

T.C.

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIA.
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF IGBO YORUBA AND HAUSA-FULANI
BETWEEN 1999-2015**

M.A. THESIS

SOLOMON OTUBO

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

Thesis Supervisor: Asist. Prof. Dr. Gülay Uğur Göksel.

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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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FOREWORD

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March, 2016

SOLOMON OTUBO

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ABBREVIATIONS

APC	: All Progressive Congress
FH	: Freedom House
NYSC	: National Youth Service Corps
PDP	: Peoples Democratic Party



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DEMOKRASİ VE ETNİK ÇEŞİTLİLİK: NİJERYA VAKA ÇALIŞMASI, NİJERYA DEMOKRASİSİ'NDE İGBO, YORUBA VE HAUSA-FULANİ'NİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI İNCELEMESİ

ÖZET

Demokrasinin farklı etnik unsurlardan oluşan demokrasilere tehdit olmadığı, böylece demokratik gelişmeye yönelik tehdit unsuru olduğu etnik siyaseti üzerine çalışan akademisyenler arasında fikir birliği söz konusu. Buna karşılık, bu tez bir kaç akademisyen tarafından çürütülerek etnik çeşitliliğin kendi içinde demokratik gelişmeye tehdit teşkil etmediğini ve bu gelişmeyi engelleyen dış faktörlerin etnik çeşitliliğin arkasında yattığını vurguladılar. Bu araştırma, etnik çeşitliliğin demokratik gelişme üzerindeki etkisini tespit etmek üzere çok uluslu Nijerya demokrasisi örneğinde inceler. İlk olarak araştırma etnik çeşitliliği oluşturan unsurları bir önceki etnik sınıflandırma teorileri eliştirisi üzerinden tespit etmeye çalışmakta ve bunun Nijerya etnik faktöründe nasıl kullanulabileceği sorusuyla başlamakta. Bununla birlikte, çalışmada Nijerya'nın üç farklı etnisite arasındaki sosyo-politik davranış biçimleri de araştırılmakta. Ülkede diğer kabile gruplarının da varlığı göz önünde bulundurularak bu araştırma kabile grupları ile etnik gruplar arasındaki ayrımı coğrafya ve nüfus yüzdesi üzerinden benimsemiştir. Demokrasi üzerindeki etnik değişkenin siyasal etkisini belirlemek amacıyla ise araştırma çok etnik demokrasilerin inşaa edildiği hükümetin siyasal sistemini incelemekte. Son olarak, bu araştırma demokratik değerleri tam uygulayan federal demokrasilerin etnik çeşitlilik toplumunda hayatta kalmasının muhtemel olduğunu varsaymakta.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Demokrasi, Etnik Çeşitlilik, Federalizm ve Kimlik Siyaseti.*

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ABSTRACT

It is an issue of a common sense among most scholars of ethnic politics that democracy is not likely to consolidate in multiethnic democracies, thus perceiving ethnicity as a threat to democratic development. On the contrary, few scholars of ethnic politics has since refuted this claim, and insisted that ethnic diversity in itself does not constitute a threat to democratic development, rather there are extrinsic factors that hides behind ethnic diversity to hinder democratic development. This research investigates both claims on democracy and ethnic diversity by sampling Nigeria, a multiethnic democracy, to ascertain the impact of ethnic diversity on democratic development. First, the research started by questioning what constitutes ethnic diversity by critically examining the previous theories on ethnic fractionalization, and how it can be used to define the Nigerian ethnic factor. In addition, the research studied the socio-political behavior of each amongst the three ethnic nationalities it identified in Nigeria. In recognizing the presence of other tribal groups in the country, the research adopted geography and total percentage of population in distinguishing between ethnic group and tribal groups in Nigeria. On the political impact of democracy by ethnic variable, the research examined the political system of government under which multiethnic democracies are built upon. Finally, the research acknowledged that federal democracies that fully implements democratic values are likely to survive in an ethnic diverse society.

Keywords: *Democracy, Ethnic diversity, Federalism, and identity politics.*

1. INTRODUCTION

“To be or not to be: that is the question”
(William Shakespeare) Hamlet, (Act III, SC.1).

The above expression from Hamlet directly explains the conditions of what we today call Nigerian state. The prevailing circumstances of ethnic inspired discontent among Nigerians have since undermined democratic development in the country. Although the recent political developments in the country appear to strengthen democracy, however the popular principle of inclusive government is still in doubt.

Nigeria as an ethnic polarized state is built under the paradigm of a fictitious doctrine, carved out by the British colonial government. Thus, what we today call Nigeria is a product of 1914 political amalgamation of three different geographical entities by the British. These entities comprised of the North, West and Southeastern geographical regions of the country. Prior to the coming of the British, the political history of Nigeria is nothing other than the history of different tribes or tribal groupings in different nomadic enclaves of the modern day Nigeria. The dominant of these tribes are today categorized into three different ethnic groups, representing the Igbo, (Southeast), Hausa-Fulani (North), and the Yoruba (West). These identified three major groups do not share a common ancestral history, language, and culture. The boundary that existed between them is an ocean line from Atlantic Ocean that runs through popular river Niger and river Benue.

Although it is imperative that Nigeria’s pre-colonial history is not enough evidence for the existence of Nigerian state, nor does it contribute in the difficulty in preserving and sustaining a political viable Nigerian state. Both historical grievances fuelled by ethnic resentment, and greed has played a significant role in undermining the political development in Nigeria. After gaining her political independence on the 1st of October 1960, which successful saw a Nigerian took over the mantle of political leadership from the British Imperialist. The Nigerian political scene suddenly turned into a non-national

agenda direction, despite a unanimous national front formed by all Nigerians to gain independence under a common framework of one Nation. Ethnic factor started becoming a defining factor in the national politics. In cognizance of this factor, several approaches were employed by policy makers to see how a newly independent Nigeria can survive in a multi ethnic society. The politics of democracy in Nigeria gradually became a game of political survival through ethnic framed mindset.

The conventional reasoning on democracy associates the phenomenon as both an inclusive and exclusive political system targeted at achieving a popular government. Thus, the inclusive element of democracy is accompanied by benefits that follows inclusiveness as well as punishment that follows exclusiveness. Ethnicity is used as one of the tool for measuring who is included and who is excluded in a democracy. Ethnic impediment has consistently remained a hindrance constraining democratic growth not just in Nigeria but also in most of the multi ethnic societies. Scholars like Larry Diamond (1996), and Osaghae (1996), suggesting on democratic politics in Nigeria, argued that the Western based institutional structures introduced to Nigeria by the British would accelerate political development in the country. In addition, scholars like Whitehead (2002), was of the opinion that democratic politics would help in providing political stability and improve development despite the multi ethnic arrangement in the country.

The condition of ethnic politics that circumvented Nigeria since independence requires thorough findings, in other to provide adequate political solutions, so as to enable an environment for effective democratic development. Nigeria political environment is characterized by political rivalry arising within the three contending ethnic groups, which are the Igbo, the Yoruba, and the Hausa-Fulani. Meanwhile, the most challenging factor among different political actors in the country is how to deal with the national question. Since most Nigerians prefers to define their identity in relation to their ethnic affiliation, instead of the national identity. There are very few unifying factor in terms of national identity among Nigerians. Although the recent shift in political affiliation through national political party system is gradually changing the pace of ethnic mindset. Nigerian last presidential election held in 2015, which saw an opposition candidate take over power, was a clear demonstration on a shift from ethnic sentiment to national configuration. Nigerians who participated in the election ignored ethnic mindset during

the voting process and elected whom they considered as the most credible candidate in the election. In addition, despite ethnic consciousness among Nigerians, there are still some other factors that unite national interest. For instance: sports, religion, external interaction, education, language Etc.

