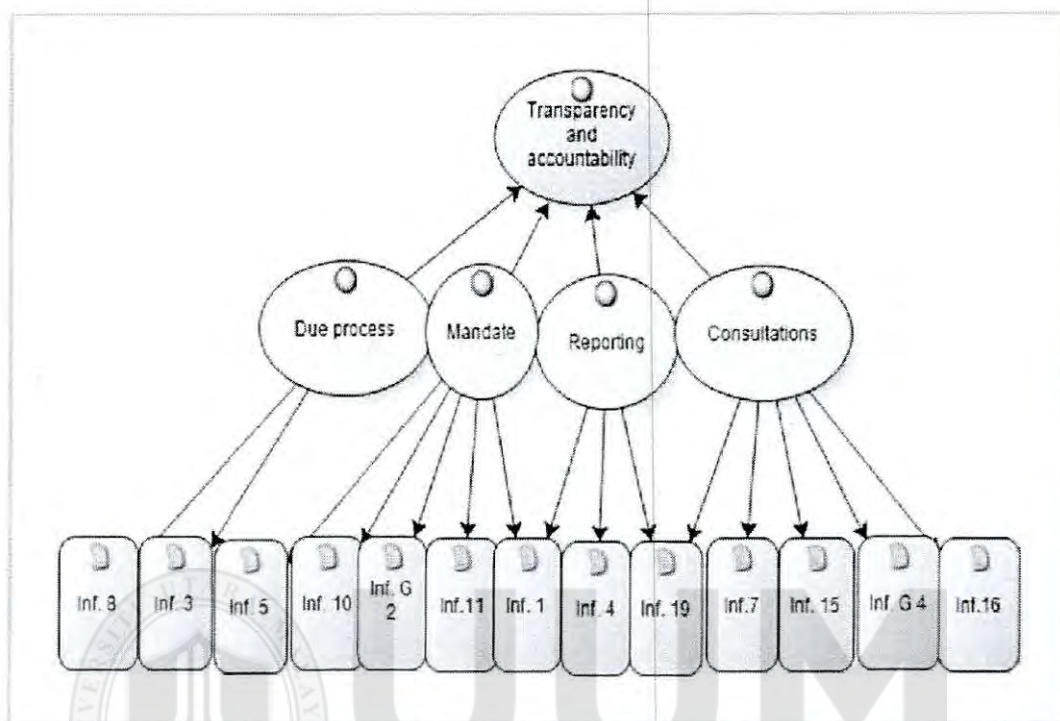


Figure 7.2: Model for transparency and accountability in democratic government

#### 7.2.1.1 Due Process

Due process is strict adherence to operational procedures and laydown rules in an organizational or government transaction. According to Aliyu & Bambale (2014) due process involves the observance of procedures; and its implementation requires the contribution of all and sundry for effective delivery of service. It is also, one of the important features of transparency and accountability. The instrument of due process helps to ensure that budgets, procurements and spending in government are not only based on authentic, reasonable and fair costing but are also appropriately geared to the realization of set priorities and targets based on plans (Ocheni & Nwanko, 2012). They further maintained that, Nigeria lost several billions of Naira over the last two decades, due to flagrant abuse of procedures in contract awards,

inflation of contracts cost and lack of accountability.

The greater responsibility of any democratic government is the provision of public goods and services to the society. Nigerian government overtimes has paid considerable attention to earmarking huge budgets and resources across all sectors of the economy; but these however, does not translate into rapid economic changes and development. This is rightly observed by Fayomi (2013) when he says, Nigerians had a high hopes and expectations for rapid and superlative economic growth and development. Regrettably, however, the socio-economic performance over the years remained unimpressive. These were attributed to lack of due process and high level corruption in public sector procurement system, which resulted into subsequent untold hardship on the economy, development and the citizenry.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts:

*We as Councillors in this local government are doing our possible best to see that people get what belong to them. As soon as funds meant for the people is released, we discuss with the Chairman on what should be done to better their lives (Informant 3-Local Councillor I).*

*At the beginning of the year a budget will be formulated and conceived by following due process and secure approval, which is from January - December. At the end of the day the outcome of what you have achieved is measured on how many projects you have executed. If you are able to achieve 100%, it's good, and if you are not, it all depends on the volume of resources that have been given to you by the government (Informant 8-Civil Servant).*



### 7.2.1.2 Mandate

A mandate in a democracy is one of the important features of transparency and accountability. It is the democratic proclamations during political struggles and a covenant between the government and the governed, which is been expressed through the ballots. Ojie (2006) maintained that, in a democracy, the responsibility to exercise political authorities in a society is with the explicit consent and genuine mandate expressed at periodic intervals by the electorate through an open, free and fair electoral process. This implies that democracy must be a system of government where the people dictate the pace with their general consents.

Politicians therefore, seek for peoples' mandate to run certain public offices and they got to the office when elected with such a mandate. Whether such is accomplished or not remains the issue of deliberations. Stokes (2001) reports that, "the phenomenon of politicians sometimes promising things in campaigns and then, changing course while in office remains issue of concern". The question now remains; how does politicians fulfilled electoral mandates given to them in Nigerian democratic setting and how does it matter when such a mandates are not fulfilled, especially when they are seeking for re-elections into various offices?

The excerpt below shows the representations of our research informants on mandate as a dimension of transparency and accountability as developed by this research:

*Today, you only give electorates your manifesto and they will vote for you. One day, it will happen in Nigeria because we have seen it during the 2015 General Elections. The world accepted the election as free and fair*  
(Informant 1- Local Politician I)

*Under democracy, a leader has peoples' mandate that they are expected to fulfil. A leader must therefore do as the people desire. This is at variance with other forms of government like the military or traditional (Informant 10- RCBO Leader I).*

*Democracy is better than any form of government. In democracy, you have to read your manifestos to the people. If they feel you are the most competent, they will vote for you. I don't think there is any form of government better than this (Informant 5- Local Councillor III).*

*When election comes nearer, politicians will come and ask of our mandates with promises but as soon as they are elected, they don't fulfil these promises (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*You know in democracy people gives leaders their mandate that is expected to be fulfilled. Leaders have fulfilled some of them. We have benefited in different ways. Our economy has improved, our education has also improved. There are problems but the benefits outweigh the problems (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

### **7.2.1.3 Reporting**

Reporting is one of the important accountability requirements in democratic governance. It enables leaders to periodically review their progress and adjust the mandates given to them by the electorates where necessary. To ensure effective accountability therefore, democratically elected leaders are required to report regularly on the services offered and the decisions taken to the electorate and also, the electorates may report back information to government where necessary. This idea was corroborated by Jelmin (2011) when she says; executives has to report on a regular basis on how the decisions are taken to ensuring feedback for effective service delivery.

The following field responses from our interview informants on reporting in democratic Nigeria are presented as follows:

*In a traditional system, the leader may oppress you but in a democratic system, you have elected officials. They will report back to you any*

*misdoing by the government. They will help you fight for your rights (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*Not all programmes are implemented, but when you heard on radio that a particular programme is to be implemented and you have not seen it, you can complain to the local government council (Informant 19- Village Head VII).*

*During the previous elections, I went round the villages. I reported back to our leaders the problems affecting our communities. All of them promised to do one thing or the other. If nothing is done when they are inaugurated, we will go back to them (Informant 4- Local Councillor II).*

#### **7.2.1.4 Consultations**

Consultations may be seen as a process of deliberations and exchange of ideas and or advice among the political authorities in government and the electorates or general public on matters concerning societal wellbeing. It is by consultations that, political leaders will be able to get reliable inputs for effective delivery of services to the people, which will invariably strengthened government legitimacy. It is in this sense that, Schmidt (2012) argued that, European Union legitimacy can be measured in terms of output effectiveness for the people and input participation by the people. That, missing from this theory is what goes on in the governance circle between input and output or throughput. The throughput consists of governance process, with the people, analysed in terms of their efficacy, transparency and accountability, inclusiveness and openness to interest consultations.

The informants' responses below depict consultation process in democratic Nigeria:

*There is an extensive cooperation and coordination between us. We sit together and discuss issues affecting our people. Government do consult us on some issues, sometimes. This way, they realise our problems. But the problem is that, you may not hear from them again (Informant 15- Village Head III).*

*Councillors usually consults us on some issues, if it is beyond our Councillor, he also takes it to the Chairman. By this, our problems are solved (Informant 19- Village Head VII).*

*The rural people are not carried along. In fact, there is no proper consultation of rural people by the government on its programmes (Informant G4- Group Members IV).*

*We are not usually consulted. They don't ask for our opinions on policies and programmes. This resulted in poor implementations. We have many abandoned and unused projects (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

*Our politicians come to rural areas only when they want to be re-elected. They do one thing or the other just to make people vote for them. So the issue of commitments does not even arise. Usually, the rural areas are left with abandoned projects. In fact, there is no proper consultation with the communities before embarking on many projects and programmes...*

He continuous:

*In democracy, a consultation is necessary before embarking on issue having to do with policies. But I am not sure if people at the grassroots are consulted. In fact, they hardly see those politicians; talk less of influencing the implementation development policies (Informant 7- Academics II).*

### **7.2.3 Best Form of Government**

Many forms of government exists and practiced in different part of the world; the examples which are democratic form of government; authoritarian form of government, autocratic government; military government; monarchical government and many others. Democratic form of government however, is regarded as the best system due largely that, under it, the absolute power to alter the laws of a state lies with the citizenry. Under such a system; people made-up the government either by themselves or by their elected representatives in government.

Awan (2005) describes democracy as the system of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people and is exercised by them or by their elected officials.

How do people understand and describe democracy as the preferred and best form of government over others? These depend on their perceptions and views; which were developed from our interview survey as follows: Right to vote and be voted for; Protection of peoples' interest and right; and Freedom of association and expression.

The dynamic functional relationships mentioned above are presented in the figure 7.3 below:

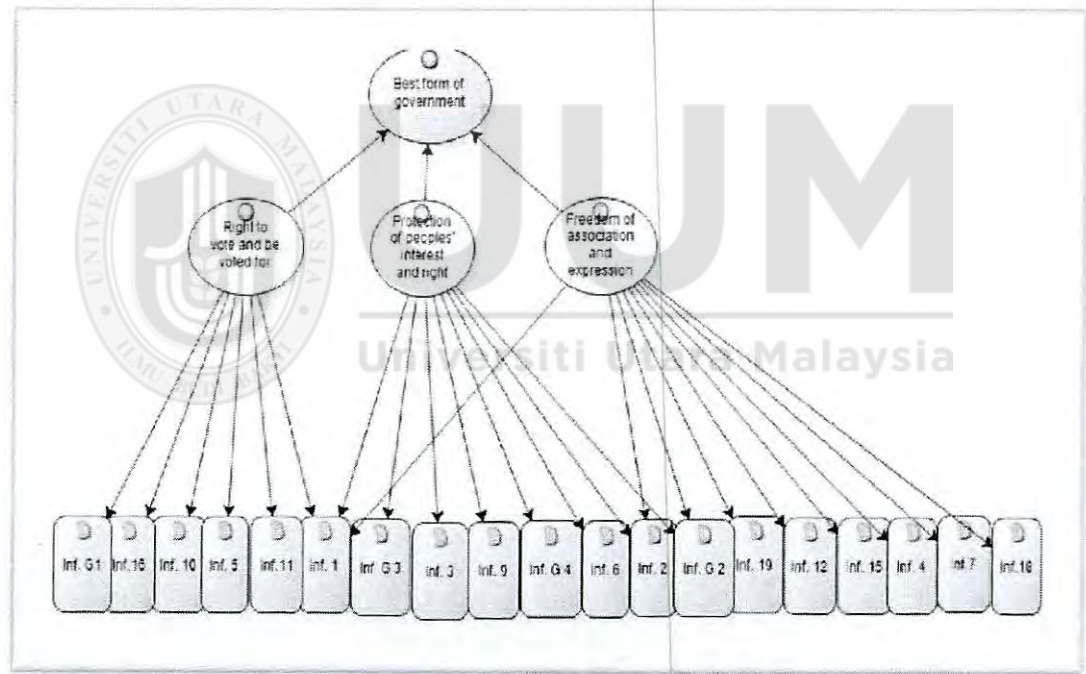


Figure 7.3: Model for democracy as the best form of government

### 7.2.3.1 Right to Vote and be Voted for

Voting is one of the necessary elements of democracy. The ability of government to provide enabling environment and imbibe true democratic culture by ensuring transparent electoral process; whereby people will have right to vote and be voted

for made up good democracies. The interview here revealed the level of rights to vote and be voted for among the people in Nigeria. This however, was viewed with some abuses as said by some respondents.

The excerpt below show the representations of their views:

*In democracy people vie for different political offices. It is left for the people to decide who to elect because of his/her competency and desire to protect their interests, religion, culture and provide good roads, portable water and adequate health facilities (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*In democracy, everybody has the same rights and privileges. It doesn't matter whether you are educated or not. It is one man, one vote in democracy. If you are elected and you refuse to do as desired, you can be called back by your people (Informant 10- RCBO Leader II)*

*In the whole world, there is no better form of government than democracy. The reason is, it is the government where people are allowed to elect people of their choice. If they feel dissatisfied with his service, they can call him back at any point in time until a desired objective is achieved (Informant 5- Local Councillor III).*

*Democratic system is the best form of government because it allows us elect officials of our choice. Though, when they get there, we don't hear from them again (Informant G1- Group Member I).*

*Democracy is the best form of government, because it gives everybody the right to vote and be voted for. That is why we accept democracy than other forms (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*The democracy we have in Nigeria is not practised accordingly. The changes we have seen are not as expected. People are not given the rights to vote for leaders of their choice (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

#### **7.2.3.2 Protection of Peoples' Interest and Right**

The essential reasons upon which democracy is established and accepted by the people are the protection of their interest and rights. Protection of these rights therefore are important ingredients to sustenance of democracy and ensuring the high level of acceptance and legitimacy of government. "In Nigeria, human rights are embodied both as the civil and political rights and the economic, social and cultural rights" (Dada, 2012).



The perceptions and views expressed below explain the level of protection of rights and interest of the people in a democratic Nigeria:

*In democracy there are representatives who are expected to defend and protect the interests of their constituents whenever the need arises. By doing this, it fosters unity among the people, depending on the ethnic groups and types of religion of a particular nation... But remember, I have been elected by my people to protect their interests, but I cannot say anything that affects them because of how this democracy is abused in Nigeria (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*Democracy is the best where it is practiced according to the wills of the people. Democracy can be dangerous where the majority don't even enjoy anything from it and their interest is not well protected. So, I feel if we copy from the Western countries democracy can be a good system of government (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*Really, democratic system is the best form of government. Military regime is seen a government which abuses human rights. Everybody knows democracy is the best form because we enjoy more through this system. There are shortcomings of political office holders, but this is the best system of government around the world (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*Democracy is a good form of government if it is practiced according to the laid down rules and regulations of the system. It is said to protect people's interest and right. The common man at the grassroots benefits more in a democratic system of government (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*Democratic government allows people elect officials of their choice (Informant G2- Group Members II).*

This informant has totally a divergent view about Nigerian democracy from the above views:

*Democracy is said to be the government of the people. A government that is established by the will of the people and to propagate or advance the will of the people. But in our situation here; what we see is not in consonant with the practise. What we see is in conflict with the reality of what is on ground with regards to democracy. A lot of people are complaining. In Nigerian case, we are practicing politics theoretically but in reality what we see is oppression of the people. In fact, the will of the people is not advanced in any case. If you look at government structures you find that a lot of people are suffering... If people are allowed to decide the kind of government that they want to practice, I think they will choose what is best for them. Before the introduction of democracy, we had several kinds of government. We had the pre-colonial administration where from what I read, that people were more controlled than what we have in a democratic system. We also had*

*military regimes where we saw structural developments though human capital development seemed not to be there. However, there was a little control. In a democratic system that we find ourselves now, everything is getting out of control. So, left to me, if we have been allowed to choose, define or create our own framework for governance, I think it would be better. I feel it is not the best system for us (Informant 6- Academics I).*

The above view was equally shared by these informants:

*I don't agree to this opinion that democracy is the best. Military regime we have seen before is better than this system of government. In Nigerian democracy, it is who you know that matters. The protection of general interest and rights of people expected of democracy is not there in Nigeria. Viewing differently, another member said, the common man doesn't know democracy exists in this country; because he is helpless (Informant G3-Group Member III).*

*Democratic government is supposed to be an honest government. But Nigeria's democratic government is a fake democracy. It is just like the military rule because there is no development. Leaders are selfish and only represent their pocket. People's interest is not their problem (Informant G4-Group Members IV).*

### **7.2.3.3 Freedom of Association and Expression**

Chapter III of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria as amended provides for the fundamental human rights. Section 24 (1-2 a, b and c) in the chapter, provides that, every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression... Also, section 25 (1 and 2 a, b and c) provides for entitlements to assemble freely and associate with other persons. The application of these sections is important to ensuring constitutionalism and strengthening of democracy in Nigeria and in particular Taraba State.

The views expressed below show the representation of perceptions towards freedom of expression and association in democracy by the informants:

*In democracy everything belongs to the people. People are allowed to decide what they want and how to be ruled. In a military regime, the Head of State may take away everything that belongs to the people. No one has the right to challenge him not to talk of expressing their mind. Likewise in a*



*traditional system, the leader may oppress you but in a democratic system, you have elected officials that you stand to criticise and express your opinions (Informant 1- Local Politician I)*

*Democracy is the best form of government because it allows freedom of speech. You can criticize the government and walk freely. But in military regime you can be imprisoned for criticizing the government. In democracy, people have elected representatives who listen to their problems. Democracy operates on constitution which provides human rights but in military regime, it is decree which does not care about human rights (Informant 12- RCBO IV).*

*Democratic system of government allows people to express themselves freely (Informant 15- Village Head III)*

*The way things are going, democracy is the best form because it allows freedom of expression. In military rule, people are afraid to air their views (Informant 19- Village Head VII)*

*For the past 16 years, I can say there are progresses and there are lapses. Progress in the sense that, people are now becoming aware of their rights. People can go to government and ask for their rights and ask for what government should do to them (Informant 2- Local Politician II)*

*Nigeria is better because of democracy. We have freedom of speech. You can say anything and sleep comfortably (Informant 1- Local Councillor II)*

*Democratic government is different with military rule. It gives people freedom to express the views and opinions (Informant G2- Group Member II)*

*...freedom of expression is all that matters and it makes democracy interesting. What happened in the last Presidential Election is enough to justify the development of democracy in Nigeria. People freely express their minds and opinions leading to voting out of the then incumbent president (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*

*Democracy is a government for the people and it is a system of government whereby the people are given the opportunity to air all their views, express their mind, belong to associations, say what they want and can challenge the government for corrective purposes (Informant 7- Academics II)*

#### **7.2.4 Representative Government**

Representative government is the process in which people elect leaders to represent them in government. Various segments of the society are represented under that arrangement through election at different levels of government. Mill (2001) asserts that “representative government form the ideal type of the most perfect polity, for

which, in consequence any aspect of mankind are better adapted in proportion to their degree of general improvement”.

The diverse nature of the Nigerian environment emphasised the need for options to the representative government. The figure 7.4 below presents the model on perceptions as regards representative government and its functional relationships with Federal; State and LG representatives and community representatives in Nigerian democratic environment.

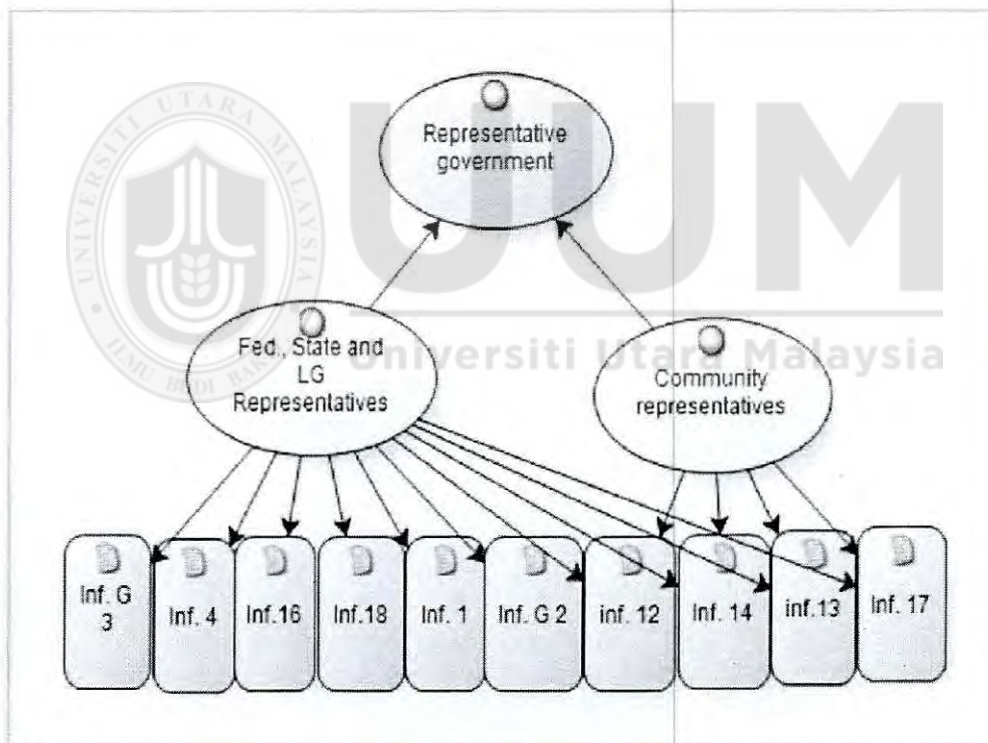


Figure 7.4: Model for democracy as the representative government

#### 7.2.4.1 Federal, State and LG Representatives

Nigeria is a Federal state which is divided into 36 states with Federal capital Territory (FCT), six Geo-political zones, and 774 LGAs. There is 109 constituencies for upper Federal legislatures, 360 for lower Federal legislatures and

each of the state has a State Assemblies; while at the LGAs there is Local Legislative Councils. People are elected to represent those constituencies at all levels for rapid and effective service delivery. "Each of these representatives represents the interest of his/her constituency and presents their demands in government" (ACE-Project.org).

The excerpt below shows the views expressed by our informants on Nigeria's representatives in government:

*In democracy there is representation at all levels of government, in such a way that it is divided into wards, constituencies and zones so that no part can be marginalized. These representatives defend and protect the interests of their constituents whenever the need arises.... The only thing is that we are able to send our representatives to both state and federal government. Though, I don't think they represent us well (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*Political office holders benefit more from this democracy in Nigeria instead of the masses they represent. We elect them, but they don't represent us well. They enjoy while we suffer. Some of them engage in unnecessary spending like organizing birthdays for themselves. We had an Acting Governor who never celebrated his birthday. But when he became Acting Governor, he organized a birthday party to celebrate 66 years. During the birthday party he prayed to God to grant him another 66 years. This is to tell you how heartless and self-centred our leaders can be (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*In democracy we have representations across all levels of government. We should pray to God to bring us honest leaders. This is because; there is serious leadership problem in this country. We shouldn't be suffering like that; as we have all it takes to develop (Informant 14- Village Head II).*

*Democracy is the best form of government. The problem is there is no development. We elect representatives but they don't do anything to better our lives (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*Each local government is given the chance to elect officers of its choice (Informant 4- Local Councillor II).*

*Democracy is the process where people are given the right to elect representatives of their choice (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

*Our representatives should table our problems to the government. This is the reason we elected them (Informant G3- Group Member III).*

*To me, democracy is the process whereby the people are allowed to elect their representatives at all levels of government. These representatives work towards providing portable water, road networks, and good health care delivery (Informant 13- Village Head I).*

*It is a system where people elect their representative so they can bring meaningful development to them (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

*Military rule is about enforcement. In democracy people have representatives in government across all levels. When representatives are elected by the people, it is left for the elected officials to be honest (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*

#### **7.2.4.2 Community Representatives**

At the community level also, there are community leaders drawn from traditional institutions; as fathers of the land and communities; and also, the rural community based organizations that represent people in government on matters affecting their communities and organizations respectively. Many of these representatives filled in some sensitive committees' setup by the government bothering their communities seeking for lasting solutions.

The views expressed below shows the informant's representation as regards community representatives in government business.

*We live in the local government. We are the representatives of community in government. But I can authoritatively tell you that these politicians are not serious about people's flight. The policies in use are not favourable to the rural areas. I strongly disagree to any benefit of this democracy to the rural dwellers (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*The government should partner with us. We are community leaders and doubled as community representatives in government. We must be carried along if rural development is to be achieved (Informant 14- Village Head II).*

*We are community leaders. Everybody comes to us with their problems. We represent people in the community and channel their problem to government (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*People are carried along in implementing programmes geared towards rural development. As representatives of the community; we are always involved (Informant 13- Village Head I).*

### **7.3 Theme Two: Effective Implementation of Rural Development Programmes**

Programme implementation is one of the important policy process and indeed crucial to the realization of its said objectives. Implementation is one of the stages in the policy cycle; in which the adopted policies are put into actions. It is said that, whatever policy intentions, without its effective implementations remains a mirage and yield no impact. Coker & Obo (2012) maintained that, “it is one thing to formulate policies, but a different thing to successfully implement it”.

Nigeria had over the years formulated different policies as regards rural development; but the rural sub-sector and general development of the country still remains slower. It is in this light that, Chukwuemeka & Okide (2013) avers that, the rural sector of Nigeria has not witnessed significant level of development in the last 52 years of its independence. This theme therefore addresses those factors that enhances or impedes effective implementation of rural development programmes in Nigeria. The theme answers research question two as postulated in chapter one (1.3) of this study. Three main sub-themes: levels of political commitments; effective implementation of programmes and implementation problems were identified by this research informants; each of these has its dimensions. The relationships of these and their dimensions can be seen from the figure 7.5 below.



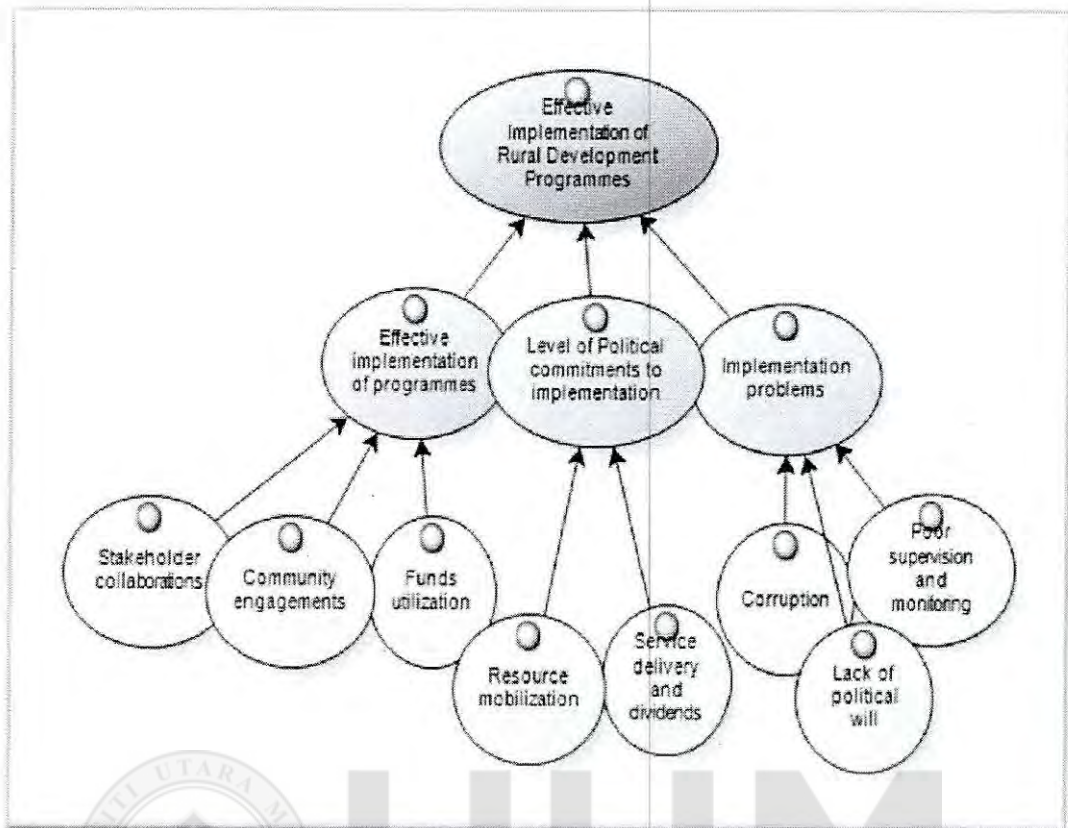


Figure 7.5: Model for implementation of rural development programmes sub-themes and sub-sub-themes

### 7.3.1. Effective Implementation of Programmes

Many factors may be crucial to ensuring that a policy that were formulated is successfully and effectively implemented among which is the effective stakeholder collaborations and political will in the side of leaders to ensuring that the policies formulated are effectively implemented to achieve its desired objectives. In Nigeria, policies initiated were rated laudable, but their implementations were graded ineffective and unsuccessful. This is corroborated by Coker and Obo (2012) in their studies of problems and prospects of implementing rural transformation programmes in Odukpani LGA of Cross-River State-Nigeria, concludes that, “the problem of rural transformation in the country to a very large extent is not

particularly that of policy formulation, but rather, the problems lie in programme implementation”.

The figure 7.6 below shows the dynamic functional relationships between effective implementation of programmes and its three dimensions: stakeholder collaborations, community engagement and funds utilization. These were subsequently presented based on the informants view as regards effective implementation of rural development:

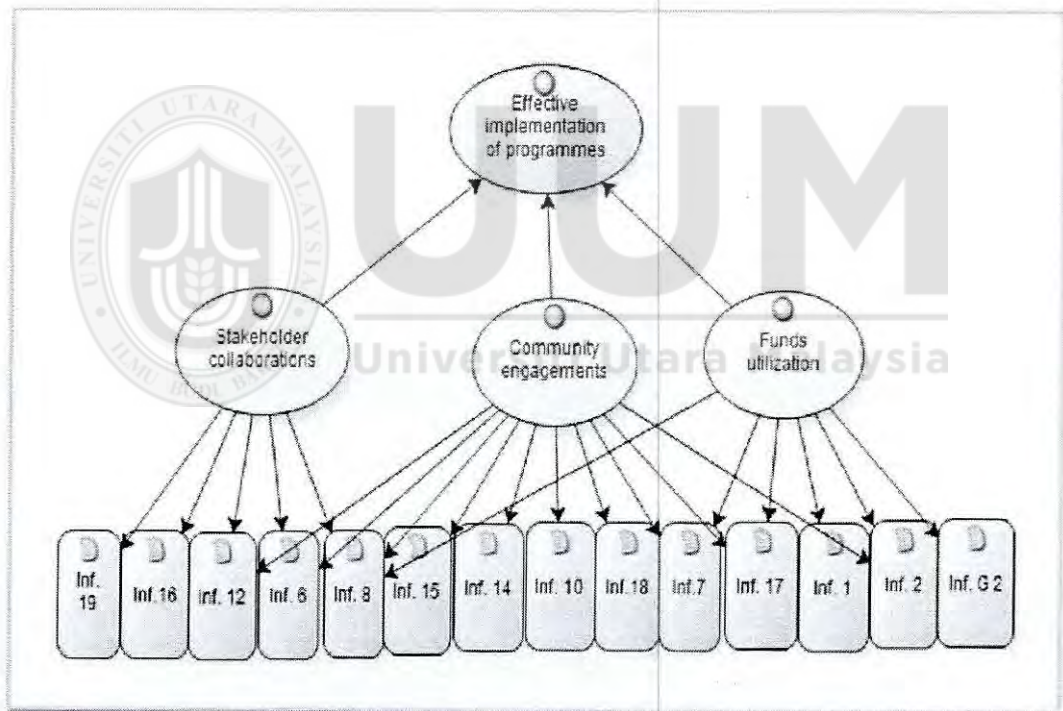


Figure 7.6: Model for effective implementation of programmes

### 7.3.1.1 Stakeholder Collaboration

According to World Wildlife Fund (2010) “stakeholder collaboration is a process that goes through much iteration. That, its process helps a range of stakeholder-allies and opponents, public and private, communities and individuals to develop a

better understanding of the issues and challenges involved in achieving goals and objectives at a variety of scale”.

Stakeholder collaboration requires different engagements for change and commitments of different groups to achieving a certain objectives. Effective implementation of rural development programmes requires stakeholder collaborations. “Successful stakeholder collaborations increase the likelihood that, the resulting policy will more effectively meet the need of various beneficiaries” (Kendall, 2006).

In Nigeria the collaborations of government at both Federal, State and LGs, rural communities and other development partners is necessary to achieving effective implementation of rural development programmes. The excerpt below shows the perceptions of our interview informants as regards the level of collaborative tendencies of stakeholders in implementation of rural development programmes:

*There is no good relationship and effective collaborations among stakeholders, especially between the state and local governments. About a year now, local government salaries are prepared by the state to talk of allowing them do some programmes. The local governments don't operate on their own, then what collaborations are we talking about? (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*If there is any problem, as Village Heads we talks to the LG Chairman who takes the issue to the State Government. There has been effective cooperation and collaboration between them (Informant 19- Village Head VII).*

*Nigeria is a federal state. It has three tiers of government. What we find among these three tiers is conflict and where there is constant conflict between these three tiers when would the collaborations be? With this you cannot coordinate anything and cannot bring development (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*There is always a share of responsibilities between the State and federal governments. We are working hand in hand. At the federal level, we have the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development and the Ministry of*



*Water Resources. At the end of the year, we go into meeting, look at the policies and see what should be done. The policies are almost all the same; all geared to improve the lives of the rural dwellers...*

*By law, the state is to do a lot of things for the local governments. They don't have the wherewithal to do these things, so most of the activities pertaining rural development the state is shouldering such responsibilities. However, there are some works that we involve them. You cannot provide services and maintain them, so the local governments maintain such services. Prior to this time, the state government had been providing all the services but for some problems, we now involve them. By so doing, we reduce the burden from the state not because we are shifting away from our responsibilities but to provide and maintain is a problem. We provide while they maintain. Generally, more commitment is needed on all the stakeholders, not only the government but communities, the NGOs, the partners and donor organizations. We need to partner a lot so that more services will be available at the grassroots (Informant 8- Civil Servant).*

*Between the federal and states, there is an effective cooperation. But within the state and local governments there is no cooperation. Local governments are not allowed to operate independently. In fact, Governors decides on the tenure of local governments. They appoint them anytime and they change them anytime. There is not specific time LG elections is held, unlike what is obtainable at the state and Federal level; where they have four year term to serve. This affects LG delivery as well (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

### **7.3.1.2 Community Engagements**

Community engagements are an important strategy of policy actions, in which the communities are involved in addressing matters affecting them. According to the Queensland Department of Emergency services (2001) "it is a planned process with specific purposes of working with identified groups of people to address issues affecting their well-being". The Victoria State Government, Department of Environment and Primary Industries however, has identified the following: "informing the community of policy directions of the government; Consulting the community as part of a process to develop government policy, or build community awareness and understanding; involving the community through a range of mechanisms to ensure that issues and concerns are understood and considered as part of the decision-making process; collaborating with the community by

developing partnerships to formulate options and provide recommendations and empowering the community to make decisions and to implement and manage change, as examples of community engagements by government”.

The views expressed below shows our informants’ representations as regards community engagements in implementation of rural development programmes:

*We are always involved while implementing programmes of government and at community level we are also engage into community development to help ourselves and the government (Informant 10- RCBO Leader II).*

*We are not always involved in policies and programmes. Government doesn’t engage us on its programmes from inception to execution. Sometimes we just see them doing things. It doesn’t concern them whether it will yield result or not (Informant 10- RCBO Leader IV).*

*As community leaders; the government involves us in any area of rural development when need arises (Informant 14- Village Head II).*

*Most of the programmes meant for development of rural areas are formulated in Abuja (FCT). We don't see them. This is not democracy. Communities must be engage for effective policies (Informant 15- Village Head III).*

*We have not been engaged and carried along in rural development projects by the government. I worked for 33 years before I was given this title. If government would involve us in matters of rural development as community leaders, everything will be fine because we know our problems and we know what the people want (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*We still have a long way to go because you cannot develop a rural community without money but the communities are trying. Sometimes they come together to do one thing or the other. The local government sometimes assists them where necessary (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*...If the rural people are being carried along we won't be complaining because they will consider it as their own projects. But as it is, you make policies up there, and you say it should trickle down. When it trickles down, the people see it as somebody's policies. Let them be involved. Let the programme be people oriented. Let them be people involved. In fact, ensure they make the policies themselves... The policies that are not people oriented. Policies are made from the public and sell to the common man to accept (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*We try to involve the rural communities at the implementation stage. We also involve them at all levels when the need arises. But due to their poor nature, we cannot ask them to bring money. It takes time to deliver. We just quantify the facilities to be provided (Informant 8- Civil Servant).*

*People should not wait for the government to do everything for them. We should engage in community development projects. We have many community projects implemented by the people. We in Lau don't wait for the government for everything. Local government has no use (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*

*...In democracy, people are given the opportunity to air their views, make suggestions and interact and participate in the implementations of programmes that have to do with their life (Informant 7- Academics II).*

### **7.3.1.3 Funds Utilization**

Financial backings is crucial and sinquanon to implementations of policies. The fund may be allocated to execute certain projects, but the effective utilization of these funds is what matters. In Nigeria, a lot of money used to be earmarked for projects to be successfully implemented, but yet many remain unexecuted. This is confirmed by Ijewereme (2015) when he says “in Nigeria most public office holders and higher bureaucrats use their positions to squander and embezzled funds meant for development purposes due to corruption”. The effective and judicious utilization of funds to implementation of programmes remains important.

The views below show the interview informants positions as regard funds utilization in implementing programmes:

*I don't think there is any benefit in our rural areas and to talk of being satisfied. You have seen the local government headquarters. This local government was created in 1992; can we say it should look the way it is now compared to what was collected from the federation account after 21 years? Is it comparable? A lot of money has been budgeted and send but not properly utilised in bringing development, but rather stolen by people at the top and LGA that is closer to the people is impoverished (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*Even LG salaries are prepared and paid from the state capital. Our Chairman lives in Jalingo (State capital). He doesn't live in Karim. Local government funds meant for development are shared at the state capital. The money should be given directly to the LGAs and be properly utilized to implements programmes of government; with strong supervision to curve corruption (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*The level of co-operation is a little bit high among levels of government, but implementation is the problem. A budget will be made for a certain project but fund will not be released for the project. This cripple development (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*You see as a ministry; our achievements are tied to what we provide. If they want you to achieve, they give you money. If they don't give you, invariably it means they don't want you to achieve. But as a ministry we are ever ready and have the required manpower to achieve given necessary funding (Informant 8- Civil Servant).*

*The funds meant to be utilized for implementing programmes are diverted; leaving us with the problems; yet in paper it is executed (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

*We have good policies in Nigeria. If you study those policies, you will like them. But implementation is not always there. The funds meant for developments are not utilized properly; but rather being diverted and embezzled (Informant 7- Academics II).*

### **7.3.2 Level of Political Commitments to Implementations**

The need for political commitment in the implementation of rural development cannot be over-emphasised. It requires effective responses to the implementation of programmes and policies; which requires the support and involvement of all major political actors across all levels of government and bureaucratic institutions. As rightly put “It implies the support of a broad ranges of civil and community leaders at all levels of the society” (USAID, 2000). The European Commission (2008) also maintained that “political commitment is a driving force that stimulates the management cycle. The idea of implementation of integrated management system must be derived from the beginning of its process”. This is to say that, for effective implementation of a programme high level of commitments must be employed to ensure the efficient service delivery as far the objectives of the programme.

Ugwuanyi & Emmaa (2013b) observed that “in Nigeria there is poor commitment of the political representatives towards development of the rural constituencies”.

The figure 7.7 below however, shows the model of functional relationships between political commitment and its dimensions of service delivery and dividends; and resource mobilization as developed from our informants' views.

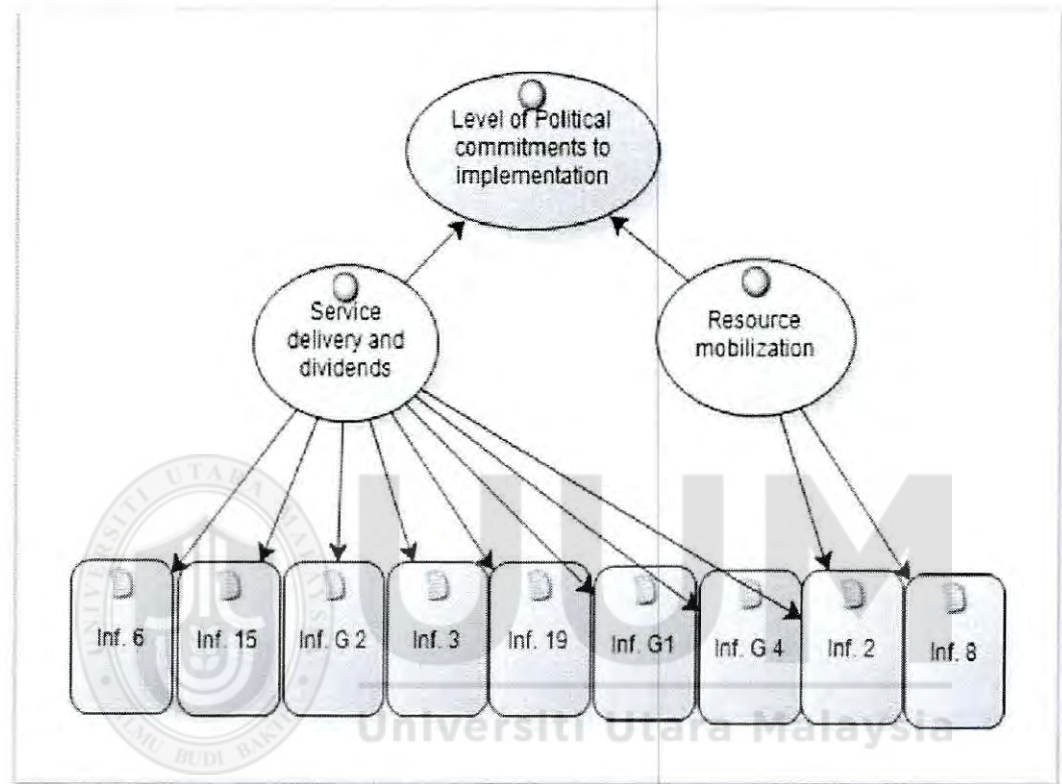


Figure 7.7: Model of political commitments to implementation of rural development

7.3.2.1 Service Delivery and Dividends

The effective policy implementation ensures efficient delivery of services. The level of commitment exhibited by the policy actors has significant effect on the level of services rendered to the public. According to Kayode *et al* (2013) service delivery implies tangible and intangible goods and services provided by the government to improving the well-being of the people. In a democracy, it is expected that, leaders commit themselves to providing these services for maximum welfare of the populace. This is however on the lower side in Nigeria. Akujuru &



Enyioko (2013) found that, “government has averagely performed in social service delivery and their adequate provisions are insufficient in Nigeria”. This in tandem with the findings made by Egberé & Madubueze (2014) as regards Local governments that, “local government performance in terms of service delivery has slipped lower in Nigeria.” The resulting effect of all these is general underdevelopment, especially at the grassroots level.