Different ethnic fractionalization index have so far failed to interpret the Nigerian condition of ethnic groupings. Since all known theories of ethnic fractionalization have either generalized a single ethnic identity variable, or try to impose complex variables without clarity. Although, considering the pre-colonial history of ethnic groupings in Nigeria. It is easy to infer that ethno-linguistic fractionalization, ethno-cultural fractionalization, and ethno-religious fractionalization, are all essential values in justifying ethnic divide in Nigeria. But since the factor of pre-colonial history does not contribute in sustaining a unified nation state in Nigeria, we are obliged to accepting government policy, which thus, delimits these variables in accessing ethnic fractionalization in Nigeria. Nigeria after gaining political independence from Great Britain in 1960, decided to maintain English language as the countries national and official language. Such government policy highlighted the degree of common communication skills among Nigerians, despite maintaining the three major ethnic languages. The government further mandated the teaching of the three major languages in schools across different part of the country. This policy, allows every Nigerian child to fluently speak the three ethnic languages including English. Therefore, the research finds it difficult using ethno-linguistic fractionalization, as proposed by Alberto Alesina et al (2003), Fearon (2003), and team of Soviet ethnographers (1960) in determining ethnic groupings in Nigeria. Similarly, the government policy of creating a common ministry of culture which harmonizes different cultural differences in the country, through organizing cultural carnival annually, and the increase in inter-marriages across what could have been different cultures, makes it difficult to use culture in determining the differences in Nigeria's ethnic divide. In addition, Nigeria is a multi religious and a secular state. This allows Nigerians the right to practice any religion of their choice. Although there is huge dominant religious practices in each of these three ethnic groups, However, different religious faiths live side by side with each other. Therefore, using religion, as an indicator in separating ethnic differences in Nigeria looks difficult. Nevertheless, this research accepted natural creation as a result of geographical

demarcation, using Atlantic Ocean boundaries, separated by river Niger, and river Benue to determine Nigerian ethnic differences. The chapter two and chapter three of this research further highlighted other degrees of differences in determining ethnic groupings in Nigeria.

1.2 Research Questions

To understand the role ethnic diversity play in measuring democratic development in Nigeria, this study developed different research questions to enable both the researcher and the future audience provide solution to the identified problems. The following questions are formulated in consonance with the content of this research.

To what extent can ethnic differences be attributed to the slow democratic performance in Nigeria? Does the differences contribute in political polarization, fraudulent elections, political instability, and corruption in Nigerian Politics?

Are there any chances of democracy promoting political unity among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria? What makes up the structure of political parties in Nigeria? Are political party formation designed to promote cultural consciousness? What is the role of ethnic identity in shaping Nigeria political system?

To what extent have the policies of political parties and government contributed in minimizing effect of ethnic dependence in Nigerian politics? Can democracy survive in an ethnic polarized society like Nigeria?

All the expected answers to the above stated questions are designed to reflect in all parts of this research. In addition, the chapter three and four discusses the political formation of Nigerian state. Therefore, most of the answers are attended as required.

1.3 Hypothesis

The under listed hypothetical statements are framed to determine weather ethnic diversity influences low democratic performance in Nigeria.

H1— The ethnic mentality that says, any person who does not share similar ethnic identity with me is not qualified, and cannot earn my trust.

H2—The religious mentality that says, any person who does not share similar religion with me is not qualified and cannot earn my trust.

H3—The regional mentality that separates Nigerian state into three areas of comparative political advantages. And it says, any individual that is not from my region cannot provide any political benefits to me and cannot earn my trust.

These three hypothetical statements are directly connected to the behavioral politics of Nigerian state and therefore shares influence on the low democratic performance of the country. Meanwhile, the political animosity that interpretes democratic performance of the country are also been shared among the disorganized polity, which are being represented by the type of politics played by individual politicians coming from the three major ethnic groups in the country. Democratic politics as practiced in the country are not often seen from the prism of national political philosophy, rather been construed through regional or ethnic mindset. It is often conceived that most politicians in the country are moulded through ethnic political agenda therefore spends less or no time on consientization of national interest. In addition, other social identity capsules like religion, cultural consciousness, language and historical affilaition have equally been labled as an indicator in ethnic politicization in the country. The research uses ethnic mindset, regional mindset, and regional mindset as a causal factor in finding the causes of low democratic performance in Nigeria.

Hypothesis No 1. *The ethnic mentality that says, any person who does not share similar ethnic identity with me is not qualified, and cannot earn my trust. Considering the high degree of ethnic and political resentment in the past amongst the three ethnic groups that makes up the Nigerian state, it was believed that the ethnic consciousness will reduce in the return to democracy in 1999.*

There was a considerable differences amongst the three ethnic entities that makes up the nigerian state before the return to democratic government in 1999. The common believe among the political actors was that democratic regime will not only harmonizes these differences but facilitate common national political cause. Prior to democratic return in 1999, each of the existing three ethnic groups were operating on different political

tactics in pursuance to their ethnic inspired interest. However, the end to military regime eroded away much of ethnic sentiment through the formations of common national political parties. Meanwhile the current realities still portrays the attitude of ethnic conspirator strategy, which means that each ethnic or regional group is still struggling to assert itself in space of democratic privileges.

The circumstances that prevailed the ethnic political condition in Nigeria during the pre 1999 democratic era was punctured in one of Horowitz's propositions'. Horowitz was of the view that, it is the competition for scarce values and materials that propels people to see themselves as members of distinct ethnic groups, and also as people whose interests conflict with that of other ethnic groups Horowitz (2000: 15). The desperation to dispose the military government and institutionalize democratic regime in the country created an extensive euphoria in dissecting ethnic landscape. This is evident on how ethnic attachments like; language and religious affiliations were gradually eroded in Exchange for party politics. Although the natural inclination to ethnic history was not completely deleted from individuals mindsets, but the consciousness often associated with such difference has minimal effect on the political calculation of the majority at the time. The oneness that cemented the political understanding of the three major ethnic groups evaporated and disappeared without notice. Ethnic mindset suddenly emerged from exiled and thwarted the relative cordial political relationship among the Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani. Ultimately, the high expectation within the academic and non-academic arena for a Nigerian political environment devoid of ethnic sentiment became an illusion. Political animosity based on ethnic competition became fierce and assumed more dangerous dimension.

Hypothesis No.2 The religious mentality that says, any person who does not share similar religion with me is not qualified and cannot earn my trust. Given the diverse religious identity that circumvented the existing three ethnic groups in Nigeria during the pre-1999 polity, It was highly expected that democracy will further cement religious tolerance among different religious faiths in the country.

As indicated earlier that religion remains one of the variable indicators in accessing social identity. In Nigeria, different constitutional amendment and military decrees that

preceeded the pre-1999 democratic regimes have all maintained secularist approach; that is removing religion from state affairs. However, there still exists some level of religious attachments in political decision making both individually and collectively. The expectations on democracy indicates that greater percentage of the population believes that democracy will present a more credible system of governments that undermines religious sentiments.

This second hypothesis confirmed that what motivates every individual ethnic nationality is not the symbol of one Nigeria or national identity, but rather the religious affiliation and solidarity that binds each group together. But then, the more entrenched the religious differences are, the more difficult it has become for a working democratic polity to evolve. The use of churches and mosques as campaign points by politicians and political parties creates a deep political divisions between the contending religious groups.

Hypothesis No.3 The regional mentality that separetes Nigerian state into three areas of comparative political advantages. And it says, any individual that is not from my region cannot provide any political benefits to me and cannot earn my trust. Considering the ideological and nature of human forces that combined to bring back democratic politics in the country, the perceptions that the regional political tendencies that characterise politics in Nigeria in the pre-1999 era will diminish was very high.

Political dialogues and development in Nigeria has always been a matter of regional and ethnic alliances. Popular opinions indicated that the regional political sentiment in the pre-1999 era would cease to be an issue in the political development in democratic Nigeria. This was supported by the process that led to the 1999 return to civilian administration in the country. The actions of the politicians from the three ethnic groups created political euphoria that moderately overshadowed the mindset that the three ethnic nationalities had against each other. But it was more of theoretic thinking than practical. The political development that evolved after 1999 return to democracy dashed every political permutation and forecasts made by scholars and non-scholars. Prior to 1999 political dispensation the apologists of regional politics idea was that a person's loyalty should be to his region rather than to his country. Their political argument and

position corroborated one of Horowitz's submissions, which implies that in an ethnic divided society a group strategy for survival and political relevance is usually anchored on the argument that a child should be taught to protect the welfare of his own people and let other ethnic groups look out for themselves Horowitz (2000: 7). People always look at the chances of their ethnic community having a comfortable political position in the country, even if other ethnic nationalities should protest. The statement was what characterised the politics of the country in the 1950s, 1960s and late 1970s. With that mindset coming into 1999 return to popular democracy, many people were of the opinion that political decision will depend less on regional affinity. But development in the political arena ended the dream of those people who were anticipating borderless politics in the country. There are certain political notions and cleavages within the Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani nationalities which create and support regional political consciousness.

1.4 Methodology

This research work is structured to cover a period, between 1999-2015 in Nigeria political calendar. It uses both historical and present events in explaining the role of ethnic diversity in Nigerian democracy. Hence, it employs content analysis and qualitative research approach in validating the degrees of differences in Nigeria's ethnic groupings.

The choice of using qualitative approach in this study is to enable a systematic analysis of information generated from both empirical and theoretical analysis. In addition, qualitative research approach allows this research to use secondary data in generating information for the study. This secondary data collection will be done using Journals, Textbooks, documentaries, research surveys, and Internet information's. The chapter two of this research, which is about literature review, uses different theories from literatures of other scholars in generating information for the study. While chapter three concentrates on research design, and uses different surveys conducted for similar purposes in operationalizing the research variables. The research will equally use graphical presentations in form pie charts in explaining data information's.

1.5 Scope and Limitations to the Study

This research is a comparative driven study, which attempts to use ethnic groupings in Nigeria to study various degrees of democratic development in the country. At first, the research will study both the political and historic structure of each amongst the three ethnic groups in Nigeria, and how their political interaction affects the national political structure. It will equally study how different ethnic identity in the country influences common nationalism.

The research will review available literatures on ethnic fractionalization, and democracy, and how these variables can be used to explain Nigerian factor. Efforts will be made in the study to identify problems surrounding previous studies on ethnic fractionalization in Nigeria, and how it influences democratic development. The research will bank on these literatures in providing answers to the problems identified.

The study will provide insights into the conditions surrounding democracy and ethnic diversity in Nigeria. The content of the research will be limited within the framework of the stated context.

1.6 Purpose of the Study

Researching on democracy and ethnic diversity is a way of highlighting the gaps in political reasoning. It is an avenue of bridging the theoretical rivalry that so far exists among different scholars of ethno-democratization studies. This research provides an opportunity of studying the political situation of multi-ethnic Nigeria, by examining the the degree of differences in political bargaining among the three major ethnic groups and how their different political behaviour shapes democratic politics in Nigeria. The study is an attempt to widen research on many phases of democratization, especially as it affects society and people. It examines different theories on what consitutes ethnic fractionalization, and how it can be used in interpreting the Nigerian case. It will investigate the antecedents of ethnic politics in nigeria by dissecting the three major ethnic components, and how it shapes democratic performance in Nigeria. In view of choosing this research, I am aware that most Nigerians understands the significance of democratic politics and how the reality of ethnic sentiment as both an intrisinc and extrisinc factor undermines democratic perfomance in Nigeria. In conducting this

research, my input will be to conduct an objective study which will be both qualitative and comparatively grounded.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The organization of this Master's thesis consists of 2 sections, made up of 5 chapters. The topics are systematically arranged in a way that it suits the context of this research. The author intends to conduct both empirical and theoretical research on Nigeria's political bargain, using the existing three contending ethnic groups (Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani), in explaining democratic development in Nigeria. The research is anchored on comparative study, using ethnological recording and qualitative research method in explaining political issues within the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. In addition, the core interest of the research is to ascertain how democratic behaviour in a multi-ethnic society.

The first section of this research will consist of three chapters, which are chapter 1, 2, &3. The chapter 1&2 analyses the background of the study by explaining the political and ethnic arrangements of Nigerian state. The first chapter covers the introduction, research questions and hypothesis, methodology, scope and limitation to the study, and purpose of the study. while the second conceptualizes the Nigerian state, by first explaining the geographical conditions using maps to analyze its' regional compositions.

Chapter 3: contains subtopics that dwelt on Literature review and theoretical issues, this includes an overview on the concept of democracy, ethnic diversity, and ethnic diversity from the Nigerian perspective. It contains also some existing literature reviews in comparative politics that dwells on the theories of democracy, democratization measurement, and ethnic diversity, critiques on democracy, and ethnic diversity: the Nigerian factor.

Chapter 4: contains issues that dwelt on research design, selection of variables, data and their sources, Hypothesis statement, operationalization of variables, selection and evaluation of case study areas. In addition, it uses tables and figures in explaining data.

The second section focuses on theoretical appraisal using case study areas of the research. It consists of two chapters, which includes chapter 5 & 6.

Chapter 5: focuses on issues that deal with ethnic diversity and democratic politics in Nigeria, ethnic politics and Nigeria democracy, identity politics as a political factor in Nigeria democratic consolidation, ethnic/regional identity as a political factor in Nigeria democracy, religious identity as a political factor in Nigeria's democracy, and finally, Nigeria in the midst of federal democracy.

Chapter 6: summarizes the study by highlighting the research discussion of all chapters, makes a recommendation, and finally draws a conclusion.

2. CONCEPTUALIZING NIGERIA

2.1 Introduction

This research is structured in such a way that it will be concise in making its findings and analysis. However, in order to highlight the degree of differences amongst different ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, and how their political performance impact democratic consolidation in the country. This chapter will briefly explain the contraption of the Nigerian state, her ethnic arrangements, geographical and climate arrangements, regional political formation and the nature of national politics. Although this approach involves a historical analysis, however the research will try to pick out the important factors that contribute to the context of this research. In the process of explaining ethnic arrangements, most current maps will be adapted to aid in better understanding.

As someone who was born in the Northern part of the country by Southeastern parents, and grew up in the Western region, received educational training in the Southeastern region, and speaks fluently the three major Nigerian languages. This research becomes part of a shared experience in detailing the political behaviours amongst the three ethnic nationalities in Nigeria.

2.2 Geography Of Nigeria

Nigeria is an independent state in African continent. It is often referred to as ‘Giant of Africa.’ Nigeria is the largest country in African continent in terms of human population, and economy. Nigeria is located within the West coast of Africa. Its longitude measures between 3 and 14 degrees East, and 4 degrees North. It covers an area of 933,768 square kilometers. East-West is the longest distance of about 767 kilometers, and North-South longest distance is about 1,605 kilometers. Nigeria borders with four countries, and the Atlantic ocean which runs through Europe and America. To the East is the republic of

Cameroon, to the West is the republic of Benin, to the North is the republic of Chad, and Niger republic. To the South is the Atlantic Ocean which supplies water to the ‘Gulf of Guinea.’ N.P Illoje (2007). See the map below for more illustration.



Figure 2.1, showing the map of 36 states in Nigeria and the boarder countries (image adapted from [www. http://ialnigeria.com](http://ialnigeria.com) (2016))

The above map indicates the federal political structure of Nigeria consisting of 36 states with federal capital located in Abuja. However, studying the height of ethnic diversity through this channel looks very complex, since part of the government policy to eliminate ethnic bigotry is the introduction of federal structure guided by state creation instead of regional structure. This policy was aimed at reducing regional power into constituent states. While that policy looks effective, yet ethnic sentiment still shows political activity within this region.

Below is the map showing the natural formation of ethnic groups in Nigeria using river Benue and river Niger as the geographical boarders between this ethnic nationalities.