The views expressed below by the interview informants’ shows their level of representation as regards service delivery and dividends:

*Actually, it is very sad. The definition of democracy we earlier gave does not reflect into the African communities entirely. It becomes a way in which political office holders enrich themselves with funds accrued to their people. Politicians fight for offices not because of the people, but for their desire for embezzlement. There is no democracy in Nigeria due to our selfish interests... At sixteen, the dividends of this form of government in Nigeria should be better than this in our rural areas, especially looking at the trillions of Naira gotten. The economy today is in a very bad state because of injustices and abuse of office.... Anyway, we thank God, we now have a four-kilometre road and we have boreholes from the MDG. We are beginning to see developments. The government is doing its best. We cannot say there is no development (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*We are not politicians but if you are elected, it means you know our problem, you should not be told what to do. The politicians benefit more. This is not supposed to be so. People should be given dividends through service delivery and development projects... Our political office holders should remember they didn't elect themselves. Empowering few people is not the best. They should engage in capital projects so that every member of the community will enjoy (Informant 15- Village Head III).*

*The government should intensify its effort towards providing social amenities to the rural people. Much is still expected, as many communities are still un-touched (Informant 19- Village Head VII).*

*The major beneficiaries of Nigerian democracy are the political office holders but it is not supposed to be so. It is supposed to be the people in the rural areas. Perhaps it is because of self-centeredness, selfishness, and others, that is why people in the rural areas don't benefit much as it should be... We need to double our efforts towards developing our rural areas because presently the phase of development is slow. This is because, the good policies meant for development are not effectively implemented (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*Our rural areas, since 1978 had benefited from different policies and programmes such as Operation Feed the Nation, Directorate for Rural Infrastructure, etc. up to the recent regimes of Obasanjo. All these regimes have been able to bring dividends of democracy to the people like the SURE-P programme which has impacted so much on our lives. Under this policy, thousands of youths in the country who were unemployed acquired different skills, ranging from tailoring, welding, etc. In Taraba State, as soon a trainee completes his training, he is provided with relevant facilities of his field that will help him set up his own business. All this was as a result of democracy (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*People are crying rather than rejoicing that they have leaders. They have leadership that are not concerned about them. The election process is not made genuine such that we have wrong people governing us. There is something wrong with the system. To sum it, the democracy that we are practicing in Nigeria is not to the interests of the common man, please... There are no adequate financial back-ups to effectively implement policies and the few provided were stolen. How can we have effective service delivery? (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*We have benefited from democracy, but not as expected. In 16 years, I can give 10% to the government out of 100%. The government relies on MDGs which is the initiation of UN to implement projects. The government doesn't have its own projects well implemented (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

### **7.3.2.2 Resource Mobilization**

The ability for leaders to mobilize resources and ensures that policies are effectively implemented shows their level of commitment to service. Resource mobilization is a process of raising financial resources and different kind of support to seeing that a particular policy is effectively implemented. An ability of a leader therefore, to harness and mobilise resources to effectively provide efficient service shows his/her level of commitment. According to the Venture for Fund Raising (2010) “resource mobilization is a management process that involve identifying people, who share same value as your institution or organization and take steps to manage that relationship”.

The excerpt below shows the views of our interviews informant on resource mobilization as far the level of political commitment to implementation:

*Well, making a policy and implementing it are two different things. You may design a policy but if there is no money for implementation, it won't bring any dividend. But a lot of policies are designed without the cash back-ups for implementation and execution. I feel the government should plan according to its purse and find alternative ways of raising money through internally generated revenues and collaborations with other development partners, rather than depending on allocations to achieve most of its developmental objectives (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*Taraba state is a rural state. All economic indicators have shown this. We depend on the monthly allocations from the federal government. There is need for more alternative resource mobilization to bring development as expected (Informant 8- Civil Servant).*

### **7.3.3 Implementation Problems**

Policy implementation is one of the major problems confronting developing nations (Makinde 2005). He further maintained that “implementation problems occur when the desired result on the target beneficiaries is not achieved”. Nigerian policies had been adjudged laudable, but marred with the implementation problems. This is supported by Ugwuanyi & Emma (2013b) when they assert that “over the years numerous brilliant policies have been formulated in Nigeria. Yet, there is no apparent significant development to show... these suggest that, mere formulation of policies is not the major issue, but rather effective implementation; as it is the only solution to bringing national development”.

The figure 7.8 below shows the three dimensional relationships of implementation problems identified in this research as: lack of political will; corruption; and poor supervision and monitoring. Each of which were subsequently discussed based on the representation of our interview informants.



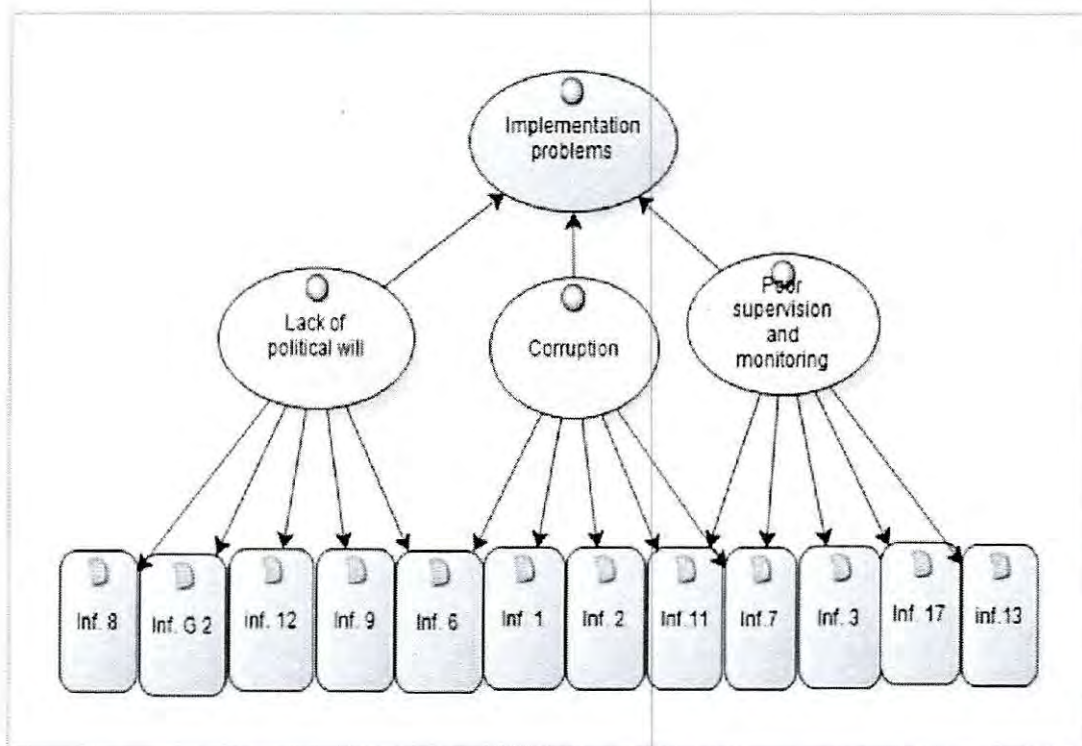


Figure 7.8: Model for implementation problems of rural development

### 7.3.3.1 Lack of Political Will

Political will is a driving force to effective implementation of programmes and policies. The success or failure of policies nowadays is measured by the level of political will exhibited by leaders. It is in this light that Charney (2009) maintained “political will is the ghost in the machines of politics, the motive force that generate political action”. Okoroma (2006) avers that, “leaders in Nigeria usually want the country stand out the best in everything. But however, the political will has been lacking”. This aspect therefore shows the respondents’ views on the level of political will to implementation of programmes. The excerpt below represents those views:

*There are policies but they are not adequately implemented. Take this SURE-P scheme for example. It is meant to improve the lives of the rural people but the amount released to Lau Local Government on paper was not what has been brought to us. You see, the political will and patriotism is not there to implement them. We have good policies in this country but implementation is always the problem (Informant 12- RCBO IV).*

*I have not read the statement made by Colin Powel, the former US Secretary of State very well but I learnt that he said Nigerians are good policy makers but implementation is their problem. With regards to programmes, we have had several programmes that would have been translated into physical developments but the policies are just mere policies. We don't make efforts to bring them into reality (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*To some extent it depends on the way government takes its activities seriously. If it wants the objectives of the ministry to be achieved, it will pay serious attention. On the other way round, if the attention of policy makers is not on the objectives of the ministry you will see less attention. This is what some ministries are suffering from. Although the government may be doing its best but because of constraints here and there, it will be difficult to achieve their goals... The ministry being a centre of policy formulation and co-ordination is doing its best to provide advisory services and provide statistics on which the government is to build its policies. It depends on the level of political will by the government and how you take matters. We create policies; generate policies and co-ordinate very well (Informant 8- Civil Servant).*

He went further to say that:

*...commitment is what is expected. We need political will and economic support, etc. to be able to achieve our objectives. We need committed leaders at the top to support us. Before, we had some high level of commitments toward implementing our policies and programmes. Because the people then appreciated the problems for they knew better. Whenever we sent proposal, it was quickly adopted and sent back but recently, the level of commitment is not as we expected. We always advocate the policy-makers to show commitment if we are to transform the aspirations of the people at the grassroots. But really the level of commitment is generally low (Informant 8- Civil Servant).*

*The political will to providing and implementing rural programme toward improving the condition of people is not there at all. Really, in most cases, we don't even know what most of them are doing. Though some of them are trying, but majority of them are not doing anything..... There are a lot of policies but implementation is usually the problem. This due to lack of political will by leaders and corruption (Informant 9- RCBO I).*

*The politicians are not committed and don't have the political will at all to implementing rural development programmes (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

### **7.3.3.2 Corruption**

Corruption in government constitutes a stumbling block to the wheels of progress.

Pervasive corruption and embezzlement of funds meant to implementing government programmes are considered a major problem for effective

implementation of developing countries, especially Nigeria. Ugwuanyi & Emma (2013b) affirmed that, “bureaucracy in Nigeria operates under ineffective and corrupt political leadership... that, policy making goals in Nigeria are subordinated to the personal rewards and interests of political leaders with their colleagues.” Okoroma (2006) bitterly reports that, corruption has contributed greatly to the stagnation of corporate development of Nigeria. The 2014 corruption perception index report placed Nigeria as number 39<sup>th</sup> most corrupt nation in the world (Transparency International, 2014).

The excerpt below shows the informants’ view as regard corruption as it hampers effective implementation of policies and programmes in Nigeria:

*There is no co-operation from the state government towards rural development. I have not seen one in my three years in office now. In paper, there is, but when the funds meant for implementing such policies is received, everybody will be asking on how it can be shared. Corruption is what is killing this country (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*Democracy is not well practiced as it is in the Western world. That is why you see here in Nigeria there are a lot of corruptions here and there, a lot of problems here you can see... A lot of policies are designed without the cash back-ups for implementation and execution. I feel the government should plan according to its purse. Where such funds are provided, were mismanaged and been diverted for personal gains. This is unfortunate (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*What we see here is conflict. Conflict upon conflicts. Leaders steal money and there is no penalty. You know we recently had an issue; late last year there was an issue regarding pension scheme scam. Billions were stolen and somebody was asked a fine of thousands. Are we not encouraging corruption? I don't think this democracy is doing us the good that we expected... He further laments that, we have a lot of things that are not actually checking us. There are issues with regards to enforcements. We have institutions like the ICPC, EFCC and the police but there is no legislation to guide our lives. I just spoke about the pension scheme scam where there is no law prosecuting such an offender. What can you deduct from a situation where someone stole billions and he is asked to pay fine of thousands? It is pathetic, meaning we don't have policies that will check corruption, which will bring about development.... Corruption in Nigeria has been institutionalised. The money meant for implementation of projects are stolen and diverted and nothing happened. There are no checks and balance and these cannot lead to development (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*We have good policies but corruption is the problem. That is why policies are not well implemented. Corruption is the barrier to grassroots underdevelopment. Funds sent from the federal government for rural development are diverted... We don't see any development because of corruption (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*I am not fully satisfied with the level of commitments exhibited; because of the corrupt nature of our politicians. Underdevelopment and poverty everywhere. The issue of development I pray our future leaders will do something about it (Informant 7- Academics II).*

### **7.3.3.3 Poor Supervision and Monitoring**

Supervision and monitoring are important policy cycle in which policies and programmes designed are carefully oversaw to meeting their intended outcome. According to Igwe (2001) supervision means “directing, overseeing, guiding or making sure that, the expected standards are met”. Poor supervision is said to have been identified as serious impediments to effective implementation of Nigeria policies. Edho (2009) for example, while discussing on the poor supervision and monitoring on educational policies in Delta State Nigeria, contends that, “lack of poor supervision and monitoring of schools for several decades was major drawback in education sector policy management”. This was correctly confirmed with the submission made by Ojenemi & Ogwu (2013) that “poor supervision and blinded acceptability of acclaimed projects are bane to Nigeria rural development programmes”. This is to say that, government do not properly monitor and supervised those monies and material resources earmarked for projects properly to meeting the expected standard. The said projects or programmes are usually blindly accepted upon dubious retirements by the contractors and lower authorities to government at the top.

The excerpt below shows the informants position as regards poor supervision and monitoring at the implementation stage of policies and programmes:

*The government should be monitoring the activities of our representatives so that there would be no diversion of projects. A lot of money are diverted and many projects are either left abandoned or completely not executed (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*...this is our major problem. The government at the top will send something to the rural people, but will not supervise what has been sent (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*If we want to practice democracy, we should do it accordingly. We have three tiers of government; federal, state and local government. Each tier should be allowed to operate on its own. Money should be given directly. The government should just establish effective monitoring mechanism that will supervise how funds are used (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*The government programmes are good, but not properly implemented. Government should monitor the policies and programmes step by step. We the District Heads should be involved so that it will reach the rural people (Informant 13- Village Head I).*

*At times, people don't monitor the programmes at the grassroots. A policy will be made, but no one to effectively monitor and supervise its successful implementation due to corruption (Informant 7- Academics II).*

#### **7.4 Theme Three: Democratic Performance on Rural Development in Taraba**

In spite its economic potential, development in Nigeria especially at the rural level remain unimpressive. This was however as a result of unstable democratic government in place; due to its prolonged military rule. Until 1999 democracy as a system of government remained unstable and been disrupted in Nigeria. The 1999 successful transition to democratically elected government therefore had marked a watershed in its political history. After 15 years now of its successful return, the yearning for development among many, especially at the rural level still remain taller. The question now remains, do democratic government perform to the level that rural related problems are ameliorated? What are the achievements so far been recorded to addressing rural problems? These are the main issues this theme



addresses. The theme has five major sub-themes that were used to measure such performance: agricultural development; rural health medical facilities; rural infrastructural development, rural human empowerments and job creation; and rural access to education. All these had their different dimensions.

The figure 7.9 below shows the model for democratic performance on rural development with its sub-theme and their dimensions as developed from informants’ responses:

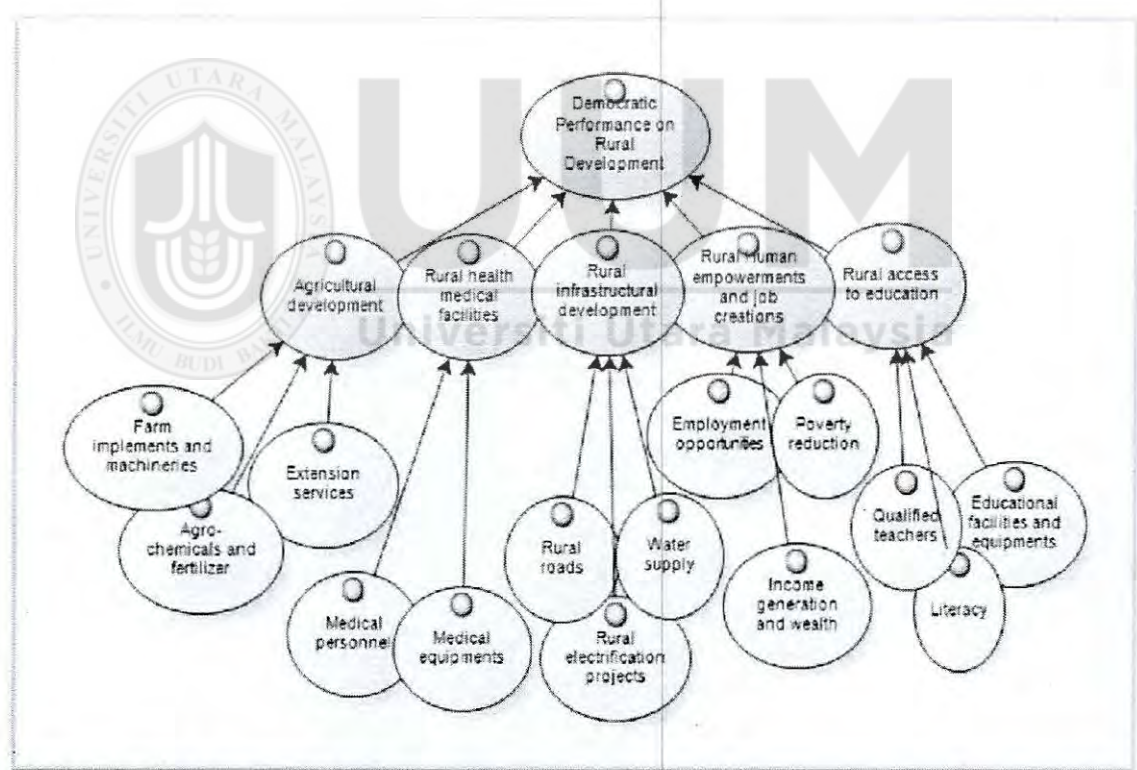


Figure 7.9: Model for democratic performance on rural development with its themes

### 7.4.1 Agricultural Development

Agriculture is one of the important sectors in Nigeria. Before oil exploration, it remains the main stay of Nigeria’s economy. “Majority of the poor that are

employed by agricultural sector are located in rural areas... it occupy the very strategic position in the development process of the Nigerian economy” (Tersoo, 2014). The question is, how do the government concerned about the development of agriculture in Nigeria? This sub-theme addresses this.

The theme comprises of three sub-themes to measure it: farm implements and machineries; agro-chemicals and fertilizer; and extension services. The figure 7.10 below shows the model for agricultural development as it relates to its sub-themes.

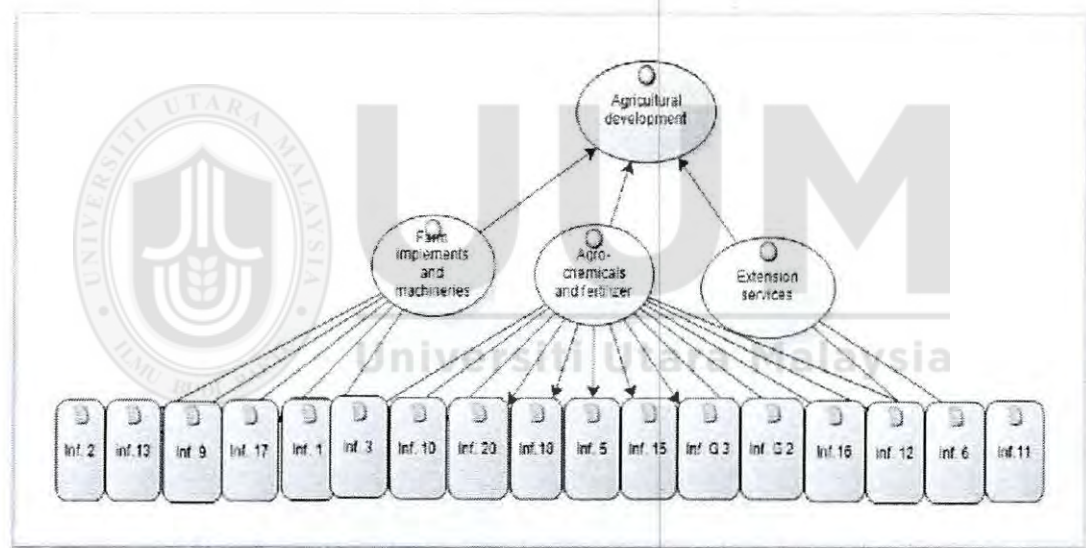


Figure 7.10: Model for agricultural development

#### 7.4.1.1 Farm Implements and Machineries

Sophisticated farm implements and machineries are important to ensuring a mechanised farming system. Akinbamowo (2013) assert that “agricultural mechanization is the replacement of human and animal labour by mechanical devices in farming activities”. The African and indeed Nigeria traditional farming system especially, by the rural poor farmers is obsolete and yield lower output. How the government does provides such implements to improving the farming

practices of rural farmers for bumper harvest?

The interview responses on the perception of people on farm implements and machineries towards development of agriculture are presented below:

*Farming is our tradition but the government is doing nothing to help farmers. Tractors and fertilizer should be given to farmers as loans to improve the outputs. Our people still uses old traditional methods in farming (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*There was a time the government sent a delegation. They told me the government needed five hectares of land for mechanised farming, to which I agreed. They left and never came back. We have to import rice from foreign countries while we have fertile land. This is bad (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*The government is not much involved in developing farming activities through provision of modern farm implements. So, it needs to improve its level of commitment to agriculture like provision of fertilizer, farm implements and others (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*There are challenges to agricultural sector. In spite our agricultural potentials in this state. Government did not encourage farmers with farm implements and other modern methods of farming (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*Fertilizers are usually provided, but in an exorbitant price and usually through middle men, who are none farmers. Government should have subsidised fertilizer and sale directly to farmers. The main problem is inadequate machines for us to ease farming (Informant 13- Village Head I).*

#### **7.4.1.2 Agro-Chemicals and Fertilizer**

The over-increasing demand of agro-chemicals and fertilizers by rural farmers is becoming alarming in Nigeria. It is in this sense that, Olowogbon *et al* (2013) says “Nigerian agricultural sector is dominated by small scale farmers with increased usage of agro-chemicals...” How do government come to the aid of small scale and semi-rural farmers by providing those agro-chemicals and fertilizers?



The excerpt below shows the perceptions of informants' as regards the provision of agro-chemicals and fertilizers:

*Some farmers have money, but access to the fertilizer is another problem. Nigeria is rich. We should not be suffering like this. Though the incoming government says agriculture is its major priority, let's see whether there is going to be changes as they promised? (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*As regards agriculture government have done something, but there is delay in providing fertilizer to the farmers (Informant 10- RCBO Leader II).*

*Although the federal government has come out with a policy of registering farmers so that fertilizer and other farming facilities are sold to them at subsidized rates. But, based on my assessment, the policy is only helping small number as it only helps those that need just one to two bags. The policy on ground cannot support large scale farmers, who can harvest 200 bags and above. Fertilizers should be provided in abundance and based on farmers demand whether small or large farmers (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*We have enough land and everything suitable for farming activities. But, the government sends fertilizer late. This attitude should be changed (Informant 15- Village Head III).*

*The government has subsidized fertilizer, maize seeds, rice seeds and others; but only few can access them. This should be extended so that every farmer will benefit from it (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*This administration has done its best in agriculture with the recent Farmer's Registration; where fertilizer is being provided at a subsidized rate (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*The state government sends tractors and fertilizer to our farmers at a subsidized rate to better the agricultural sector (Informant 5- Local Councillor III).*

*We only receive leap services on agriculture. The change in our economy as regards agricultural contribution to GDP is personal efforts by local farmers, though the government of Jonathan at one point in time did something to encourage farmers like the change of the middle men in the chain of distribution of fertilizer. That helped to improve the living standard of the rural people. We have seen increase in rice production. However, that is insignificant to label as development because a very huge population who can turn around the agricultural sector in the rural communities are still left unsupported by government. But we are seeing little effort from the government (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*The government sells fertilizer at subsidised rates. But some who are not farmers buy the fertilizer and resell to farmers at exorbitant rates (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

*The government is doing little on farm implements and fertilizer distribution. They either sell the fertilizer to their selected people that*

*belong to their political affiliations or sell it to farmers at an exorbitant price (Informant G3- Group Member III)*

*Many policies have not been implemented well, especially in the disbursement of fertilizer. Everything is shared according to whom you know based on political connection, religion and or ethnicity (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*Government sends tractors and fertilizer but a common man cannot afford them. We have fertile land but the government is not doing anything to improve farming (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

*The government was able to provide fertilizer at a subsidised rate but we need improvement on the supply; as many farmers still need them (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*

#### **7.4.1.3 Extension Services**

Extension services provide farmers with adequate knowledge concerning new farming technology and innovations to meeting the modern farming challenges. Imoloame & Olanrewaju (2014) defined extension services to mean teaching and informing farmers about new and improved technology to improving their productivity and income...” majority of rural farmers are illiterates and uses traditional methods in their farming practices as noted above. Then, how adequate is democratic government provides extension specialists to inform and guides rural farmers to new modern farming challenges?

The excerpt below show respondents’ views as regards extension services to improve agriculture:

*I am working on Effectiveness of Extension Service Delivery in Southern Taraba area. I discovered that there are structures but there are no personnel. Southern Taraba has 74 extension cells, out of which only 17 cells are occupied and you expect that extension service delivery to be effective? There is no way that will happen. And there is zero allocation to extension programmes (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*We have not seen anything from the government to developing agriculture, couple with the fact that; we have good land suitable for farming activities. It is the people that design ways of improving their agricultural produce.*

*There is no extension service provision to enlighten our illiterate farmers on modern ways of farming (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

## 7.4.2 Rural Health Medical Facilities

‘Health they say is wealth’. Providing quality health is a fundamental rights of all citizens in Nigeria (Abdulraheem *et al*, 2012). The main goal of National Health Policy of 2004 as amended “is to provide a comprehensive healthcare system... so that individuals and communities assured of productivity, social well-being and good living”. At the local level there exist a Primary Health Centres. Because of its pivotal role to human life, each level of government is assuming responsibility in health service provision in Nigeria. This research however, discovered how such a medical service provision got to rural communities?

The theme here, has medical personnel and medical equipments provisions in rural areas as measures. Figure 7.11 shows the model for rural health medical facilities and its relationship with its sub-themes highlighted earlier.

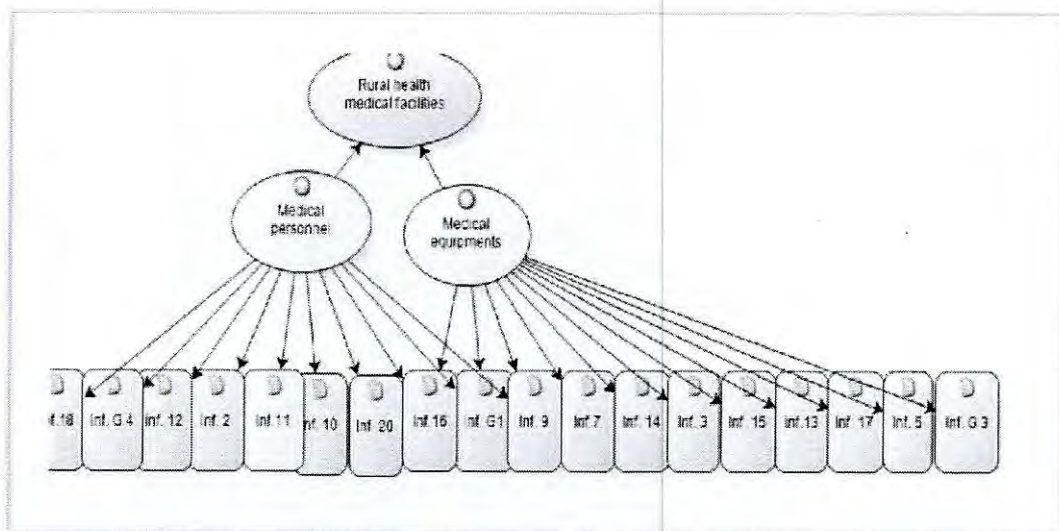


Figure 7.11: Model for rural health medical facilities

#### 7.4.2.1 Medical Personnel

Availability of medical personnel that can attend to patients promptly and all the times determines the level of improvements in the health service provision. Many of the developing and especially underdeveloped societies faces this challenge. This is more pronounced at the rural areas. “The availability of well trained and motivated health personnel in most underdeveloped societies is not usually guaranteed, especially in remote and underserved areas” (Obembe *et al* 2014; & Afowose, 2010). How democratic government in Nigeria do provides adequate medical personnel to attend to rural people?

The views expressed below shows the representations of our informants’ as regards medical personnel in rural communities:

*In our community, we have hospitals but no personnel man it and there are no drugs (Informant 10- RCBO Leader II).*

*In the area of health, we have benefited a lot in Lau town (the LG headquarters); but many other villages are left out. But here we have clinics, we have personnel and drugs. But many villages are left out at their mercy. This is not fair (Informant 12- RCBO Leader III).*

*Health facilities are fairly OK but the personnel to man them are not enough. We are trying to employ and train more (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*We have hospitals but we need more. Also need adequate medical personnel (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*In health sector, for instance, clinics were built but there are no personnel to man them (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*There are no adequate personnel and drugs. Our doctors are always on strike as government doesn’t take good care of them (Informant G4- Group Member IV).*

*Our hospitals lack qualified personnel. You will go for a headache and be diagnosing for malaria... Mosquitoes are everywhere in our hospitals. It is better for you to sleep in the bush than in our hospitals (Informant G1- Group Members I).*

*Our hospitals have no personnel. Some doctors have established their private hospitals, thereby neglecting the public ones (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*There are no qualified personnel. The few hospitals builds are without Doctors and adequate personnel (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

*There are clinics in every ward of Lau Local Government Area. There are medical personnel in each of the clinics. But, much needs to be done, as many communities still need them; as they are left out without one (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*

#### **7.4.2.2 Medical Equipments**

Adequate provision of medical equipments and facilities help in great measures toward provision of quality health services to the people. How adequate are these facilities and equipments been provided at the rural areas? According to Ademiluyi *et'al* (2009) “the distribution of healthcare delivery in Nigeria has favoured the urban population at expense of the rural settlers...” Also, Abiodun & Kolade (2007) found that, there is no reasonable health facilities in rural health centres; thereby undermining the service quality provision to citizens.

The excerpt below shows the respondents’ views as regard medical equipments and facilities in rural areas:

*Nothing is been done to provide medical facilities in our health centres. Our people are suffering; many mate their untimely deaths as a result of these... (Informant 14- Village Head II).*

*There are serious challenges to our health sector. We have hospitals and medical personnel but there are no drugs and modern medicals equipments. Without these Doctors cannot help patients out... (Informant 15- Village Head III).*

*Our people have to go to Jalingo (the state capital) for medication. Even in Jalingo, you have to go to a private hospital, as government hospitals are not effective (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*Our hospitals have no drugs and other medical equipments. We have to go to drug stores to buy drugs at exorbitant prices (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*



*The local government has dispensaries. Drugs are provided to our various dispensaries (Informant 5- Local Councillor III).*

*Through MDG programme, clinics have been built and medical facilities were provided. There is improvement... (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*There are no medical facilities here. Recently, my sister suffered snake bite. We had to take her to a neighbouring state for treatment (Informant G3- Group Member III).*

*No adequate facilities in our hospitals. Mosquitoes are everywhere in our hospitals. It is better for you to sleep in the bush than in our hospitals (Informant G1- Group Member I).*

*Here we have medical personnel in our hospital, but we lack medical facilities. Then, how would the patients be diagnosed? (Informant 13- Village Head I).*

*The hospitals lack facilities. There are no qualified personnel. The few hospitals builds are without Doctors and adequate personnel. The common man uses a lot of money to pay for medical bills in private hospitals. This is an important sector that government must intervene (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

*Down to the local governments, people don't even know whether there is government until the politicians are looking for political offices. They will come and give people meagre amount of money to vote for them. When it comes to the issue of health, sometimes the clinics are there but there are no drugs or medical personnel to take care of the patients (Informant 7- Academics II).*

#### **7.4.3 Rural Infrastructural Facilities**

Infrastructural development is central to the development of a nation and improvement on the liveability and quality of life of the people. It plays a key role in both socio-economic and political development and enrichment of living standard (Lawal, 2014). In Nigeria however, there is high level of infrastructural deficit, which remain as the main constrain towards achieving the country's vision of becoming one of the 20<sup>th</sup> largest economies by the year 2020 (Babatunde *et al*, 2012 & Sanusi, 2012). How then is the level of infrastructural facility development at the rural areas under democracy? This sub-theme addresses that by looking at the following: rural roads, water supply, and rural electrification projects. These

were discussed based on some literatures and the respondents’ perception in subsequent headings.

The figure 7.12 below shows the model for rural infrastructural facilities and its functional relationships with its sub-themes.

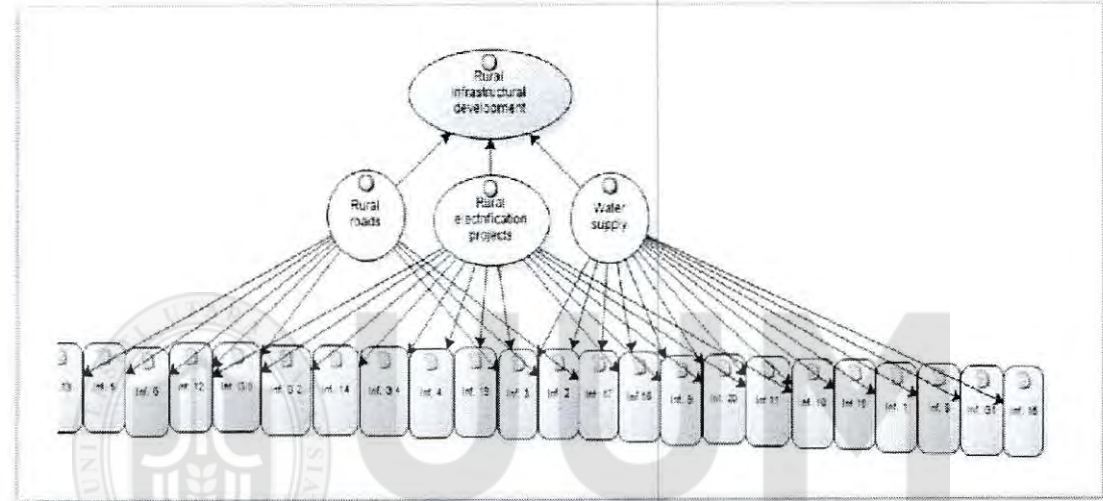


Figure 7.12: Model for rural infrastructural facilities

**7.4.3.1 Rural Roads**

Road network is vital to the socio-economic development of every society. It facilitate economic activities and growth. However, the roads condition of most communities in Nigeria, especially the rural areas are either in a high deplorable state or non-existence at all. “The rural areas are pathetic as regards rural networks; this is because, they are deprived of necessary facilities, especially compared to the urban areas” (Usman, 2014 & Akinola, 2007). The question now is, how do rural areas benefit from road networks under democracy?

The responses below shows the perceptions of people on rural roads:

*When you talk about roads, nothing has been done. Our main road has been bad for donkey years. Recently, we met the Acting Governor and other prominent people from this area concerning the bad state of our road, but nothing is been done yet (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*We have not seen any development as regards rural road networks yet. Karim-Lamido LGA was created in 1976, but we still don't have good roads (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*There are improvements now on the life of local communities, though we have been very backward for many years particularly on availability of roads. Many communities are still not motorable (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*Our rural areas have not benefited from such basic amenities. We have no roads, no electricity, no portable water, and no health facilities (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*Before, in Bali we had the problem of roads. Two years ago, road was constructed from Sunkani to Bali. This has helped in boosting our business activities (Informant 5- Local Councillor III).*

*There is little or no infrastructure that will aid development of the rural people. Politicians have failed people (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*Democracy is the government of the people for the people and by the people. But in Nigeria, the reverse is the case. There has not been any rural development. Our roads are impassable, we have no portable water (Informant G3- Group Member III).*

*People have benefited a lot. It was during this period that this road you are seen was constructed. Though, many communities are still left out; especially remote villages. But development is a gradual process. Much is still expected; especially with the new change of government (Informant 13- Village Head I).*

#### **7.4.3.2 Rural Electrification Projects**

Electricity plays a vital role to rapid socio-economic growth and industrialization process of any nation. Electrification of rural areas will enhance their economic potential thereby reducing their poverty level. This was noted by Cook (2013) when he says “the role of rural electrification and its relations to poverty reduction has implication for rural development strategies”. Nigeria however, faces a lot of challenges in electricity supply, especially at the rural areas. This is rightly



confirmed by Ohiare (2015) that, the challenges of lack of access to electricity in rural areas of Nigeria is more compounded... it is in this light that, this section presents the perception of respondents' on rural electrification projects under democracy as follows:

*Government has provided us with portable water, but we still don't have electricity. No single village in the Local governments of the whole of Taraba central senatorial district has electricity (Informant 10- RCBO Leader II).*

*In the area of electricity, we didn't see much from government. There is Rural Electrification Board (REB) in which, the state government provides gas once in a while, and at times for months there is no light. But remember, this is only provided here (Lau) the local government headquarters. Many remote communities are still left out (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*There are no social amenities here, as you can see this community is not connected to electricity (Informant 14- Village Head II).*

*We have portable water here, but we don't have electricity, but we are still expecting it soon (Informant 19- Village Head VII).*

*We have roads but there is no electricity. We call on the government to make effort in bringing electricity to the rural areas (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*Our rural areas have not benefited from such basic amenities. We have no electricity... (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*We have no electricity in Karim-Lamido. Government has to do something urgently about that (Informant 4- Local Councillor II).*

*If we in a local government headquarters cannot have electricity, what about remote villages? To cut it short, it may interest you to know that, the whole of Taraba Senatorial Central Zone: Bali, Gassol, Kurmi, Sardauna and Gashaka have no electricity (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*We don't have electricity in the Central Zone of Taraba State. When election comes nearer, politicians will come and ask of our mandates with promises but as soon as they are elected, they don't fulfil these promises (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

*There are many unfinished programmes. Our roads are impassable. Electricity is yet to be fully commissioned (Informant G3- Group Member III).*

*There is no electricity. Even the local government Chairman has bought a big generator in his house. The common man doesn't have electricity (Informant G4- Group Member IV).*

*If those in Abuja are complaining of electricity shortage, who are we not to cry? I think problem of electricity is a national one (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*For electric power no community is connected. The few that can afford buy generators for their personal and domestic use (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

#### **7.4.3.3 Water Supply**

Water is essential to human life. Access to water supply is significant on the health and economic life of the people. Akpor & Muchie (2011) maintained that “the provision of clean drinking water and discharge of treated water is fundamental requirement for human life. The lack of access to clean water is a serious health issue”. Nigeria with the population of over 170 million people is facing a serious challenge in the area of access to clean and portable water. “The challenges of access to portable drinking water is more at rural communities in Nigeria” (Ishaku *et al*, 2011). During the field survey, this researcher observed that, in many of the villages visited people had to trek distance to fetch water and mostly from the streams or wells. Then, how do democratic government provides rural communities with adequate water for their personal and domestic use?

The excerpt below shows the views and expressions of respondents’ representations on water supply to rural areas:

*If I may sum the benefits of this democracy by looking at the huge budget of the federal, states and local governments, a man on the street has benefited with nothing. For example, if you may walk to Kwata, a nearby village fifteen kilometres from here, they have neither portable water nor hospitals (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*We have MDG projects in remote areas. Before this democracy, people were using stream water for drinking and cooking. But now, we have boreholes (Informant 10- RCBO Leader II).*

*For now, we have not seen anything as regard social amenities like portable water, electrifications etc. (Informant 15- Village Head III).*

*Our people are suffering before they get water. As a village head, I have about 36 people in my house. I buy trucks of water from vendors daily at 1000 Naira. Many poor people cannot afford that. People had to trek distance to get water. They remember us only during their campaigns (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*On water supply, there is improvement compared to before... Many communities that didn't even know what borehole was; now use boreholes. Before we fetch water from the wells and streams (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*In our community; we have benefited a lot, especially in the areas of portable water and road constructions. Though, some villages don't have. But I believe gradually it will get to them too as democracy continues (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*Our rural areas have not benefited from such basic amenities. We have no electricity, no portable water, and no health facilities (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*Generally, we have significantly done much in the area of water supply, especially with the help of MDG programme, schools, water, and health facilities, etc. have been provided into our rural areas (Informant 8- Civil Servant).*

*There are developments in our rural areas, especially in the provision of portable water (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*Really, our rural areas have no schools and no portable water. We have not benefited at all. In fact, we drink water from the same streams with animals (Informant G1- Group Member I).*

*We have no portable water, people in the villages drink from the streams (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*We have not seen anything yet as regards social amenities. We buy water from vendors for our daily and domestic consumptions (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

*In the areas of road constructions and the provision of portable water we can't say there are developments, but there is a little bit developments in some areas (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*

#### **7.4.4 Rural Human Empowerments and Job Creation**

Poverty and other social and economic menace of unemployment and low income ravage many African societies, especially the rural communities; which are considered most vulnerable. Carletto *et al* (2007) confirm this by saying “majority of the poor in developing societies live in rural areas... that, this trends are expected

to persist in foreseeable future... it is critical that, rural poverty is addressed in poverty reduction strategies of government; as part of the policies seeking to promote rural development". According to Dada (2005) "empowerment gives people power over different social, economic, cultural and political forces which govern their lives. That, when people gain power and control over these factors they achieve social and economic progress... The aim of empowerment is to create wealth and involve the people in all aspect of governance". It is also believed that, empowerments could lead to employment creation and income generation of the rural people will invariably reduce their poverty level. The question now remains, how sensitive is the democratic government in Nigeria to empowering the rural people, through effective poverty reduction strategies, employment creation and income generations and wealth?

Figure 7.13 below shows the model of rural human empowerments and job creations as developed from interviews and FGD responses with its dynamic functional relationship with poverty reduction, employment opportunities and income and wealth generations of the rural people. These were presented with respondents perceptions and discussed each in subsequent headings below.

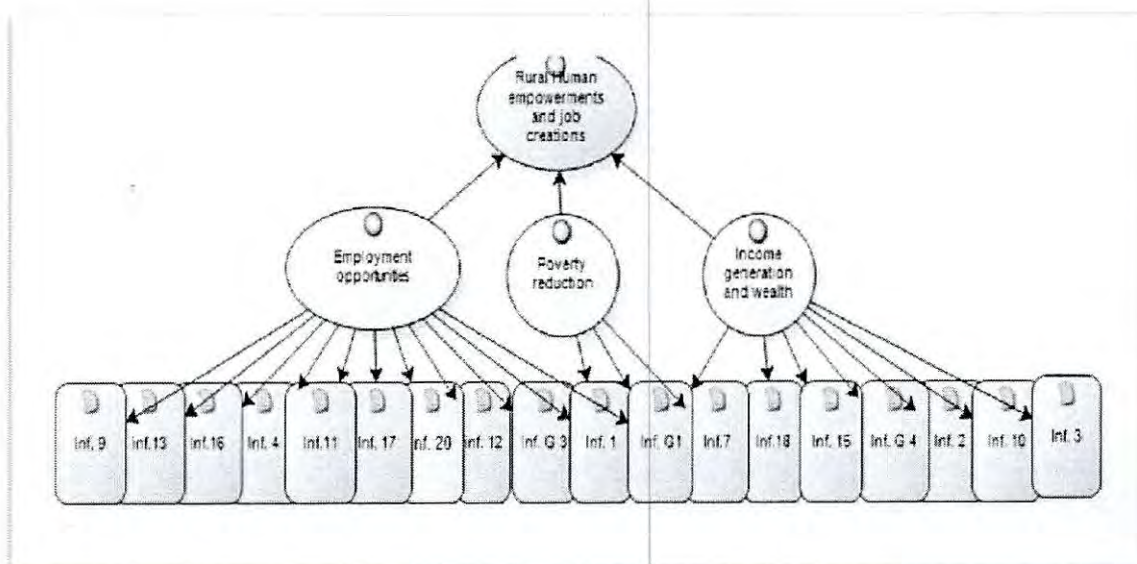


Figure 7.13: Model for rural human empowerment and job creations

#### 7.4.4.1 Employment Opportunities

Over the years unemployment in Nigeria especially among youths and the rural vulnerable is high. According to Trading Economics (2015) “the rate of unemployment in Nigeria increases to 7.50 percent in the first quarter of 2015 from 6.40 percent in the fourth quarter of 2014. It averaged 11.93 percent from 2006 until 2015 reaching an all-time high of 23.90 percent in the fourth quarter of 2011 and a record of 5.30 percent in the fourth quarter of 2006”. Unemployment creates idleness among people and widened inequality and imbalance amongst others. To solve this socio-economic problem, government needs to create employment opportunities to enhance the quality of life and living standard of the people. How government do provides rural people with employment opportunities?