Figure 2.2, displaying the map on natural regions in Nigeria with river Benue and river Niger dividing the region. (Image adapted from <http://www.our-africa.org/> (2016) with modification).

Another significant factor that this research considers very necessary in explaining the condition of ethnic arrangement in Nigeria is the climate condition of the country. The geographical division of Nigeria is further justified by the climate condition. If you travel by land transport between one region to another in Nigeria, the moment you cross the connecting bridge of each of the region, you will certainly discover a change in the weather condition.

The climate of Nigeria is considered as equatorial and semi-equatorial by Meteorologist. It is characterized by high temperature of about “25°C-40°C,” with high humidity and heavy rainfall depending on different parts of the country. Interestingly, the temperature conditions differ in different regions of the country. The southeast experience heavy rainfall and cold to be compared with north. There mainly three seasons in Nigeria, the raining season, the dry season, and the Harmattan season. The raining season starts between April and ends in October. The annual average rainfall is about 70% in Nigeria; the West region receives about 40%, the southeast receives 50%, while north receives about 20%. The southeast region normally experience a cold wind referred to as

harmattan between November and January, while the north experiences a high temperature of about 40°C between October to March. Significantly, the wet season is longer in the southeast than the north, while the dry season is longer in the north than the southeast. The west is a swampy area, which makes the region to be rich in forestry.

2.3 The Nigeria State

To understand the height of ethnic diversity in Nigeria's democratic consolidation shows the necessity in explaining the state of Nigeria, and her political structure. As indicated earlier that this research is structured to be concise in dealing with a specific case on how democracy performs in ethnically diverse nation, using Nigeria as a case study. Therefore, detailing a full historical evolution of Nigeria may not be very appropriate at this point. However, this research appreciates certain factors that contribute to this study. The state of Nigeria is not a product of natural design or an evolution of history. The existence of Nigeria as a common state started in late 1914, when British imperial powers decided to amalgamate the three regions into one entity for their own interest. Historically, we were told that the name 'Nigeria' is a derivative from the popular 'river Niger' that divided the country into the existing three regions, and was coined by the girlfriend to Frederick Lugard, the first British Administrator to Nigeria. Indigenous rule started in Nigeria after 1960 when the country regained her political independence from the British colonial rule. Significantly, the political elites accepted to preserve a united Nigeria as a common state despite the 1967 Nigeria civil war orchestrated Southerners in a bid to become a sovereign state. The effort to preserve a united Nigeria reflected in her popular motto: "Unity in Diversity." The political condition of the country between the period of her independence till 1999, was marred with inconsistency between civilian rule and military rule. However, since after return to democracy in 1999, the country has witnessed a gradual growth in democratic consolidation. Between the periods of 1999 till date, the country has experienced 5 successful presidential elections. But the most significant among all is the 2015 election which witnessed regime change between an opposition party and the ruling party with a record of a fair but not credible election. Nigeria operates a federal system of government with states as the components part. It equally operates a bi-cameral

legislative arm, which is divided between the federal house of senates, and house of representative, comprising legislative members from different political constituencies in all part of the country. There is a huge concentration of power at the center of government where all the laws that govern the country are directed from. The unique attraction of this research is to study the performance of democracy in a multiethnic Nigeria.

As indicated in the previous sections of this research, on the composition of different ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, the chapter two of this research equally reviewed different literatures on the number of ethnic fractionalization in Nigeria, and what qualifies an ethnic group. The research in chapter three further accepted the Nigerian official linguistic figure of 250 spoken dialects, and three major ethnic groups. Although the choice of using this three major ethnic groups as comparative study for the research, is not because of any conventional purposes, but as a result of geographical composition and population. Below is the graphical structure of the three ethnic structures in Nigeria.

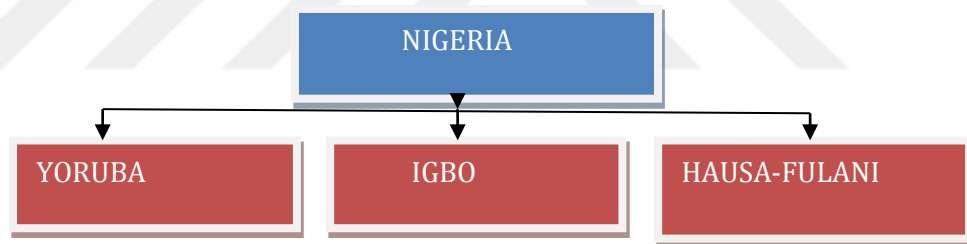


Figure 2.3, showing the three ethnic structures in Nigeria

To introduce these ethnic groups represents a distinct ethnic entity comprising of tribal groups, which were politically assimilated into these known groups due to political significance. It is important to understand that these tribal groups, which makes up each of these major ethnic nationalities posses a distinct dialect but shares certain historical affiliation with each group. However, irrespective of the political affiliations these groups still exists internally with their languages as the major form of identity. Below is the map of Nigeria linguistic diversity.

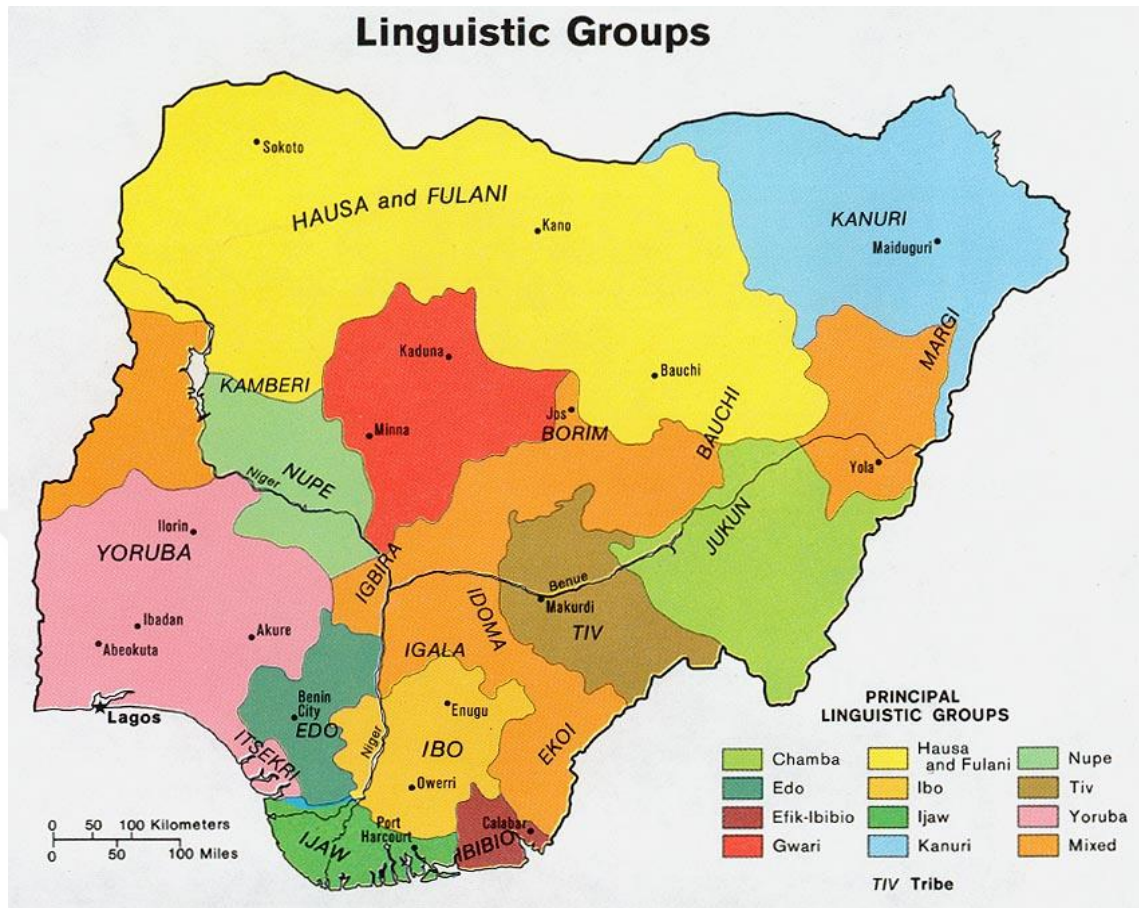


Figure 2.4, showing the map of Nigeria’s linguistic diversity among different tribal units (Image adapted from <http://www.freelang.net>)

It is important to understand that most of these minority tribes still share common language with the dominant ethnic groups that they are affiliated with in their regions. Among these tribes, spoken dialects are considered as a trait that distinguishes each individual. Most of these tribes do not have a definite environment they considered as their community. Greater percentages of them are spread across different states within a particular region. Making it easier to be identified as a common ethnic nationality in a particular region. The following section of this chapter will analyze the condition of ethnic placement among these ethnic groups in Nigeria.