The excerpt below shows the respondents’ perception and views on creation employment opportunities to rural people:

*I watched Imo State Governor, (Okorocha) on TV saying 24 states in the country will not be able to pay salaries. The implication is that, because without money to even pay salaries many civil servants will be retrenched; thereby compounding to the already existing unemployment problem in the country (Informant 1- Local Politician II).*

*The Subsidy for Reinvestment Programme (SURE-P) scheme is helping the youths become self-reliant. Some are trained in welding, hair-dressing, etc. We are hoping things will change when the incoming administration is inaugurated and many may be employed (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*Our youths are now drug addicts. This is as a result of being unemployed (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*The government has not done anything on the issue of employment generation. The government should work toward establishing industries so that our youths will be employed (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*Unemployment is one of our major problems. Many of our youths; men and women are educated but they have no jobs (Informant 4- Local Councillor II).*

*More than 80% of rural people are unemployed. This is too bad for the economy (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*As you can see here, we are all youths, but we have nothing doing. We don't have jobs and remain unemployed (Informant G3- Group Member III).*

*They (government) are doing nothing as regards employment generation. What they do is to build a place (social centre) for our youths to be gossiping (Informant G1- Group Member I).*

*Our youths are mostly unemployed. They are just roaming the street and constitutes nuisance to the community. You know they say an idle mind is the devils workshop (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*Our youths are mostly unemployed. Government should do something urgently about that (Informant 13- Village Head I).*

*Our youths are roaming the streets. They don't have jobs (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

#### **7.4.4.2 Poverty Reduction**

In spite of its economic potentials, poverty remains one of the serious socio-economic challenges Nigeria is facing and at an alarming rate overtimes. Available statistics shows that, the country is among the poorest countries in the world (World Bank, 2013 & NBS 2011). It is in this light that, the Nigerian Vice-President,



Osinbajo as reported by Vanguard Newspaper (2015) says “no decent nation can tolerate the level of poverty currently ravaging the country and unless there is a functional social system where the highly vulnerable are assisted to survive...” what efforts government made to reduce the poverty among people in Nigeria especially the rural most vulnerable?

The excerpt below shows the representations of informants’ perceptions and views as regards poverty reduction in rural areas:

*People live in abject poverty in our rural areas. Many programmes were initiated but yield low result, something different needs to be urgently done... (Informant 1- Local Politician II).*

*There are serious problems in the rural areas. If a democratic government fails to provide security, health, education and jobs, it is then a failed government. In fact, poverty among our people is the order of the day. To say the least; this government has failed us (Informant G1- Group Member I).*

*Poverty is always at the increase; especially at the rural level. Unless the politicians change their mind-sets and have the grassroots in mind, there won't be any development at the grassroots. People are neglected, they feel they are not part of the system. They should be carried along... (Informant 7- Academics II).*

#### **7.4.4.3 Income Generation and Wealth**

Income and wealth creation according to Chukwuunonyelum as cited by Dada (2005) refers to economic growth and better standards of living for the individual, family and state... that, income and wealth can be created through coping strategies and empowerment. Coping strategies according to him includes the twin idea of relief and alleviation of pains, disasters and stress brought by poverty and empowerment through involving people in all aspect of governance”. Income and wealth creation is basically engaging people into productive economic activities that can earn them more income and wealth; perhaps in non-farming activities also?

This is in tandem with the findings made by Timothy (2011) that “non-farming activity is found to be positively correlated with income and wealth in rural Africa”. Then, how do government policy strategies improve the level of income and wealth of the rural people under democracy?

The excerpt below shows the perceptions and views expressed by the respondents as regard income and wealth creation in rural communities:

*Many youths were trained under the Poverty Alleviation Programme; some of them were given loans to establish their own businesses. This helps in no small measure to improving their income (Informant 10 - RCBO Leader II).*

*For now, little or nothing has been done to improve the income generation of our teeming people. Whenever any empowerment programmes comes, it stays with those who initiate them. They hijack everything and give to their family and friends (Informant 15- Village Head III).*

*Recently, a lot of groups are coming to the local government to encourage farmers; rice farmers, and cassava farmers. There was a group that came from Abuja with the aim of developing rural roads and infrastructure, encouraging rice farmers, cassava farmers and others. But generally, the impact is very low. But as time goes on, I believe it will be improved (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*The SURE-P programme has impacted so much on our lives. Under this policy, thousands of youths in the country who were unemployed acquired different skills, ranging from tailoring, welding, etc. Under this programme, as soon as a trainee completes his training, he will be provided with relevant facilities of his field that will help him set up his own business (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*Most of us here are farmers but the government is doing nothing to help us improve our farming system to increase our income generation. But, SURE-P has helped because now some few youths were trained to be self-reliant (Informant G4- Group Member IV).*

*The government has tried. This SURE-P scheme meant to empower people and create wealth is a good scheme but its proper implementation has been marred with selfishness from political office holders (Informant G1- Group Member I).*

*We have seen SURE-P programme. Many youths have been empowered through this scheme (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*



#### 7.4.5 Rural Access to Education

Education helps individuals to develop his/her perspective on the world around him/her and think in a creative and conceptual manner about phenomenon. According to Pargaru *et al* (2009) “education is an essential activity in the development of society generally... the relationship between the individual and society becomes complex via education”. Access to education is considered a basic human rights and a significant factor in the development of children, communities and countries ([http://www.results.org/images/uploads/files/why\\_education\\_matters\\_11\\_04\\_09.pdf](http://www.results.org/images/uploads/files/why_education_matters_11_04_09.pdf)).

Access to education in Nigeria is at the decline and the school attendance is much lower in the northern states than their southern counterpart, this is more pronounced at the rural level (Humheys & Crawford, 2014). The question now is, what is the level of government commitment to providing the teeming rural people with access to quality education?

The figure 7.14 shows the model of rural access to education with its dynamic functional relationships to educational facilities and equipment, literacy and qualified teacher. These were subsequently analysed and reviewed based on the responses of our informants.

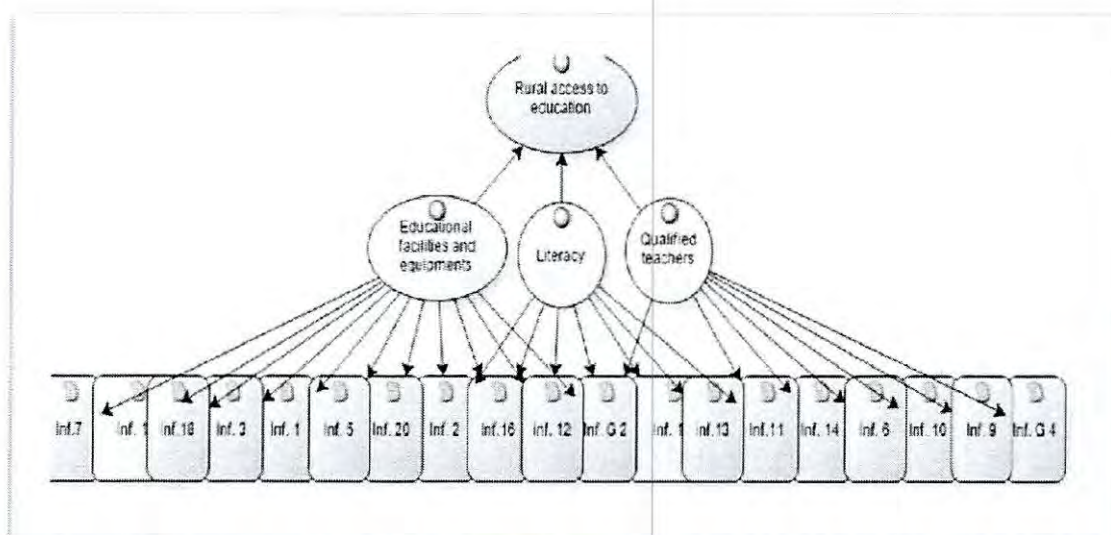


Figure 7.14: Model for rural access to education

#### 7.4.5.1 Educational Facilities and Equipments

Education sector as noted in 7.3.5 above, cannot be effectively overcome its myriad of challenges without adequate facilities to ease and facilitate learning process and effective knowledge dissemination among people. Olamiji & Olujimi (2011) noted that, “the realization of education policies and the MDGs to achieving basic education for all by the year 2015 in Nigeria will remain a dream as long as there is imbalance in the education facilities”. In Nigeria, there is noticeable disparity in educational facilities between urban centre and the rural centres. Most of the rural schools operates under shade of trees and without adequate learning facilities. The question now is, what efforts do democratic government make in providing educational facilities and equipments to rural school?

The excerpt below shows the informants perceptions and views on provision of educational facilities to rural communities:

*If I may ask, do we have enough facilities in schools even at the urban areas? The truth is that, we don't have them. If we don't have them in urban areas, how could we have such in rural areas? (Informant 1- Local Politician II).*

*There are schools, but private schools are better than public schools. If you want your children to be well educated you must take them to private schools because they do nothing at public schools. There are challenges in education sector (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*Teachers are yet to be paid even salaries to talk of other things. The government is doing nothing to improve rural education (Informant 17- Village Head V).*

*Educational development for the rural people is something to worry about to be frank, because the education department operates independent of the local government. So, the local government doesn't have a say to the system. The Universal Basic Education is the body responsible. There are a lot of places they have not touched. This is because many school buildings and infrastructure are in a very poor state (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*We have schools but we need more classrooms. Our children receive lessons under the trees due to shortage in classroom blocks. Education, being the bedrock of the society, should be given more consideration (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*The government is trying but it needs to intensify its effort towards providing free primary and secondary education, because people are poor and cannot afford to enrol their wards due to lack of money (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*There has been improvement in the education sector in my community. This is because class rooms were built (Informant 5- Local Councillor III).*

*The classes are dirty and seriously dilapidated. There are no good teachers in our primary schools. While many people are uneducated and illiteracy is alarming among our people, yet government doesn't care at all (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

*Government schools are neglected and seriously dilapidated. If you want your child to get sound education, you must take him/her to a private school. The public schools are neglected by the government (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

*We give thanks to God. Schools were built, we have teachers, but the classes are not enough and there are no incentives to encourage the teachers. This makes parents prefer private schools than public schools (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*

*The schools are in bad shapes. The buildings are very bad. No teaching materials. We are not satisfied with the work of our political leaders towards education (Informant 7- Academics II).*

#### **7.4.5.2 Literacy**

Literacy is the ability to read and write and even understand political process. It enhances individual capacity for self-esteem, empowerment and creativity. In

Nigeria however, available data on literacy level shows that, there is high level illiteracy among its people. This is more pronounced at the rural areas (Olojede *et al*, 2013). The National Bureau of Statistics (2010) reports that “about 3 million children aged 6-14 years never attended school in Nigeria; representing 8.1 percent of children in that age bracket, also, about a million children aged 6-14 years dropped out of school; representing 3.2 percent of the population of children in that age group that ever attended school”. These are disturbing revelations, which should attract the attention and the priority of any responsible government for redress. The question now remains, what are the level of government commitments towards fighting literacy among the rural people?

The perceptions and views expressed below, shows the respondents' representation as regard literacy of rural people:

*The level of illiteracy is high among our people and the government is paying lips services to this important sector (Informant 12- LRCBO Leader IV).*

*There have been challenges to education here. Many of our people are uneducated. Though, our Education Secretary is doing well to better the education of our children (Informant 15- Village Head III).*

*Our level of illiteracy is very high. There are a lot of dropouts. Many children have not attended primary schools, but they are now in secondary schools and they cannot read or write (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*While many people are uneducated and illiteracy is alarming among our people, yet government doesn't care at all (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

*The illiteracy is very high among our people and government is not doing much to address it (Informant 11- LRCBO Leader III).*

*The government should put more effort in ensuring sound education to our children. This is because; the level of illiteracy is high among our people. There can't be real development without education (Informant 13- Village Head I).*

*Our literacy level is very low. Many uneducated and school dropout children; as a result of government insensitive to education sector (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

#### **7.4.5.3 Qualified Teachers**

Teachers play a significant and unquantifiable role in child and human development. It is in this sense that, Adedeji & Olaniyan (2011) says “without teachers, no economic well-being can take place”. They further maintained that, “the achievement of goals of education for all programmes and the Millennium Development Goals is being slow because of lack of adequate supply of teachers, effective deployment and failed training system... that, teacher quality encompasses their skills, competence and motivation”. Borrowing from their submission, the question now remains, how qualified are the teachers in rural areas in Nigeria as regards to skills, competencies and motivation?

The responses below show the representation of informants as regard quality and qualifications of teachers in rural school:

*The education sector is facing many challenges nationwide. But the major challenge is the problem of qualified teachers and that of ghost workers in our schools (Informant 10- RCBO Leader II).*

*There are challenges in the area of education in this state generally. I think this may not be peculiar to this community alone? People don't have money to take their children to schools. Schools have no teachers. There are a lot of problem in that sector. Government need to wake up and do more urgently (Informant 14- Village Head II).*

*I did a little assessment of Physics Educational Programmes and the number of staff of particular subjects like Physics and Chemistry and I found out that only nine qualified Physics teachers are in the whole of the state. The government is not making any effort to develop the human capital that will turn around the fortunes of our economy and the education sector (Informant 6- Academics II).*

*There is nothing to write home about in rural education. Schools are not enough and teachers are not adequate and the few ones are mostly not qualified. You find wives of highly placed personalities, who didn't even*



*finish secondary schools placed on teaching appointment without any qualification (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*There are no good teachers in our primary schools. While many people are uneducated and illiteracy is alarming among our people, yet government doesn't care at all (Informant G2- Group Member II).*

*There are developments in some areas. For example, in the area of education, with the establishment of Universal Basic Education, where education is compulsory and free to every child from primary 1 to JSS 3. The main problem is that, our schools still doesn't have qualified teachers and illiteracy is still high among our people. Government need to look at all these (Informant G4- Group Member IV).*

*Our schools are like pictures. Some schools are built without teachers to man them (Informant 11- RCBO Leader IV).*

## **7.5 Theme Four: Nigerian Political Arrangements and Rural Development**

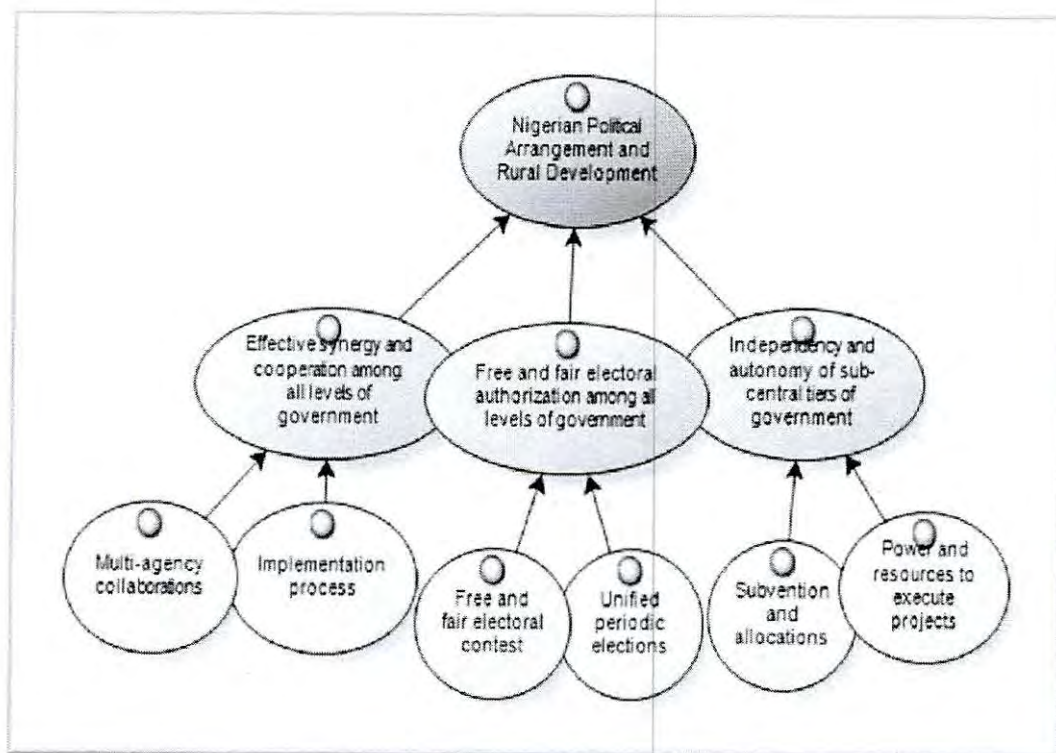
The Nigerian federal arrangement provides for Federal government at the centre with States and Local Governments at sub-central level. The Federal government has exclusive power, while it shares the concurrent power with the State. The LG performs mini duties as enshrined in the fourth schedule of the constitution (1999 Constitution as amended). While assuming full responsibilities highlighted above, there is need for effective collaborations among all the levels of government for effective delivery of services to ensuring maximum welfare of the citizenry, especially those at the rural areas that are considered more vulnerable.

Stakeholder collaboration is important as it will give an opportunity for them to come together and cooperate in order to develop and share their visions and agendas for rapid development (World Wildlife Fund; 2000). Ineffective cooperation among various levels of government may hamper speedy development processes, brings policy overlaps and inconsistencies. It is in this light that, Brynard (2005) found that, "insufficient cooperation and coordination of implementation of policies has significantly hampered the implementation of policies... also, capacity

of all the three spheres of government as well as linkages between them have largely work against the successful implementation of policies”.

The question now is, how does the Nigeria's' federal arrangements affects service delivery provision to rural areas? What are the negative consequences that results into conflicts in the areas of jurisdictions in the exercise of the constitutional powers and responsibilities of the Federal, State and LGs? To answer these, this themes develops three sub-themes as follows: Independency and autonomy of sub-central tiers of government; effective synergy and cooperation among all levels of government; and free and fair electoral authorization among all levels of government, each of which has its own dimensions.

The figure 7.15 below shows the model of Nigerian political arrangements and rural development with its sub-themes and their functional relationship. Each of these was subsequently explained based on the interview of our informants.



*Figure 7.15: Model for Nigerian political arrangements and rural development with its sub-themes*

### **7.5.1 Effective Synergy and Co-operations among all Levels of Government**

For efficient delivery of service and speedy development, there is need for synergy and functional linkages between and among all the levels of government. At the federal level there is federal ministries and agencies responsible for coordination and provision of services to meeting rural needs. The state government has a replication of similar ministries and agencies, likewise the Local governments is having specialised departments and units. The functional linkage and cooperation among all these respective agencies and department is paramount to ensuring effective formulation of policies and its subsequent implementations.



The figure 7.16 below shows the model for effective synergy and co-operations among all levels of government and their functional relationships. The dimension of which includes: multi-agency collaborations and implementation process.

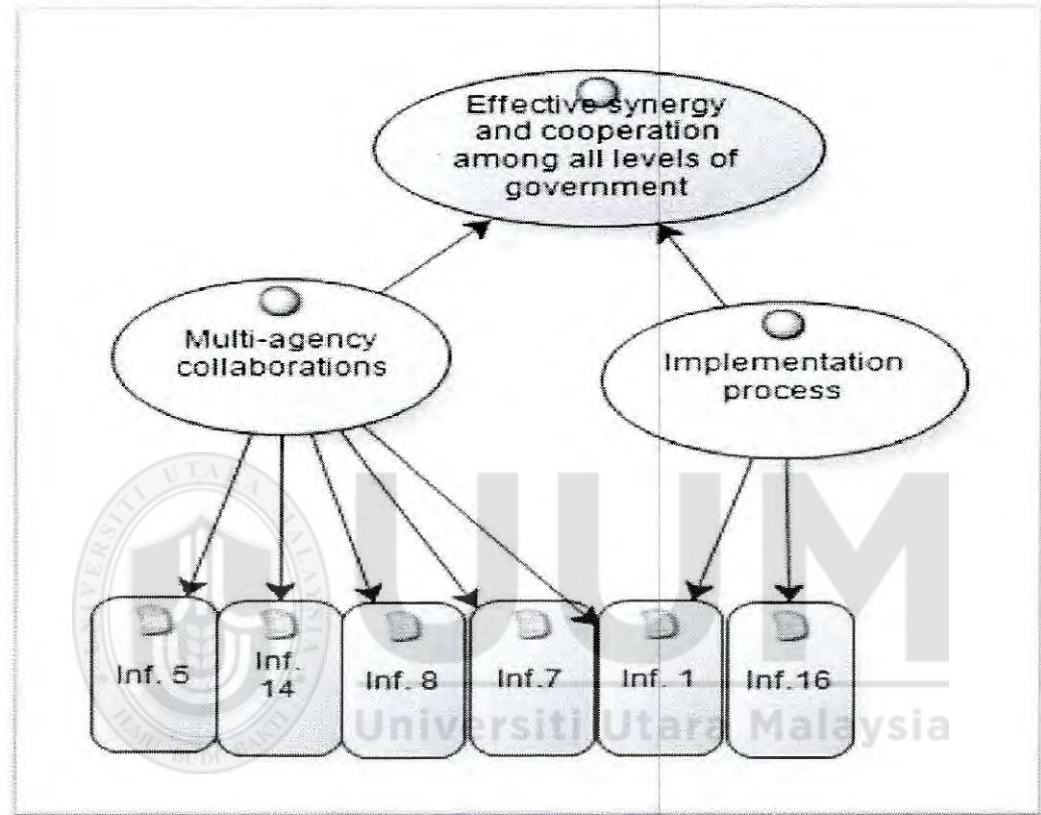


Figure 7.16: Model for effective synergy and co-operations among all levels of government

7.5.1.1 Multi-agency Collaborations

Multi-agency collaboration is the process in which all the respective agencies of governments at all levels liaise and effectively collaborate with its sister agency to ensuring that, various policies and programmes initiated are well implemented and each of the level of government or an agency executes its due mandate without undue interference and domination.

The excerpt below shows the informants’ views and perceptions on the level of

collaborations to ensuring public policy execution:

*The federal and state governments relate well. But local governments are not independent. They are in governors' pockets... There is no co-operation from the state government towards rural development (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*There is no effective coordination and cooperation between the three tiers of government towards rural development. This is why there is no development (Informant 14- Village Head II).*

*There is no problem with this. The federal government liaises with the state government and the state liaises with the local government when there is any policy targeted at local governments (Informant 5- Local Councillor III).*

*Actually at the federal level, we are marrying the policies that are being done at the federal level with our own. We cannot say that we can adopt everything. We domesticate so that it can go with our enabling environment because of the diversities of the people. People from the South have their beliefs. So whatever policy that is expected to transcend to the grassroots, we take it, we look at it, make some adjustments where possible and push to our legislators to pass it into law so that the state can domesticate (Informant 8- Civil Servant).*

*The level of co-operation and collaborations between the three tiers of government is moderate. Between the state and federal there is a kind of linkage but between the state and local governments, I can say there is a serious gap (Informant 7- Academics II).*

#### **7.5.1.2 Implementation Process**

Brynard (2005) has reported the Meter and Horn's definition of policy implementation to mean, those actions by public or private individuals or group that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions". That, implementation studies ask "why did it happen" as against impact studies typical question of "what happened". The implementation process therefore, involves series of activities that resulted at the course of policy actions. The process involves collaborative efforts, financial commitments and checks and balances among and between various stakeholders

The views expressed below shows the representation of interview informants as regards synergy and cooperation during the implementation process of rural development programmes:

*But if it is an MDG policy, because it is directly from the Federal Government and United Nations, you can find hospitals, boreholes, women and child development implemented. But, as for the domestic policies initiated by government, the implementation process is faulty. This because, Local government are not carried along and in most cases monies meant for the projects are diverted by the top government levels (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*There is no implementation to policies. Sometimes policies are formulated just to deceive the people. We at the village level don't even know what government is doing. How could the policies yield desired results with these..? (Informant 16- Village Head I).*

#### **7.5.2 Free and Fair Electoral Authorization among all Levels of Government**

In democracy, election is an important element that determines genuine authorization of peoples' consent and mandate. Ojie (2006) maintained that "in a democracy, those who are charged with the responsibility of exercising political authority in a society perform it with the consent and genuine mandate expressed at periodic intervals by the electorates through an open, free and fair electoral process". Nigeria experienced series of electoral process since after independence; starting from the first republic in 1963, second republic in 1979, aborted third republic in 1993 and subsequently, the fourth republic in 1999; which ushered in successful return to democratic consolidation in the country, which remained uninterrupted till-date; eight republic now. The democratic transition and period of election in Nigeria is four years each. The question now is how free and fair the electoral authorization of various level of government in Nigeria? And also, how does this affect the fulfilments of peoples' mandate and aspirations especially at



the grassroots? These were answered based on the informants' view that will be presented in 7.5.2.1 and 7.5.2.2 below.