2.4 Ethnic Groups In Nigeria

This research acknowledges the diverse tribal arrangements in the Nigerian state. However, prefers to analyze them based on their regional affiliation, which thus forms

distinct ethnic groups. In the chapter two of this research, the study reviewed different literatures on the condition of ethnic fractionalization, and come in conclusion that while their findings maybe correct in grouping ethnic differences. However, it's not merit enough to categorize Nigerian case. The research further accepted the linguistic distinction on these tribal groups, which split across the major ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, but insisted that their population is not enough to categorize them as a distinct ethnic group. Hence, we accepted that, part of the criteria of a qualifying ethnic group should be based on certain population percentage which must be above 15% of the general population. In Nigeria, our definition of ethnic group comprises a conflagration of tribes that unites in a region to form a common political front. Tribes are made up of family, or clans. But we do not qualify these tribes as ethnic groups on the condition of their percentage and without a common ancestral home. Nigeria as a multiethnic society with different socio-political history struggles to sustain democratic consolidation. This research investigates each among these ethnic groups and how their political participation shapes Nigeria's democratic consolidation. Based on CIA Fact book 2015 index on Nigeria ethnic groups, the following statistics were given to represent the percentage of each ethnic group in Nigeria.

Table 2.1: Showing The Percentage of The Major Ethnic Groups In Nigeria (Figures adapted from CIA FACTBOOK (2015)).

O.	ETHNIC GROUP	PERCENTAGE
	Hausa-Fulani	29%
	Yoruba	21%
	Igbo	18%
	Others	20%

2.4.1 The Hausa-Fulani Ethnic Nationality In The Northern Region Of Nigeria

Hausa-Fulani ethnic nationality represents the largest and the most populated ethnic group in Nigeria. Historically, the Hausa or *Habe* and the Fulani or *Fulbe* were two different ethnic nationalities that assimilated with each other to become one distinct group (Ejiogu 2004: 145). Today the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group, speak one common language which is Hausa, and has over time assimilated other minority ethnic groups in the region, such as: Kanuri, Gwari, Nupe, etc to become one. Like other ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, the environment of Hausa-Fulani impacted the socio-political behavior of the people (Ejiogu 2004: 146). The pre-colonial history of Hausa-Fulani was occupied by the history of ancient empires and kingdoms that existed in the northern region of Nigeria. The Hausa-Fulani's are predominantly Muslims, which comprised of a greater number of Sunnis, with a little fraction of other religious faiths in their midst. Below is the map showing Hausa-Fulani and the modern day Nigerian states in the region.



Figure 2.5, showing the map of Hausa-Fulani ethnic group in Nigeria (Image adapted from www.joshuaproject.net/Globa mapping international)

2.4.1.1 Political arrangement of hausa-fulani

As indicated earlier that this research is not bound by historical analysis, therefore the interest of its information gathering is within the parameter of this study. The Hausa-Fulani region popularly referred to as "*Hausaland*," operates a centralized system of government. Because of their high attachment to culture/religion, and respect to traditional institutions, the Hausa-Fulani people are more inclined to respecting laws made by traditional institutions, religious leaders, and council of elders in preference to state institutions. Irrespective of the huge population density of Hausa-Fulani's, in most cases their political opinions are been regulated by very few political elites who acts as a mediators for the government. For example: the Sultan of Sokoto is considered to hold the highest authority in the whole Hausa-Fulani region. The position is considered to represent both religious leader and traditional leader. It's a monarchical political structure which can only be acquired through hereditary means, and the position can only be assumed by the eldest son within the family lineage. The Sultan as the highest political authority in the region appoints Emirs in each state which is referred to as emirate. These Emirs takes political decision un-behalf of the Sultan after close directives. The state in Hausa-Fulani region exists as an external structure, since the internal traditional political arrangement is seen to be more superior to that of the state. The political wing of the region regarded as council of elders or "Arewa consultative Forum," decides the political faith of the region based on the Sultan's instructions. Most states in the region has officially adopted domestic law referred as "Sharia law" as against the federal governing constitution (Ejiogu 2004: 146-148).

The 2015 presidential election in Nigeria was generally considered as a paradigm shift in Nigeria political history. For the first time in the history of Hausa-Fulani region, where the people defiled the directives of the traditional and political elites in making political decisions. This was evident in the display of political solidarity shown by greater number of Nigerian including the Hausa-Fulani region in voting for opposition candidate as against the ruling party. Prior before 2015 general election, all the 19 states in the Northern region are being controlled by then ruling party Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), but currently the opposition party All Progressive Congress (APC) is controlling 12 states. This development appears healthy for Nigerian democracy; since the people

are beginning to appreciate their political will order than being guided by supreme authorities.

In sum, prior to 2015 general election, the northern region of Nigeria cannot be called matured democracy irrespective of displaying democratic principles such as elections, which is marred by selection of choices. To be compared with other regions in the country, democratic consolidation in the north is nothing but a jamboree, since we cannot completely conclude on the growth of democracy in the north until the performance of voters in the next general election.

2.4.2 The Yoruba ethnic nationality in the western region of Nigeria

Presently the Yoruba ethnic group occupies the western region of Nigeria. The Yoruba or "*Oduduwa people*," comprises of other several tribal groups like; Ile ife, the Ijebu, the Ekiti, the Egba, the Awori, the Edo etc that makes up the ethnic group (Ejiogu 2004: 160). Historically, the Yoruba's claim to originate from "*Ife*," in the present day Osun state. Yoruba ethnic group makes up 21% population of Nigeria and covers 6 states within the Western region. Within the West African region there other native Yoruba speakers who equally lays ancestral claim to the same origin as those of Western Nigeria. for example, Togo, Benin republic and some part of Ghana. Scholars like Biobaku (1955) recognized that irrespective of location that ethnic Yoruba speakers share some cultural and religious traits amongst themselves. The pre-colonial history of Yoruba people is traceable to Ile-Ife kingdom, and other surrounding kingdoms within the regions. The Yoruba's are custodians of culture, and hold much value to their belief system. Although the evolution of East and Western religion, has since divided opinion on the Yoruba people's traditional belief system. The Yoruba's are traditional hunters and coca farmers due to the nature of their environment, which is occupied by thick forest. The advancement of modern development of cities have seen the Yoruba ethnic dominated region, to enjoy some of the major cities in Nigeria, cities like, Lagos, Ibadan, and Ekiti. They are regarded as the gateway region to Nigeria due to their geographical position which welcomes the Atlantic Ocean to connect with river Niger and Benue. The region had the longest history of penetrating contact with the outside world. The returned Yoruba slaves from the West facilitated more development in the area. For instance, churchmen like Bishop Samuel Adjai Crowther, transformed his

religious life into formal education in the region Ita (1990). The first university in Nigeria founded in 1948 was at Ibadan the heart of the region, the first secondary school, and African research institute were all founded in the region. Generally, the region is considered as the most literate region in the country. The city of Lagos which is in the Western region, host both Nigerian Sea port and one of Nigeria's busiest international airport. According to 2014 national population commission report, the population of people living in the city of Lagos is estimated about 21 million, which makes it the biggest city in Africa. Below is the map showing Yoruba land in the Western region of Nigeria.