The figure 7.17 below shows the model for free and fair electoral authorization among all levels of government with its dimensions: free and fair electoral contest and unified electoral commission and their functional relationships.

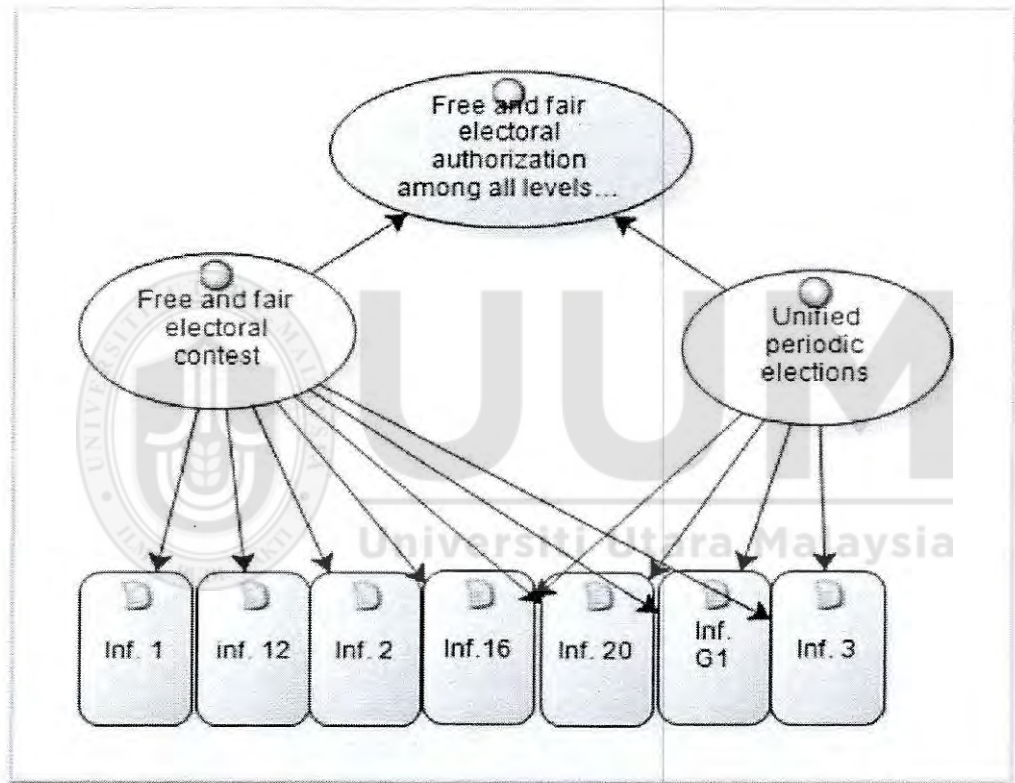


Figure 7.17: Model for free and fair electoral authorization among all levels of government

**7.5.2.1 Free and Fair Electoral Contest**

Free and fair electoral contest enable citizens to freely choose or contest in an election through a transparent and credible manner. It is the most important elements in a democracy that usher in credible representation in government. According to Osinakachukwu & Jawan (2011) election is one paramount way used

to choose who should govern people. It is in this sense that, Huntington (1991) maintained that, “in a democracy, the most popular candidates are chosen through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes, in which virtually all adults are qualified”.

In Nigeria, there are allegations of faulty electoral processes, massive rigging and undue control of lower levels; especially the Local government councils by the higher levels. According to Omar (2012) “credible elections into the Local government councils have been non-existence in Nigeria from independence in 1960 till-date... Local Government councils are often subjected to controls by the upper levels of government”. Whether there is free and fair electoral contest in Nigeria?

The excerpt below shows the representation of views and perception of informants’ as regards free and fair electoral contest among levels of government in Nigeria.

*Competency doesn't work in Nigerian democracy. A governor decides who to become a Local Government Chairman whether the person is competent or not, whether he is fit or not so that he can do as the governor wishes. The governor chooses who can dance to his tunes. Legislators who are to checkmate the governor are not doing their jobs (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*People in the local government are not given the right to elect their representatives as expected. The governors decide on whom to be their chairman and other representatives. Then how do you expect them to have people in mind? People are not allowed to elect Chairmen on their own. Selected people are sent from the state capital to rule us. Can you image a Local government Chairman not coming to work? If a Chairman is from within us and elected by us he must provide all social amenities for us (Informant 12- RCBO Leader IV).*

*There is problem is regards elections in Nigeria generally. Usually it is not who people want that emerges. Because of election people kill themselves. These are the lapses I am talking about... (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*The government should allow to us vote our representatives without imposing those we didn't elect. They should allow competency to work rather than political affiliations. As we have now, there is no free and fair election especially when it comes to LG elections (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*Even with the recent introduction of Card Readers by the INEC in 2015 elections, there has been rigging here and there. Worst still is, whenever the State Electoral Commission conducted an elections, people were denied their mandate. These denied people meaningful representation in government (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*...our youths are to blame. We elect people based on the money they give to us. We keep competency aside. That is why they don't work towards implementing programmes meant to improve our lives... Another group informant maintained that; we should be given the right to vote for leaders of our choice. Those in the system now were imposed on us... Another group member says; People should be allowed to elect officials of their choice. The constitution should be amended to allow local governments operate on their own. By imposing leaders to us, they do as they want because they have godfathers in the state capital (Informant G1- Group Members I).*

*People are not given the rights to vote for leaders of their choice. This is especially at LG level. A governor chooses who becomes Chairman and Councillors in most times (Informant 16- Village Head IV).*

#### **7.5.2.2 Unified Periodic Elections**

The conduct of an election in Nigeria is such staggered and not unified among levels of government. Staggered in the sense that, ever since the returns to democracy in Nigeria in 1999 till date, Federal and State governments' election were held concurrently by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and the tenure to spend in office of both is four years. This however, is not applicable to the Local Government Councils, whose electoral conduct is by the State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIEC) and the tenure to be spend while in office is at the discretion and at mercy of the state Governors. It is in this light that, Omar (2012) maintained that, "the 1999 constitution currently being operated empowers state Governors to appoint Chairperson of State Independent Electoral Commissions; the electoral empire mandated to conduct LG elections. As the situations stands there are some ambiguity as to whether the state Governors can

dissolve LG councils before elections are conducted at the expiration of their tenure, and appoint caretaker committees. Often, these committees are filled with party cronies and loyalist or sympathisers. That, this makes the possibility of conducting free and fair elections into LG councils very remote”.

The question here is; what are the likely consequences of the experiences in place as regards elections among different levels of government and how does it affect delivery of services at the grassroots level?

The views expressed below show the informants' representation as regards elections among levels of government:

*I think the best is for all elections to be conducted by national electoral body (INEC) not State electoral bodies (SIEC) and at the same time with States and FG elections. More so, all levels should serve four years. As it is Local government is been cheated and the executive leadership been imposed by the higher levels of government (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*The federal government to abolish the State Electoral Commission thereby allowing INEC conduct local government elections. This is because, as it is, there are undue interferences in the conduct of elections at the LG levels from above (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*State Electoral Commission should be abolished. INEC should be allowed to conduct local governments' elections, this is because, we are not represented as the leaders we have now were imposed on us. With this, how do we hold them responsible for wrong doing? They only represent their God-fathers interest (Informant G1- Group Member I).*

*Local governments are not allowed to operate independently. In fact, Governors decides on the tenure of local governments. They appoint them anytime and they change them anytime. There is no specific time LG elections is held, unlike what is obtainable at the state and Federal level; where they have four year term to serve. This affects LG delivery as well (Informant 16-Village Head IV).*



### **7.5.3 Independency and Autonomy of Sub-central Tiers of Government**

In an established federal arrangement where government is divided among component units, it is expected that each levels of government is independent and autonomous to ensuring even and rapid socio-economic development across all strata of the diverse society. The political arrangement in Nigeria is such that, is structured with the federal government at the centre, state governments and the local governments at the lower levels. The nature in which each of these levels of government operates is constitutionally allocated. The efficacy in this arrangement however still remains contentious (Ewatan 2012; Akpan 2011; & Arowolo 2011).

This section thematised two important issues as dimensions of independency and autonomy of sub-central tiers of government as: subvention and allocation; and power and resources to execute projects of sub-central ties of government for effective service delivery especially at the grass root level.

The figure 7.18 below shows the model of independency and autonomy of sub-central tiers of government and its dynamic functional relationships with the sub-themes: subvention and allocation, and power and resources to execute projects.

These were explained subsequently in 7.5.3.1 and 7.5.3.2 below.

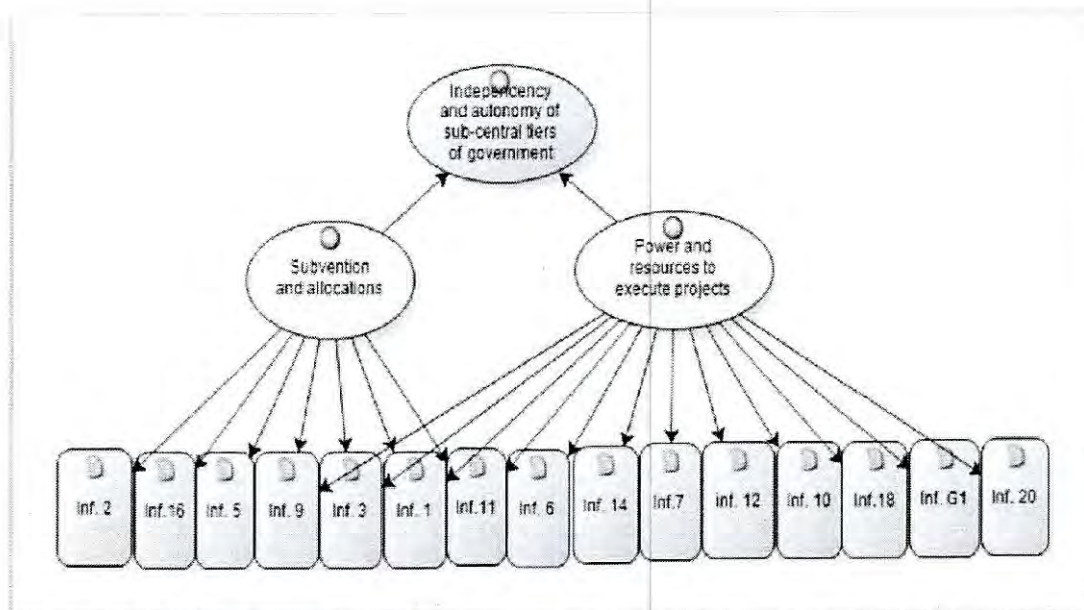


Figure 7.18: Model for independency and autonomy of sub-central tiers of government

#### 7.5.3.1 Subvention and Allocation

Subvention and resource allocation plays a significant role in revenue generation in Nigeria. This is in the sense that, many State governments cannot survive their financial obligations without subventions and allocation coming from the federal. This is however worst at the LG level. Each level of governments has its statutory allocations sent from the centre based on the allocation formulae enshrined in the constitution and as determined by the Federal Revenue Mobilization and Fiscal Allocation Commission. This however, affects the smooth operations of the lower levels of government especially the Local Government. It is as a result of these governance quack mires that, Barkan, *et al* (2001) maintained that “the success of Nigeria’s federal system for effective governance depends on an appropriate division of responsibilities and resources between federal, state and local authorities supported by a sufficient institutional capacity at each of these levels to carry out its assigned functions”.

The views, expressions and perceptions of the following respondents below justify that:

*...The problem we have is lack of sending our allocation directly as a result of Joint Account. We are the third tier of government. We are closer to the people, but only on paper (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*There is still more to be done because in the three arms of government, the local governments are the victims. A lot of things meant for local governments don't come to them. For this, I can say there is imbalance in the whole system. What is supposed to be for the local governments don't come to them, especially if it is from the Federal government. That is our problem here... The issue of Joint Account is worrisome. There was a time the Senate passed a bill that local governments should be given autonomy but the State Governors and State Assemblies objected (Informant 2- Local Politician II).*

*Really, the local governments have been buried alive, especially on the issue of this Joint Account. Local government staff salaries are not been paid on time in Taraba State, because the state government has taken everything. If salaries are not paid, how can we talk about other programmes? This is as a result of Joint Account (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*The problem we have is the Joint Account. If the local government will be given direct funding, the development will be much more than what we have today (Informant 5- Local Councillor III).*

*The Local government financial base has been hijacked by the state government through joint account system and has crippled the local governments financially (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I).*

*Local governments are in the state government's pocket. Only salaries are given to our Chairmen (Informant 11- LRCBO Leader III).*

*The local governments are closer to the people. They should be given autonomy. Their funds should come directly. The state government should just act as a supervisory body on how the funds are spent (Informant 16- Local Village Head VI).*

#### **7.5.3.2 Power and Resources to Execute Projects**

Power and resources are important to effective functioning of any successful government. The Sub-central tiers of governments; especially the LG in Nigeria had suffered from lack of effective power and adequate resources to execute their own projects and programmes at the grass root level. Based on the Nigeria 1999 constitution section 162 (5); the State/LG joint account is provided in which all

finances allocated for the LG are credited from the federal. The account is being controlled and managed by the state government on behalf of the Local Governments. Madu *et al* (2014) maintained that, this make local government lacks strong economic base to fashioning out development at grassroots level, thereby affecting its performance”.

The following statements are excerpt from informants’ interviews and FGD on power and resources to execute projects among different levels of government in Nigeria:

*I spent three years as Chairman, but if our monthly allocation would come directly from the federal government, I would've asked you to spend the night so that I can take you round to one or two wards. But because it doesn't come directly, no ward has even a dispensary that costs Forty Thousand Naira or Fifty (Informant 1- Local Politician I).*

*The issue of giving fund to the local governments is not as expected. This hampers their project execution in many ways (Informant 10- RCBO Leader II).*

*There is serious problem as regards the power of LG to perform due to scarcity of fund, as a result of State/LG joint account. Local governments should be given their autonomy. Every tier of government should be allowed to operate on its own. When it was like this during Babangida's regime, projects were implemented by local governments (Informant 12- RCBO IV).*

*The current arrangement of governance has affected rural development because local governments are not given independence. Local government is closer to the people at the grassroots. There cannot be meaningful rural development without making it financially independent and autonomous (Informant 14- Village Head II).*

*Lack of adequate finance by the LG is indeed a threat to the development of rural people. We are all suffering because of this Joint Account. The funds should be given directly to local governments (Informant 20- Village Head VIII).*

*There is development to the state when it comes to this, because the state has taken everything that belongs to the local governments. The Chairmen are only given salaries. Even vouchers are prepared by the State Government. We hope the present administration will abolish Joint Account (Informant 3- Local Councillor I).*

*Nigeria is a federal state. It has three tiers of government. What we find among these three tiers is conflict and where there is constant conflict between these three tiers, you cannot coordinate anything. You cannot bring development. At the federal level there was a bill on local government autonomy but particularly in the north we rejected it. The lawmakers don't know what their roles are. They think that leadership is just to occupy a seat. Why are people yearning for this autonomy? The people are calling for autonomy because the local government is said to be closer to the people and will bring people more closely to the government but we don't see that. We see more commotion, conflict and lack of funds to aid development (Informant 6- Academics I).*

*If local government will be allowed to operate on its own, everything will be fine because it is closer to the people. Local governments are only given salaries... All levels of government should be given what belongs to him. Local governments should be given what belongs to them because they are closer to the people. When this is done, people at the grassroots will enjoy more (Informant 9- RCBO Leader I.)*

*The present arrangement is posing threat to rural development. When there was no Joint Account, there was development. But now, because of this Joint Account, only salaries are paid. Local governments should be given autonomy. There should only be supervising the funds sent to them (Informant G1- Group Member I).*

*Before this joint account thing; when funds were given directly, local governments implemented many projects; schools, hospitals, etc. But today, it is all history... (Informant 11- RCBO Leader III).*

*States are there, local governments are there. We want state governments to allow local governments operate on their own, so that many projects in the villages will be executed. As we can see now LG cannot perform up to expectations. They always use this as excused (Informant 18- Village Head VI).*

*Sincerely speaking LG has no power to execute projects and developmental services; like other high level tiers of government. This issue of Joint Account is causing a serious problem to the poor and effective functioning of LG; which is at the grassroots. If the funds of local governments will be released directly to them from the federal government it will be better. What the states give local governments is just salaries. They don't receive funds for developmental issues (Informant 7- Academics II).*

## **7.6 Discussion of Findings for Qualitative Data**

In the previous headings of this chapter, the researcher attempted presenting and analyzing the data based on the research questions and objectives through data collected from interviews and focus group discussion. These were done using thematic



method. Here, we were able to discuss the findings based on the above analysis. The discussions was based on the four research questions that was answered in line with the themes and sub-themes identified above.

- i. Perception and attitudes towards democracy
- ii. Effective implementation of rural development
- iii. Democratic government performance on rural development
- iv. Nigerian political arrangement and rural development.

#### **7.6.1 RQ 1: Perception and attitudes towards democracy**

Democracy has its global appeal, but the perception and understanding of democracy depends on countries, regions and even individuals. In this research the following sub-themes were found to be linked to the perceptions and attitudes of people in Taraba state towards democracy: Transparency and accountability, best form of government, and representative government.

##### **7.6.1.1 Transparency and Accountability**

Transparency and accountability made up an important features of a democracy. Democratic practices and good governance can only be ensured when there is transparency and accountability. In Nigeria however, leaders were found wanting in being transparent and accountable to the electorates. Okekeho (2013) observed that lack of accountability cost government a lot in Nigeria as a result of poor leadership and inefficiency in the execution of duties. There is no transparency in the system

where citizens are allowed to participate in the formation and implementation of policies.

In view of the above, the following four key elements of transparency and accountability were found by this study: due process, mandate, consultation and reporting.

Due process involves strict adherence to procedures in governance. However, this was found abusive in the process of how governmental businesses are conducted in Nigeria. This is in tandem with the findings made by Ocheni & Nwonko (2012) that Nigeria lost several millions of Naira over decades, due to abuse of procedures in government businesses. Leaders are also not accountable to the people.

Furthermore, the mandate of the people has not been properly expressed. Stocks (2001) reports that, the phenomenon of politicians promising a lot during campaigns has not been properly implemented when elected and this remain issues of concern on people's mandate.

Consequently, political leaders and representatives of the people do not report back information to their electorates on how decisions are taken for effective feedback mechanism. Also, consultations for deliberations and exchange of ideas among political leaders and the electorates is also lacking and remain a mirage. This affects the quality of input that can be reliable in making sound policies that can impact on the life of the people.



#### **7.6.1.2 Best form of Government**

In spite the other forms of government that can be found practiced in many counties; the authoritarian, monarchical, military government and many others. This research found that, people perceived democracy to be the best form of government to be practice in Nigeria. Awan (2005) describes democracy as the best form of government because the sovereign power under it resides in the electorates and exercised by them or through their representatives.

This research found the following three key elements that made up democracy as the best form of government as follows: right to vote and be voted for, freedom of association and expression and protection of people's interest and rights. It was found that, people under democracy were allowed to vote their leaders and can contest in an elections as well. However, people partake in an election without allowing their votes count in some cases. Usually, leaders are imposed on the people through manipulation by the elites. As informants 16 observed, people are not given the rights to vote for leaders of their choice.

It was also found that, democracy was established to protect people's right and interest. It was perceived that the rights and interest of the people is protected by the constitution and citizens can seek for redress in the competent court of law. Informant 9; maintained that in spite some shortcomings, democracy is still considered the best, as it guarantee them the rights". More so, it allows for freedom of association and expression. An informant affirmed that, Nigeria is better now because of freedom of speech. That people can challenge government and sleep comfortably.

### **7.6.1.3 Representative Government**

Representation in government is one of the important features identified by this research with the democracy in Nigeria. This is done at both the community level and the government level (Federal, states and Local governments). The result of the interview analysis showed that, leaders do not represents the interest of their people effectively. It was confirmed that, leaders are elected at various levels of government but usually end up enriching themselves for personal gains at the expense of vast majority of the masses. This results to impoverishments of the people and underdevelopment of communities.

### **7.6.2 RQ 2: Effective Implementation of Rural Development Programmes**

A lot of policies and programmes had been initiated over the years for effective rural development, but the sector is still left with much, expected for its transformation and development. This research found three important elements that shows the level of implementation of rural programmes in Nigeria and indeed Taraba state as discussed below.

#### **7.6.2.1 Effective Implementation of Programmes**

Rural programme implementation has not been effective. In Nigeria policies that were formulated over times are rated laudable but only to be marred with implementation challenges. Coker & Obo (2013) finds that, policy formulation in Nigeria is not a problem but rather its implementation. The major elements associated with effective implementation of rural programmes as found by this research are stakeholder collaboration, community engagements and fund utilization.

It was found that, the relationship and collaborations among stakeholders has not been cordial and effective. It was affirmed that, the three tiers of government are usually in conflicts and uncoordinated to implementing rural programmes. More so, communities were not properly engaged and involved in matters that affect them from initiation and even during the implementation.

Furthermore, it was found that, the utilization of funds disbursed; that is meant for implementation of rural development programmes are usually diverted. The said funds are shared among the politicians at the expense of what it meant for. Majority of the informants confirmed that assertion.

#### **7.6.2.2 Level of Political Commitments to Implementation**

Effective implementation of rural development is a function of political commitments. Ugwuanyi & Emma (2013) corroborates this assertion when they says, commitments of political representatives towards their constituencies is poor. This research found that, lack of commitments of political office holders is associated to poor service delivery and dividends to people and ineffective resource mobilization to implementing rural programmes. Government usually depends on federal allocations to execute rural programmes, which may not be sustainable.

This research further reveals that, politicians are not committed to implementing laudable rural programmes but rather embezzled the available funds meant for its implementation for their personal gains. Where the funds are provided are usually diverted. In many cases resources are not effectively mobilized for implementation

processes, thereby making programmes abandoned. This is line with Akujuru & Enyioko (2013), and Egbera & Madubueze (2014) findings that, government performance in service delivery is insufficient and slipped lower in Nigeria.

#### **7.6.2.3 Implementation Problems**

Many problems were found to be associated with implementation of rural programmes. These are lack of political will, corruption in governance and poor supervision and monitoring. The informants maintained that, policies are well conceived but lack of political will affects its effective implementation. This is in line with finding of Okoroma (2006) when he says, leaders in Nigeria lack political will to execute rural policies.

Furthermore, supervision and monitoring for rural development programme implementation was found to be poor. This confirmed the findings made by Ojenemi & Ogwu (2013) that, poor supervision of projects are bane to Nigeria's rural development programmes. More so, corruption was also found to constitute another challenge to effective implementation of rural development programmes. Many of the informants interviewed attest to this fact.

#### **7.6.3 RQ 3: Democratic Government Performance on Rural Development**

The performance of democracy on rural development was measured based on agricultural development, rural health medical facilities, rural infrastructural development, rural human empowerments and job creation and rural access to education. The findings were discussed in that order.

#### **7.6.3.1 Agricultural Development**

Agriculture remain the most important sector that employs mainly rural folk and contributed significantly to their economic wellbeing. Yet, the sector was found neglected. This research reveals that, agricultural equipment's; agro-chemicals, and fertilizer and effective extension services meant to develop the sector with modern farming technique that can yield bumper harvest were not sufficiently provided to boost farming activities and increase productivity.

#### **7.6.3.2 Rural Health Medical Facilities**

This research found that, functional rural health facilities were not provided. There was lack of adequate qualified medical personnel's in most of the rural medical centres visited. There are instances where a hospitals are constructed in some rural communities but without adequate personnel to man it. Many of the rural communities has to travel or even trek kilometres to access health services. The findings of Abiodun & Kolade (2007) confirms that, rural health centres in Nigeria has no reasonable facilities and even qualified personnel's; undermining its effective quality service delivery to citizens.

#### **7.6.3.3 Rural Infrastructural Development**

Infrastructures development were found to be a serious problem to rural areas in Taraba state; and where provided they are grossly inadequate. Access to rural infrastructures such as portable water, electricity and rural roads were inadequately provided to the teaming rural populace. Sanusi (2012) confirms that, there is high level

infrastructural deficit in Nigeria. This is said to have been quite alarming at rural areas (Usman 2014 & Akinola, 2007).

#### **7.6.3.4 Rural Human Empowerments and Job Creations**

It was found that, the various rural empowerments programmes and job creation schemes has not impacted to alleviating the poverty, unemployment, income generation, bridging social inequality and deprivations among the rural people. The said programmes were said to be ineffective.

#### **7.6.3.5 Rural Access to Education**

Access to education is an important indicator in development. This was however been found to be a serious setback when it comes to rural communities in Taraba state. Findings of this study reveals that, illiteracy was high among the rural people and governments' effort at providing access to efficient education is nothing to write-home about; this is because there is acute shortage of teachers and the few available ones were mostly unqualified. Also, educational facilities were insufficient and the few provided dilapidated.

#### **7.6.4 RQ 4: Nigerian Political Arrangements and Rural Development**

Nigeria is political arranged based on federal structures with a federal government at the centre, state governments and local governments. This research finds that, effective synergy and co-operations, free and fair electoral authorization, and independency and autonomy of these level of government explains the nature of that

arrangements and its impacts on rural development. The discussions is done in that order as below.

#### **7.6.4.1 Effective Synergy and Co-operation among all Levels of Government**

It was found that, there is no effective synergy, co-operation and co-ordination among levels of government. In spite replication of various agencies government among these tiers of government (federal, state and local governments) the implementation process of rural policies and programmes is marred with problems arising from conflict of interest and not properly co-ordinated to yielding the desired impact.

#### **7.6.4.2 Free and Fair Electoral Authorization among all levels of Government**

As regards free and fair electoral authorization and contest among the levels of government in Nigeria. This research found that, it is the federal government that was empowered constitutionally to conduct elections through the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC), while the states governments conducts local governments' elections through State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIEC). However, local government were not subjected to free and fair electoral authorization and contest. The political leaders especially at local government level did not earn genuine mandates of the people, due to undemocratic appointments and imposition by the States governments' fraudulent elections; which lacks electoral legitimacy. These affects the performance of local government officials whom are said to be nearer to rural communities.



#### **7.6.4.3 Independency and Autonomy of Sub-central Tiers of Government**

Under established federal arrangements the system ought to have granted independency and autonomy of all tiers of government. This research however found that, the Nigerian federal arrangement favours the federal government and allows the state power overriding and usurping that of local governments; thereby making the LG having weak capacity to perform their functions as stipulated by law. More so, the resource transfers to sub-central governments are mainly sourced from subvention and allocations and that of local governments however were usually hijacked by the state governments under the pretence of State/Local Government Joint Account, thereby undermining the power and financial autonomy of LGs to adequately execute projects for rural development.

#### **7.7 Chapter Conclusion**

Chapter seven above analyzed and discussed qualitative data collected through interviews in line with the research questions and objectives using thematic analysis with the aid of Nvivo 10 software suitable for qualitative data. Generally, the findings reveals that although democracy was perceived to have been applauded by majority of the interview informants as the best form of government, a lot need to be done by leaders to seeing that its ideals are adhered to in practice to effectively consolidate development especially at the rural level. Programmes and policies were not adequately implemented and the nature of federal governmental structure and arrangements was perceived to have been good for rapid even development but yet the sub-central tiers of government are said to be weaker to deliver effectively for rural development.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

This is the last chapter for this research. It contains the research implications/contributions where both its theoretical and practical relevance were mentioned, conclusion were made, recommendations with their functional policy strategies for implementation were offered in line with the research findings and observations, and lastly suggestions for further studies were made.

#### **8.2 Research Implication and Contributions**

The research of this nature will not be complete without discussing its specific contributions and implications. The contributions however were discussed under the following headings: theoretical contributions and practical contributions.

##### **8.2.1 Theoretical Contributions**

From a theoretical perspective this research contributes to the body of knowledge in expanding theory on democratic government and rural development. In the sense that, two combinations of theory that is the urban-biased theory and democratic developmental state theory were used to explain the realities of Nigerian democratic state and development of rural areas. The urban-biased was adopted to

explaining the lopsided developments recorded in Nigeria among the urban centres and the rural areas, in which the later were neglected as a result of wrong notion that rural areas contributes little to the socio-economic and political development of the country. Also, the ruling elite's concentrates their development efforts at the urban centres and the central and state government are more powerful than the lower level of government which is at the grassroots.

These are evident from the Nigerian political arrangement in which LG that is closer to the people in the rural areas, is politically and financially powerless and couldn't meet its mandate of grassroots development. Also, the democratic developmental state theory contributes to our understanding of Nigerian democratic realities in which it presents to us the ideal typical developmental strides expected of a democratic government. That, it must be a government that has developmentalist ideology, ruling elites that are responsible for developmental process and responsive to popular demands, an accountable and responsible government and efficient bureaucracy for achievement of developmental goals amongst others. These underscore the developmental ideologies of the Nigerian state and the accountability questions of the political office holders in Nigeria. Also, the ever-increasing calls for efficient and functional bureaucracy in Nigeria that is often been criticised of inefficiency and corrupt tendencies among others. The theory emphasised that, for development to occur the ideologies and principles poses by the developmental democratic state theory must be adhered to by the political office holders and policy actors to achieving the desired development in the society.

### **8.2.2 Practical Contributions**

Practically this research has contributed to understanding the nature and responsibility of democratic government on rural people and shows clearly the vulnerable nature of the rural problems in the area under study. It also contributes to government as major stakeholder in rural development to understanding clearly the felt needs of rural people for better and effective policy and necessary interventions in rural development in general. It further contributes to other major stakeholders involve in rural development to understanding the nature of situations at hand as regards the realities of rural situation in Taraba state in particular and Nigeria in general for quick interventions and necessary support either on their individual organizational capacity or in partnership and collaborations with the government.

### **8.3 Conclusion**

The study investigates the democratic government and rural development in Nigeria with special focus on Taraba state. Based on empirical evidences of both the quantitative and qualitative data as presented and analyzed in chapter six and seven of this research, it provides us with the picture and reveals empirical evidence on the relationship between democratic government and rural development; in the sense that the strict adherence to democratic values and its ideals will bring about rural development. And also, it shows the need for a balanced political relevance and independency of all levels of government as it affects rural development and the need for effective implementation of rural problems. It is on these lights that, this research is concluding by saying that, unless a conscious and deliberate attempt is been made to develop rural areas by ensuring that, the political leaders strictly

adhered to the application of rule of law, constitutionalism and democratic values; the legitimacy of government may not be sustained. Also, the clamour for balance and true federalism in Nigeria; in which all strata of diverse society is expected to be carried along and ensure balance and even development will not be achieved. And generally, Nigeria's strides for achieving developmental goals of becoming the largest 20<sup>th</sup> economy by the year 2020 will remain a mirage and unattained without rural development.

#### **8.4 Recommendations**

In line with the major findings stated above, the following recommendations with their functional strategies for implementation were made:

- i. Democracy was adjudged and perceived the best form of government in the area under study. Its ideals was however said not to have been imbibed by the political office holders, as the strict adherence to its ideal practices is been undermined and flagrantly abused by them; thereby making the overwhelming citizens not governed effectively and hence underdevelopment. To solve this problem however, we recommend that, the constitutional provision for power of recall of elected representatives by the electorates and the impeachment procedures of the executives by the legislatures in cases of misconduct, gross abuse of office and poor representations be amended to be in such an expedite process without too much bureaucratic bottlenecks, red-tapism and delay. Also, the judiciary be independent to adjudicating legal proceedings over an elected officer that is

found wanting and ensure uncompromised rule of law and constitutionalism.

This will be achieved when the 'immunity clause' for the office of executives is been abolished and relevant constitutional provisions are amended to empowering the electorates over the elected officers and Judicial independency is emphasized and implemented. This will go a long way in ensuring that, power belongs to the people as insinuated by the democracy and the judiciary would have its place as the only organ of government responsible for adjudicating and enforcement of rule of law and remains the last hope of the depressed, oppressed and deprived, hence seeking for redress on wrong doings.

- ii. Deliberate concerted efforts must be made to ensure adequate political wills and commitments at all levels of government by both the elected and career officials in ensuring that, policies formulated to addressing rural related problems are effectively implemented. Also, corruption in government was identified as one of the major constrains to effective implementation of rural programmes. this can be tackled by constitutionally strengthening of anti-graft agencies like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commissions (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) etc. to operate independently and autonomously in order to effectively prosecute the corrupt officials found wanting in the mismanagement, misappropriation, siphoning and diversion of funds meant for implementing rural development programmes or policies.

The above can be achieved by effectively institutionalizing transparency and accountability mechanism in governance and setting delivery target for elected officials and also ensuring that, the autonomy and independency of the said anti-graft agencies are not only based on their operational powers but the financial autonomy as well. This is because the current arrangement of their financial obligations is determined and approved by the executives to be ratified by the National Assembly, the practice which undermines their successful and effective operations.

- iii. The acute shortage, inadequacy and poor access to rural infrastructures especially that of portable water, electricity, rural health and roads will be solve by deliberate efforts by the government at all levels (Federal, State and LG) by prioritizing their development programmes and projects and allocating larger portion of their budgets to infrastructural service provision. Also, government should source and collaborate with development partners such as Non-governmental organizations, social entrepreneurs, Philanthropists and other Non-profit organizations both locally and internationally to proving complementary services in rural infrastructural provision for speedy delivery of services and development of rural communities.

To achieve this, multi-sectoral policy on rural infrastructural development should be formulated and its strategy for implementation at all levels of government be clearly designed in such a way that, it will avoid overlaps



and or duplications and also, can even accommodate the interventions of other development partners locally and internationally for easy alignment and consistency.

- iv. For effective realization of mass literacy of Nigerians and the rural communities in particular. There is need for effective implementation of National Education Policy and Mass Literacy Programmes already in place; which are regarded laudable. The policy on Universal Basic Education too that emphasized on free access and compulsory education by children from Primary one to Junior Secondary School should be extended up to the Senior Secondary Schools due to the poor nature of most rural dwellers.

To achieve these, effective monitoring and evaluation strategy must be employed to checkmate abuses and corrupt tendencies of officials mandated to implementing such a laudable programmes, policies and initiatives. Also, multi-agency approach at all levels of government should be adopted in implementing the said policies and programmes. More so, effective synergy and collaborations be created among all the major stakeholders in education to ensuring inputs and feedback for effective service delivery.

- v. Agriculture remains the most productive sector that employs majority of rural folk and also contributes to the economic development of Nigeria generally. The government should therefore, gives due attention and priority to this important sector by refocusing its National Policy on Agriculture to meet global best practices. Also, adequate functional

machineries/ implements be and the extension services be provided to enlightening the rural illiterate farmers on modern ways of handling them.

This can be achieve by diversifying and prioritizing the economy away from the petroleum sector and given more emphasis on other productive sector of the economy in which agriculture remain major in Nigeria. The government commitments in terms of budget at all levels of government therefore should be prioritized towards agriculture. Also, the National Policy of Agriculture should be made flexible enough to accommodate easy adoption based on the peculiarities of lower levels of government for effective implementation and efficient output.

- vi. When the rural areas are effectively provided with adequate infrastructural facilities mentioned in (iii) and (v) above, it would invariably improve significantly the level of income, employment level and good living conditions of the rural people; thereby reducing their poverty level, bridged inequality and high standard of living.

To achieve these, a robust functional and aggressive human empowerment programmes that are purely targeted at solving social problems must be rigorously and religiously pursued and implementable across all levels of government. This is because, previous policies and programmes initiated has failed to address these social menace of poverty, inequality and deprivations of rural vulnerable due to their misplaced priority to addressing real social problems.

- vii. The local government representatives must emerged through democratic means for efficient and effective representation. This is because, it was established that, often, the local government executives and its other representatives were often selected and nominated by the State Governors without following due constitutional procedures and established rules, thereby making them emerged without earning genuine mandates of the people. This undemocratic practice affects negatively the quality of leadership exhibited at the local level, hence must be revisited and stopped.

To achieve this however, the elections at all levels of government of Nigeria should be harmonized and be unified in such a way that, the tenure of offices of all political holders be four years; as applicable to the Federal and State elected officers and also single independent electoral body be constitutionally empowered to conduct the elections. In the sense that, the current arrangements of State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) conducting the elections into the elective offices of Local Government be abolished and only the national electoral body; Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) be constitutionally empowered to conduct elections. This will strengthened the commission to ensuring the conduct of credible, free and fair elections, where only the responsible people will be elected and effectively serve people based on their mandates, yearnings and aspirations.

- viii. The State/Local Government Joint Account, though a constitutional arrangements, but due to its devastating effect on the performance of Local government as found in this research, should be abolished and a more robust and sound arrangement be re-constituted in a manner that no higher level of government can abuse and usurp the operations of the other and or divert the funds of the other depriving its smooth operations and delivery of services.

To achieve this, the LG should be granted full financial autonomy and independence. However, an effective supervisory, monitoring and evaluation mechanism must be put in place to ensure effective service delivery by constituting a Joint Stakeholder Review and Monitoring Committee (JSRMC) with the mandate of effective monitoring, review, evaluation and reverting of the activities of Local Government for effective service delivery. This will go a long way in complementing the developmental efforts of the higher levels of governments (Federal and States) in rural development by the local government.

- ix. Lastly, it is recommended that, to ensure effective federal arrangements in which all levels of government can exercised their power effectively and provide effective service to its constituency within its jurisdictional limits, each level of government should clearly and unambiguously be allocated power to act independently with a clear mandate and powers without one usurping the other. This will go a long way in ensuring even and rapid development of the nation generally.

To achieve this, the current constitution of Nigeria must be amended and clearly re-assigned each tier of government its due power and clear constitutionally assigned functions to operate independently and autonomously. However, the three levels of government must continually cooperate and maintained an effective collaboration and synergy, as their relationships remains coterminous to bringing desired sustainable national development at their respective ends.

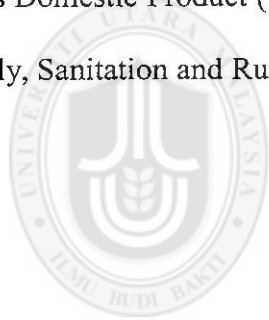
### **8.5 Suggestions for Further Studies**

The study focused on democratic government and rural development in Nigeria with reference to Taraba State. Though exhaustive in its own rights, but the study did not claim perfection and indispensability. It is in this tight that, the following areas were suggested for further studies:

The study deliberately covers the public sector vis-à-vis the government only to assessing the democratic governments' impact on rural development, because of the believe that, it is the government that is mandated constitutionally to be responsible to meeting the welfare, yearning, aspirations and general development of the citizenry. It is however suggested that, further studies be carried out to include third sectors (the NGOs) that have the mandates and objectives of achieving rural development. This is because, it was observed that, in spite of the deliberate exclusion of the NGOs by the researcher in the study, reference was often made by the respondents on the activities of the NGOs in their communities; when asked about the benefits they had from democratic government. People tend to confused

and relates to all developments recorded by democracy without differentiating on to specific projects executed by either the government or the NGOS. Also, many projects were discovered to have been jointly funded and implemented by both the government and the NGOs in partnerships.

Furthermore, the research scope also need to be extended to cover more states, particularly, in comparison with the states that are categorised developed and more urban with those states that are categorised underdeveloped and more rural. Taraba state was chosen for this study because of its underdeveloped and rural nature with least infrastructural development, poverty rates, low per capita income and low Gross Domestic Product (World-Bank, 2013, NBS, 2011, and Taraba State Water Supply, Sanitation and Rural Development Sector Blue-Print, 2011).



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## APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

### GAZALI SHAFIE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA

Dear Respondent,

I am a PhD (Public Administration) student of Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government, Universiti Utara Malaysia (UUM) conducting a research survey on Democratic Government and Rural Development in Nigeria: A Study of Taraba State. You are hereby kindly solicited to give your objective opinion on the subject matter.

You are assured that, your response will be treated with utmost confidentiality, as the exercise is strictly for academic purposes.

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this survey study.

**PhD Candidate**

Madu Abdulrazak Yuguda,

**Main Supervisor**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Rohana Yusof

**Co-Supervisor**

Dr Suyatno

**Section A: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents. Please Tick (√) where applicable**

**1. Gender:**

1. Male ( )    2. Female ( )

**2. Age:**

1. 15-30 ( )    2. 31-45 ( )    3. 46-60 ( )    4. 61 & above ( )

**3. Marital Status:**

1. Married ( )    2. Single ( )    3. Others ( )

**4. Educational Qualification:**

1. FSCL ( )    2. SSCE/HSC ( )    3. OND/NCE ( )    4. BSc/HND ( )  
5. PGS ( )

**5. Occupation:**

1. Farmer ( )    2. Public Servant ( )    3. Private Business ( )  
4. Community Leader ( )    5. Others ( )

**Section B: Structured Questions**

The questions below are intended to explore democratic government and rural development in Nigeria. For each question, a scale has been provided with 5 (Strongly Agree) as the highest and 1 (Strongly Disagree) as the lowest. The value of the scale 1-5 is indicated below:

Strongly Disagree (SD)	Disagree (D)	Neutral (N)	Agree (A)	Strongly Agree (SA)
1	2	3	4	5

## 1. Perception and Attitudes Towards Democracy

PATD	Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA
PATD 1	Democracy is the best form of government	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 2	Democracy allows my right to be protected	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 3	Democracy tells me what my rights are	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 4	Democracy is the bridge between the rural people and the government	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 5	There is correlation between democracy and the rural people	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 6	People have benefited most from democracy in Taraba state	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 7	Democracy enhances development	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 8	I am satisfied with the democratic role in bringing development to my local community	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 9	Democracy encourages formation of community organizations	1	2	3	4	5
PATD 10	Democracy allows people to influence government policies towards development of their areas.	1	2	3	4	5

## 2. Democratic government and effective implementation of rural development programmes

DIRD	Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA
DIRD 1	Political office holders are committed to implementing rural development programmes	1	2	3	4	5
DIRD 2	Rural development programmes are effectively implemented under democratic government	1	2	3	4	5
DIRD 3	Rural communities are carried along in implementing rural development programmes	1	2	3	4	5
DIRD 4	The rural development programmes has impacted on the lives of the rural people	1	2	3	4	5
DIRD 5	Democracy set standard criteria/strategy for effective implementation of rural development programmes	1	2	3	4	5
DIRD 6	Rural development programmes are laudable but marred with implementation problems	1	2	3	4	5
DIRD 7	Democracy ensures effective coordination of implementing Rural development programmes among all levels of government	1	2	3	4	5

DIRD 8	There is public confidence in the effectiveness of democratic government and its political leadership towards rural development	1	2	3	4	5
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### 3. Democratic government performance to achieving rural development

DPRD	Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA
DPRD 1	Democracy has provided rural infrastructural development	1	2	3	4	5
DPRD 2	Democracy has provided rural health medical facilities	1	2	3	4	5
DPRD 3	Democratic government provides rural human empowerments and job creation	1	2	3	4	5
DPRD 4	Democratic government provides access to efficient education	1	2	3	4	5
DPRD 5	Democratic government improves agricultural development	1	2	3	4	5
DPRD 6	Democracy improves the general wellbeing of the rural populace	1	2	3	4	5
DPRD 7	People have confidence on the ability of democratic government to solve the main problems confronting rural communities and in their ability to influence it	1	2	3	4	5



#### 4. Nigerian political arrangements and rural development

NPRD	Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA
NPRD 1	Nigerian political arrangement negatively affects rural development	1	2	3	4	5
NPRD 2	The sub-central tiers of government (state/LG) are independent from the centre (federal)	1	2	3	4	5
NPRD 3	The sub-central tier of government has power and resources to carry out rural development	1	2	3	4	5
NPRD 4	There is effective and extensive cooperation and coordination of government at the most level with rural communities in the formation and implementation of policy and service provision to rural areas	1	2	3	4	5
NPRD 5	All levels of government are subjected to free and fair electoral authorization, criteria of openness, accountability and responsiveness in their operations	1	2	3	4	5
NPRD 6	State/ Local government joint account improves significantly on rural development	1	2	3	4	5

### 5. Rural development

RD	Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA
RD 1	Adequate rural infrastructural development	1	2	3	4	5
RD 2	Effective rural health medical facilities	1	2	3	4	5
RD 3	Provision rural human empowerments and job creation	1	2	3	4	5
RD 4	Provision access to efficient education	1	2	3	4	5
RD 5	Agricultural development	1	2	3	4	5
RD 6	Improving the general wellbeing of rural populace	1	2	3	4	5
RD 7	Participation of rural people in decisions and policy	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you for accepting to participate in this study

## APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What is your general perception about democracy?
2. Do you regard democracy as the best form of government?
3. What kind of benefits do you think democracy bring to rural communities in Taraba state within the last 16 years?
4. Do you believe that there is correlation between democracy and rural development?
5. Who do you think benefited most from democracy among political office holders and the rural people and how?
6. What are views as regards saying that, democracy enhances development?
7. How satisfied are you with the democratic role in bringing development to your community?
8. Do you believe that, rural people influence government policies towards development of their areas?
9. How can you assess the level of commitments of political office holders in implementing rural development programmes?
10. Does government effectively implement rural development programmes?
11. Do you think rural people are carried along in implementing rural development programmes?
12. What are your views on the sayings that, the rural development programmes are laudable, but are marred with implementation problems? If yes what would you suggest as the best strategy to ensure effective implementation?
13. What is your level of confidence on democratic government towards rural development?