Figure 2.6, showing the map of Yoruba ethnic nationality in Nigeria (Image adapted from www.researchgate.net)

2.4.2.1 Political arrangement of Yoruba ethnic group

To explain the political structure of Yoruba ethnic group would require tracing the origin to pre-colonial era. However, the events of democratic politics today have eluded the artifacts of history. The Yoruba land existed as a centralized political organ that receives political instruction from the kingdom of Ile-ife to warrant chiefs who are designated in different cities (Ejiogu 2004: 160). The presence of the British colonial rule transformed these warrant chiefs into distinct political authorities to operate or rule their own tribe

with instructions from the colonial leaders. The present day politics in Yoruba land takes completely a different structure. First, it started with ethnic precedence set by one of their prominent political elite, Chief Obafemi Awolowo who first introduced ethnic consciousness in Nigeria politics. History scored him low by creating a regional inspired political party when national political elites were fighting to create a united Nigeria in the first democratic experience of the country. The political mindset of Yoruba ethnic group ever since then is constructed on these factor. Although, unlike the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group, the Yoruba people does not receive political instruction from any traditional or constituted authority, but their political consciousness is rooted in ethnic sentiment. An average Yoruba person is suspicious of other ethnic group, and therefore does not believe that any political candidate from another region can bring political development to his region.

On state structure, the internal politics among Yoruba people can be said to be more democratic amongst other region. The 6 states that make up the Yoruba ethnic group has so far lack a political dominance of a single political party or group. No more political party claims a complete authority within the region. Political rivalry is tested as trend in their political life. Most importantly a healthy opposition exists in the region. The case being that opposition candidates unlike other regions are always ready to accept the result of election results. Although, there are supra-national political elites among the Yoruba ethnic group, but their political influence does not play significance in the internal politics within the region.

On the national structure, the Yoruba people are popularly regarded as Saboteur in Nigeria politics. Their political support cannot be trusted by any other ethnic group. They play a politics of ethnic interest irrespective of candidate's credibility. The 2015 presidential election testified to this syndrome. The Yoruba ethnic voters rooted for candidate with a Yoruba vice president. Only a fraction of their voters supported the opposition candidates. See chapter three of this research for more illustrations on voters' behavior among these ethnic groups.

2.4.3 The Igbo Ethnic Nationality In The South-Eastern Region Of Nigeria

The Igbo ethnic nationality occupies the southeast region of Nigeria and is considered as their ancestral homeland. Geographically, the area stretches from the Cross River in the southeast to the mid-point around the Niger River in the direction of southwest Nigeria (Isichei 1973). The homeland of the Igbo is located right in the thick rainforest belt of Nigeria. In comparison to the Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, the place of ancestral homeland tells much about the Igbo people. The Igbo's has the most dominant linguistic communities among them. According to CIA factbook 2015 survey, they are virtually more than 200 tribal groups among the Igbo ethnic nationality. The Igbo ethnic group makes up about 18% of Nigeria population (CIA FACTBOOK 2015). The pre-colonial histories of the Igbo's are known to be a decentralized political system. Every clan has political supremacy over

Their own affair. This gave the Europeans the easy access to assimilate their cultures among the Igbo's.

The Igbo's unlike other ethnic groups in Nigeria are more individual centred other than communal life. Everyone has the privilege to cater for his/her wellbeing other than relying on the community. They are known as traders and industrialist.

Scholars like Ejiogu (2004) categorized the Igbo people into different cultural and social groupings. For instance; he identified five main sections of the Igbo people, which he listed as follows: Northern or Onitsha Igbo, Eastern or Cross River Igbo, Western Igbo, Southern or Owerri Igbo Ejiogu (2004: 165). Each of these sections of Igbo people have a distinct representation of norms and values which guides their custom. Just like other ethnic group, the Igbo people are very much suspicious of other ethnic nationalities. In fact it is difficult to convince an average Igbo person about his future in a united Nigeria. After their cessation attempt to break away from Nigeria in 1967, which led to Nigeria civil war and cost about 2 million lives from ethnic Igbo people. The Igbo people believe that their presence in Nigeria is a temporal arrangement, which may end anytime. Below is the map of Igbo ethnic group in Nigeria.

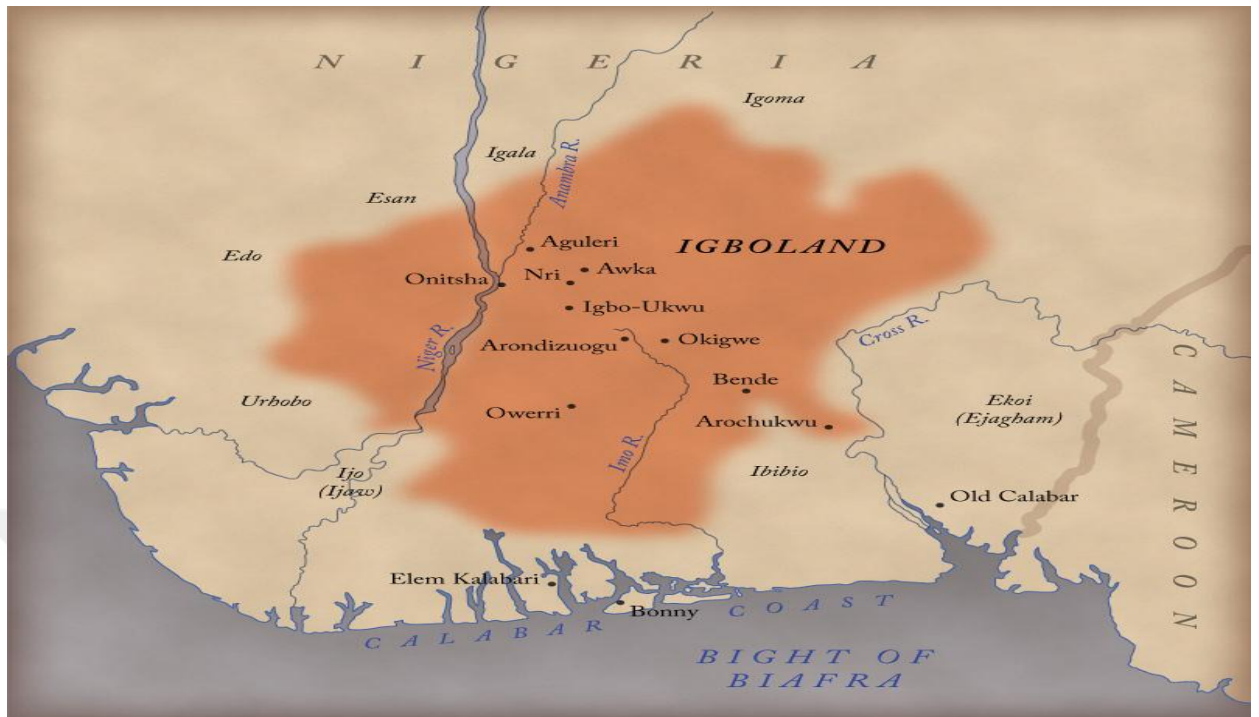


Figure 2.7, showing the map of Igbo ethnic nationality in Nigeria (Image adapted from www.sitesatlas.com)

2.4.3.1 Political arrangement of igbo ethnic group

As indicated earlier that the modern state of Nigeria political structure has since defiled the pre-colonial political system of each of these ethnic group. Although, the modern state of Igbo political activities only inherited their decentralized pre-colonial political system, which lacks central authority in decision making. The structural changes in the political decision making among the Igbo people is only but a structural adjustment which brought different sets of political actors into play. For example, arriving at a common decision among the Igbo people is always a difficult task, however, the formation of traditional unions such as; age grades, traders union, women organizations, village councils. So far appeared as a viable political force among the Igbo people, however, these unions are yet to produce a known consensus political decision on state affairs Ejiogu (2004: 168).

Politics among the Igbo people is often taken to an extreme context. Because the Igbo people are regarded as the minority ethnic group in terms of national politics, political elites within the region employs every available approach to cling to political position. Secondly, because of the corrupt nature of public office holders in the national politics,

politics within the region is perceived as a lucrative business, which sees winner to take all. Furthermore, the region host the crude oil resources of the country, and such allows political office holders to amass more wealth, politicians within the region are very desperate of ceasing political power. The Igbo people are commonly known for their trading abilities, to convince any Igbo political group for political support amounts to exchange monetary value or political benefits. Political decisions among the Igbo people are heavily been influenced by two categories of actors. First, is organizational structure: this type of organization exists as a union seeking for the interest of their members, state information are circulated through these organizations that then inform their members on the development. The second category is the village republic: this group consists of town union groups, people of the locality and tribes. They stand to represent the interest of their members before the government.

On national politics, the Igbo people believe so much on politics of self-development. They never consider any serious political benefits from the central government since it is being dominated by majority ethnic groups. They form this perception that those political elites who are already involved in national politics sold out their prestige in associating with other ethnic regions.

In sum, the ground study of each of these ethnic groups shows resentment and suspicion amongst themselves in terms of advancing a national course. Although the recent political changes in the country, especially, the event of 2011, and 2015 presidential election is gradually eroding ethnic sentiment in consolidating Nigeria democracy.

3. THEORETICAL ISSUES/LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

To introduce this part of the research, chapter 2, has two different headings. First, it starts with an overview of theoretical issues. Since this research is designed to suit comparative political science approach, an overview on theoretical issues will enable a pedestrian understanding on the core concept of this study. It allows the independent study of democracy as a distinct phenomenon, using etymological meaning, literal meaning, and other existing theories to explain the meaning of democracy. It further studies the meaning of ethnic diversity, using both existing literatures, and critiques to explain the concept. In addition, it will relate the ideas generated from ethnic diversity argument to explain the Nigerian perspective of ethnic diversity.

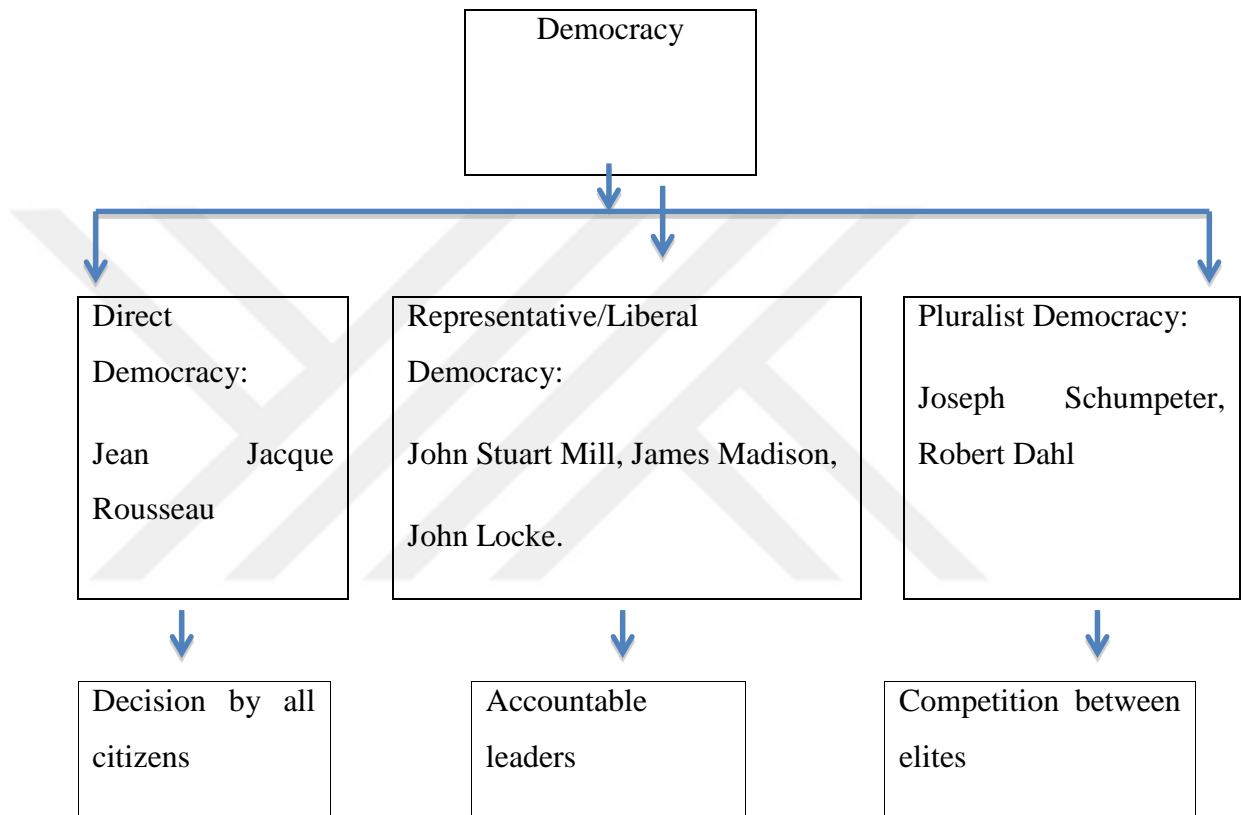
The second category uses comparative political science literatures in examining democracy and ethnic diversity arguments. It attempts to logically list the arguments from existing literatures as a means of acquiring more information. Finally, the research compares the argument with the Nigerian factor of ethnic diversity and democracy. The last section of this chapter will present a brief conclusion on the arguments that will be generated in the whole chapter.

3.2. Overview of Theoretical Issues

3.2.1 Democracy

Democracy as a social phenomenon is one of the most contested concepts among different scholars of social sciences, with each scholar presenting a specific meaning of the concept based on a subjective understanding. Such conflicting understanding has made the phenomenon to mean different things at different circumstance for different people, thereby losing the test of a universal understanding. This different ascription is

no doubt a recipe for confusion and contradiction among young scholars researching on this concept. Hence, these divergences has proliferated the use of this phenomenon into what is regarded as types of democracy with an attempt to classify its meaning under different circumstances. Below are the most generally discussed types or categories of democracy.



Etymologically, the word democracy is believed to have rooted from two ancient Greek words popularly referred to as “*demo*” and “*kratos*.” Literally, the word *demo* in English translation means the people, on the Greek term, the people is regarded as the native male adult resident of the polis. While *kratos* means power, in this sense, democracy originally may be interpreted to be referred to as power of the people. However if democracy is simply referred to as the power of the people, then the rational sense question could be, power in what sense? Following the classical sense of Greek political thought, the meaning of power within the ancient Greek thought of fifth and fourth centuries B.C., was used to referred to as, Capacity to do things, in a wider re-interpretation it could be referred to as “Majority rule,” Josiah (2007: 2). Nevertheless,

this root meaning of democracy was later criticized by Modern opinions of democracy based on what could be considered as administrative stand. That is, the view that the mob cannot rule itself.

In modernity, the meaning of democracy shifted from the traditional conception of its meaning as “majority rule,” and “power” to “majority will” Josiah (2007: 2). Analytically, this demonstrates a shift from force to will or choice. That is the willingness of the majority to incline to their choice. In addition, it shows the voting right given to the majority for the determination of their fate; hence the so-called power of the people becomes the authority to decide a political issue based on majority will. In support of this argument, Tom G. Palmer (2008: 443) citing Benjamin Constant’s idea on ancient liberty published in (1816), he argued as follows:

“It consisted in acting jointly, but precisely, in deliberating different parts of the entire sovereignty which includes also assembly in public square, deliberating about war and peace, and initiating alliances with foreign powers, voting for new laws, examining public accounts, pronouncing judgments on the acts, and stewardship of the magistrates, and also calling them to appear before the gathering of the general assembly, condemning, accusing, or even absolving them. In any case, if this is what the liberty is called in the ancient period, then they must have accepted it as admissible mutual freedom the absolute suppression of personal freedom to the will and the authority of the entire community. Hence, none of the enjoyments we derive of liberty in the modern times is found among them” Palmer (2008: 443).