14. How can you assess the provision of rural infrastructures in your locality under democracy?
15. Do your community been provided with adequate and functional health facilities?
16. What can you say about democratic government providing rural human empowerment and job creation?
17. What is your assessment on rural access to education?
18. Taraba State is one of the most agrarian states in Nigeria. Do government supports and improves agricultural development in your area?
19. Do you thing the current political arrangements of Federal, State and Local affects grassroots development/rural development?
20. Do you feel that, there is effective cooperation and coordination at all levels of government towards formation and implementations of policies and service provision to rural areas?
21. Do you believe that sub-central tiers (State/LG) government has power and resources to carry out rural developments?
22. In your opinion, what are the best possible ways that can strengthen democratic government toward achieving effective rural development?

Thank you for your participation in this study.

**APENDIX III: SAMPLE SIZE DETERMINATION USING KREJCIE AND MORGAN TABLE**

<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3200	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	100000	384

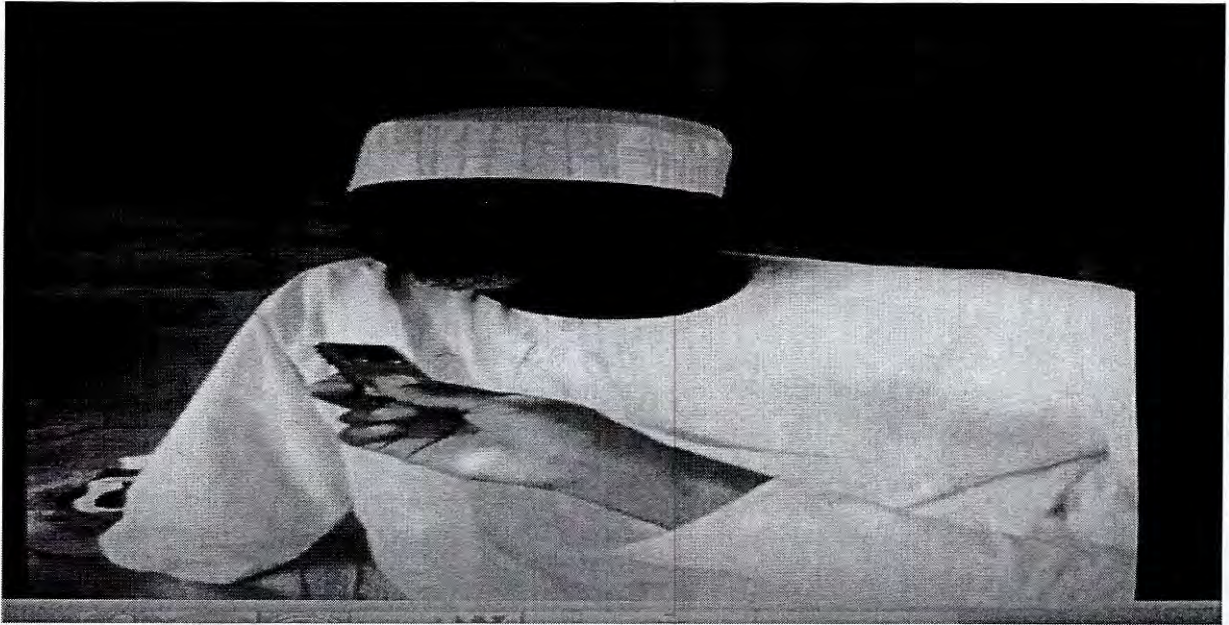
Note.—*N* is population size. *S* is sample size.

Source: Krejcie & Morgan, 1970



#### APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW PICTURES

An interview with on of the Rural Community Based Organizations



An interview with one of the Village Heads





**An interview with one of the Councilors**



**An interview with one of the Village Heads**



**An interview with one of the Local Politicians**

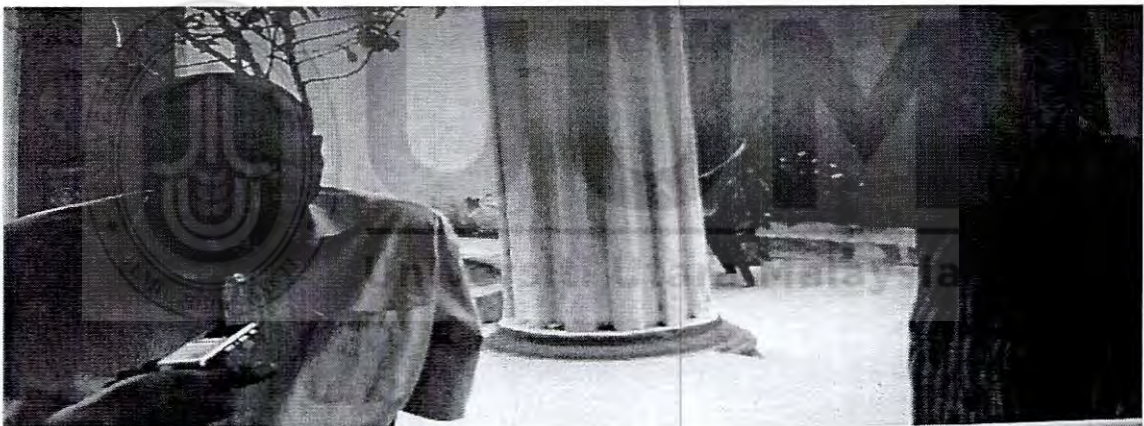




**An interview with one of the rural community based organizations**



**An interview with one of the local Councillors**





An interview with one of the member of academics



An interview with one of the member of academics



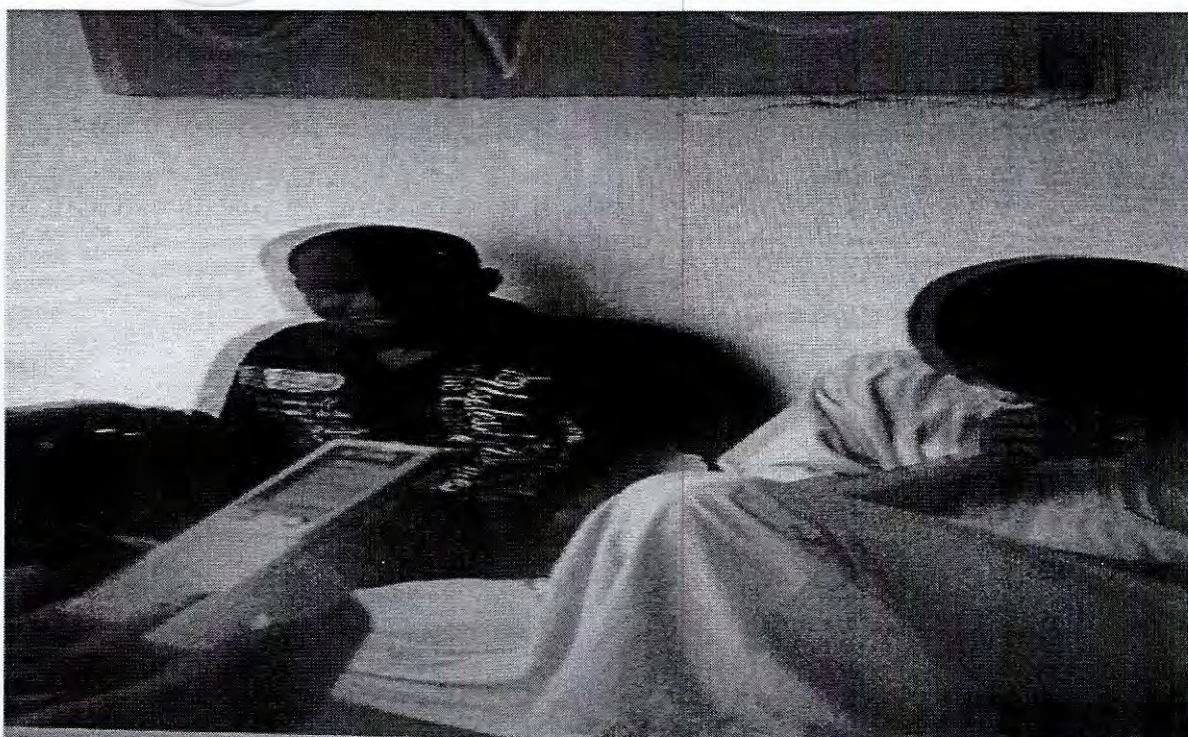


## APPENDIX V: PICTURES FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

One of the sessions of focus group discussions at Karim- Lamido



Another session of focus group discussion at Mutum Biyu Village



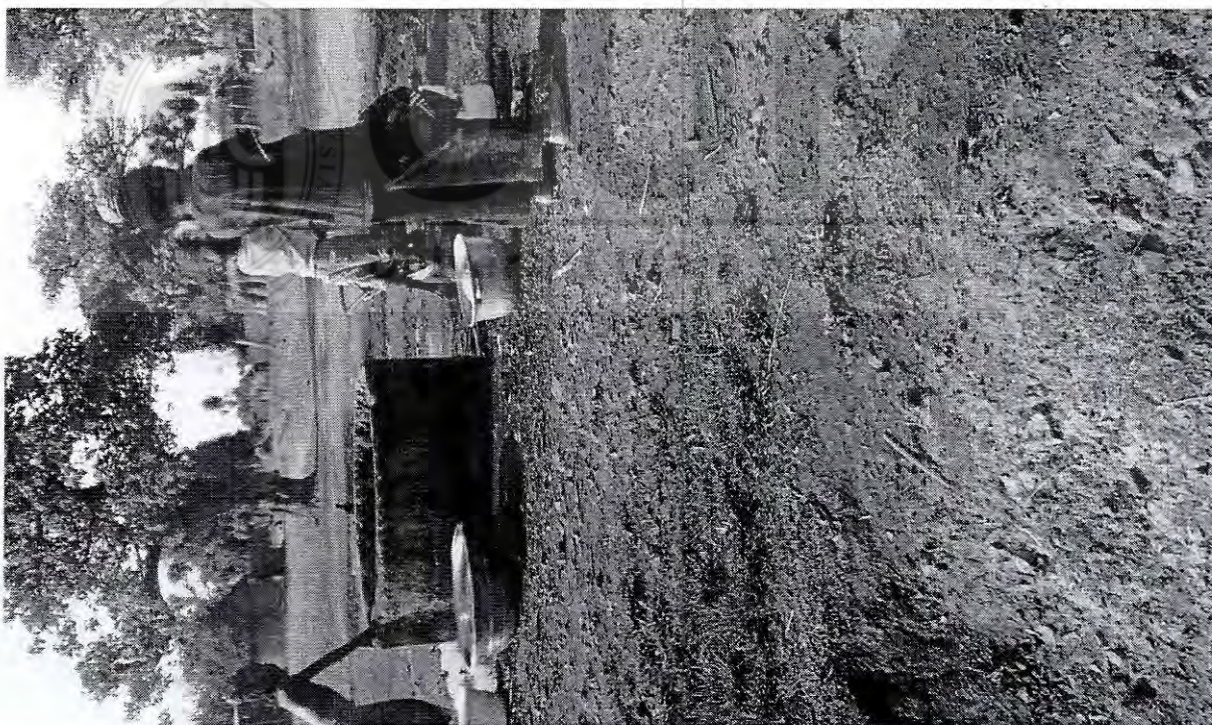


## APPENDIX VI: RURAL PICTURES IN TARABA STATE NIGERIA

Picture showing rural commercial water vendors



Picture showing village source of water through a well





**Picture showing rural road: A road connecting Karim-Lamido LGA with  
Lau LGA of Taraba State**



**Picture showing village source of water through a stream**





Picture showing a village primary school

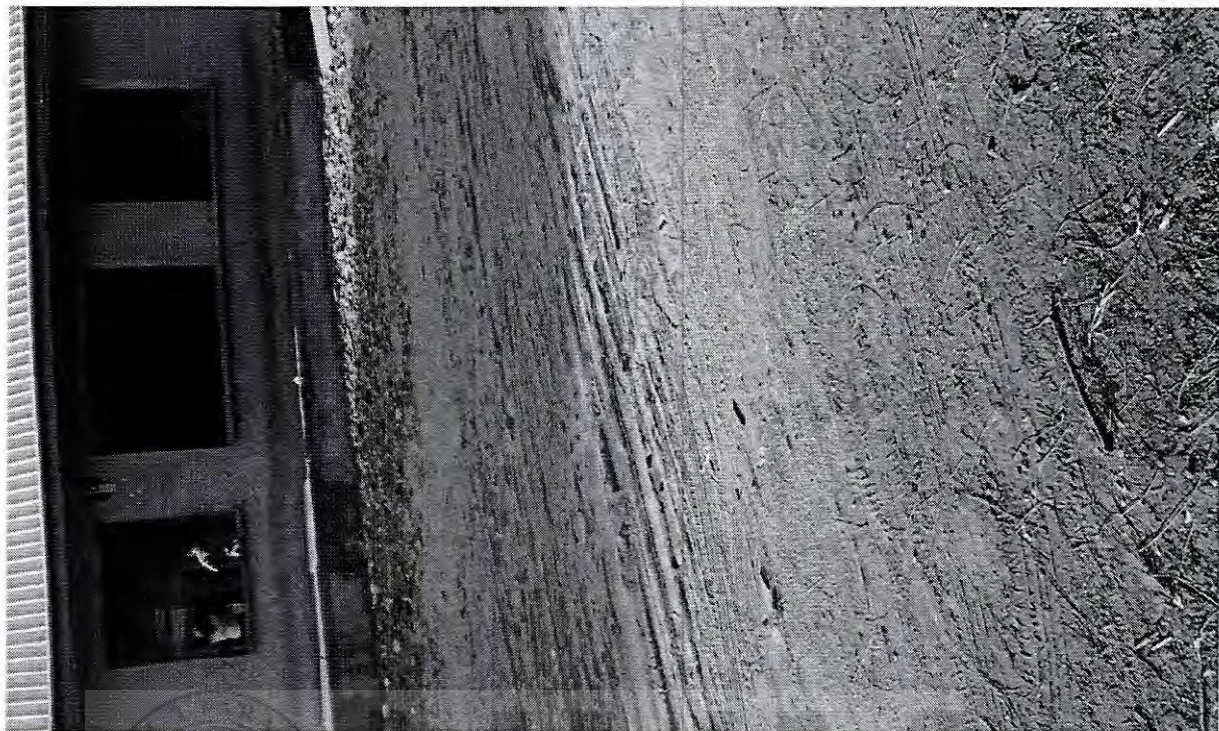


Rural road





A viallge health clinic constructed by MDGs

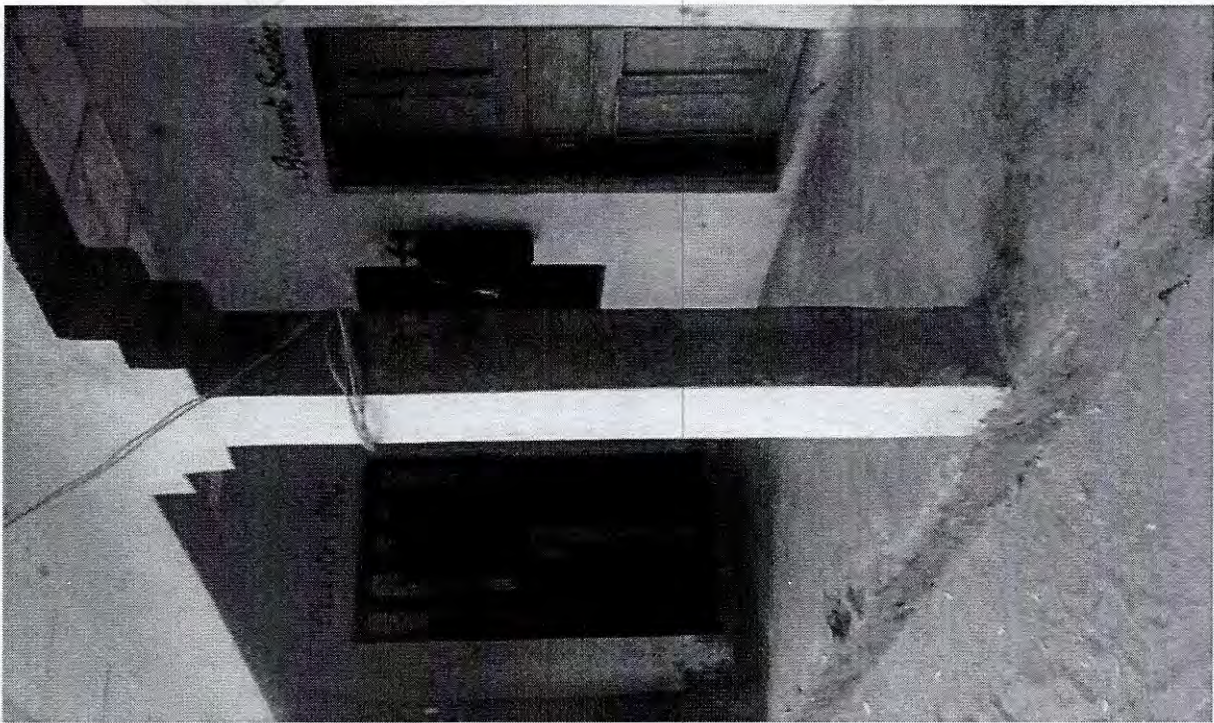




A village market

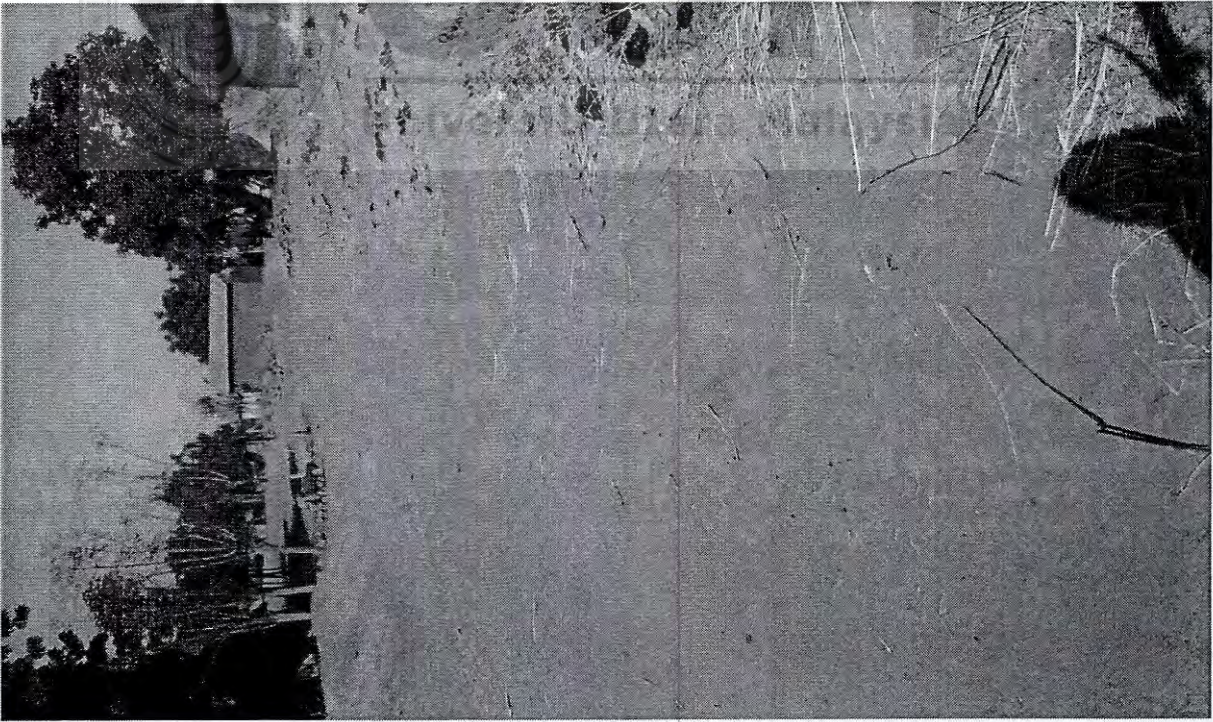


A village clinic





A typical village setting





Source of water in a village throuh a stream



A village woman washing her cloths with a source of water throuh a stream