Constant’s argument here is that modern liberty which he used to represent democracy is not the same with the popular Greek concept of democracy. Constant preferred to address ancient liberty (democracy) as popular sovereignty. The focus here is that, the ancient conception of democracy was power driven other than liberty inspired. This reductionist view exposed democracy to a huge vulnerability of social choice dilemma. A situation in which everyone’s will is interest driven, and not considering what is good for the greater number of the state. In addition, Talmon, J.L., a professor of political science already warned us in his book, “*The Origin of Totalitarian Democracy*,” that democracy is not naturally a liberal phenomenon. The effort of modern scholars was to reduce the meaning of democracy within the power of human reason Talmon (1960). This action begins to define democracy within the framework of individual freedom and not just a communal activity.

The intention of this research is not to resurrect the debate on the meaning of democracy, but to demonstrate how democracy evolved through time. Both the

traditional and modern definitions of democracy have its own loopholes; however they presented a picture of democracy within a given period of time. Irrespective of the complexity in the meaning of democracy between these periods of norm versus reason, explaining democracy requires an element of flexibility to make a composite meaning since we are not bound by any historic convention or its inventors; if there is an easier way to devise a better meaning then it should be preferred.

The contemporary understanding of democracy further complicated the meaning of the phenomena; here the meaning of democracy shifted from a certain way of dominating and interpreting domestic politics, to what could be regarded as a model of governance. Scholars of social writings started being more conscious on what makes a state democratic and not just an armchair reasoning. For instance; the late American President, Abraham Lincoln, in his speech on November 19, 1863, at National Cemetery in Gettysburg, summed up democracy to mean “government of the people by the people and for the people” Lincoln (1863: 19). Although, this definition raised a lot of questions, on who are the people that Lincoln is referring to? And what makes up the ruling people? Birch (2007: 110), raised a further question by asking can the “people” mean the general population, or is it only the property owners? In defence of property owner, a leading democratic thinker Montesquieu had earlier insisted that the meaning of democracy should not only include people, “that are in a condition which they cannot have the will of their own” (Alexander 2006:119). To put it in another way, we may define democracy according to Lincoln as government, which comes from the people; and the people, for the purpose of the people’s interest to exercise it. Meanwhile, our understanding on Lincoln’s definition is that democracy is simply a government of equality, which allows every qualified, eligible citizen the freedom and the ability to participate in issue of governance. In support of this view, Birch (2007: 110) explained “a democratic society in American perspective, for him, democracy is one which does not have an inherent class distinction, or in essence, a system which offers equality of opportunity for all citizens. To be ‘democratic’ is used to classify the degree of social equality, not necessarily a form of government”. In a similar view, Diamond & Plattner (1994: 6) described democracy as a game, and further illustrated that it consist of rules, thus its effectiveness depends on the acceptability of a certain society to observe them.

Literally, the term democracy maybe described as an ideology, a theory, or even a concept. It is an ideology as long as it provides a set of political ideas that tends to explain a political organization (Grugel 2002: 12, MacKensie 1994,).

On the words of Grugel (2002: 12), he emphasized that democracy can be better describe as an ideal concept. He further argued that, “democracy is a political system of collective bargaining which involves the process of decision making, and policie formulation on how the people exercise political rights, as well as political arrangement, which permits all community members to share equal rights as well as in participating in the process decision making directly. Thus, democracy is a political system which upholds the principles of equaility, freedom and popular control as a universal value in its exercise”. Democracy itself has become a buzzword with a lot of confusion surrounding the meaning. First, it deals with different extension, which is associated with democracy. This extension is in the form of each political system laying claims on the practice of democracy. Our interest here is to clear the vagueness of terms commonly used in explaining democratic political system.

Anthony H. Birch in his work titled: “*The Concept and Theories of Modern Democracy*” stated as follows:

“It is not possible to arrive at a universally acceptable and concise definition of democracy by simply explaining the intrinsic meaning of the term, as long as it is said to have an intrinsic meaning. There can only be two major alternatives in explaining the meaning of democracy. On the one hand, democracy can explained by observing the political exercise and its common application, that may lead to explanation of democracy in terms of governance and institutions structures, which may as well raise the question of distinguishable justification of intellectual exercise. Secondly, we can begin by explaining democracy by first pointing out what we assume as democratic ideals and therefore measure the extent of its practical implications” (2007: 111; 112).

Following Birch’s analysis of democracy, it comprises of two dimensional approaches in defining democracy. The first approach can best be described as empirical approach, while the second approach is idealist approach. Although, some scholars tends to blend this two approach in their quest to define democracy. Scholars who solicit to defining democracy based on the empirical approach tends to explain democracy in terms of institutions of governance, government performance, principles of governance, rule of law, and separation of power. While on the other hand, scholars who defines democracy in idealist perspectives focuses on the normative sense of democracy, describing what

ought to be, and what ought not to be. They see democracy in a classical ancient Greek sense. Scholars who falls within the category of the later includes: Aristotle, Plato, Thomas Aquinas, J.J. Rousseau, Etc. Whereas, most of the comparative political scientist scholars such as: (Lipset 1959; Lijphart 1977, 1999; Held 1992, 1996; Haggard and Kaufman 1995; Stepan 1996; Remmer 1997;Przeworski and Limongi 1997; Diamond 1999; Whitehead 2002; Grindle 2002; Kersting/Cronqvist 2005; Berg-Schlosser 2007; Birch 2007; Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson 2009), explained democracy using empirical approach.

David Held in his book, *Models of Democracy, 3rd Edition*, set out to explain democracy in what he conceived as “liberal analysis of democracy.” He made an attempt in combining both the idealist and empirical approach in explaining democracy. First, combined ancient Athenian model of popular democracy with Western liberal democracy in explaining what he categorized as three models of democracy. These models he explained as follows: First, is what he called, “direct/participatory democracy,” based on Held’s view, this is the original type of democracy which was first practiced in ancient Athens, which involves a political system where decision-making about public affairs directly involves the participation of all citizens. Second, “liberal/representative democracy” according to Held, this is a type of democracy which involves a political system public officers are elected by the citizens to represent the interest of all in accordance with the rule of law. Third, is what he called, “variant of democracy,” Held explained this type of democracy to consist of a one party model political system. He used the Soviet Union and some other communist countries such as; Cuba, China, Vietnam, and North Korea, in explaining how it functions Held (2006: 12).

As Held may have it that the important thing about democracy is not its definition but explaining how the concept works. Held’s approach to democracy here is seen as an attempt in reconciling the two contested groups of democracy. Meanwhile, he tried to do justice, to what we today call extensional/applicational democracy, which Held explained as “variant democracy.” In classical democratic ideology these listed countries that lay claim to practice democracy could be referred to as autocratic political system of governance.

Similarly, scholars like, Lipset 1959; Diamond 1999; Diamond 2008; Tom G Palmer 2008; Diamond/Plattner 1994; Lijphart 1977, 1999; Grindle 2002; Whitehead 2002: concentrated on explaining the meaning of democracy based on the fundamental principles of what they considered as a functional democracy, thus ranging from the conditions of the society and the structure of democratic institutions. For instance; Lipset (1959: 69), emphasized that, “in explaining democracy, it is required that sets of similar political conditions that has so far existed in different political societies must first be identified, and then agree that out this political conditions democracy have emerged, and has assimilated due to certain institutional factors and sustaining values.” In addition, he indicated that the conditions, which are enumerated, must be the one that differentiates most democratic societies from others. Sequence to his explanations, he offered the definition of democracy as “political system that provides regular opportunities through constitutional provisions for changing the governing officials”. In addition, he states that democracy is a social instrument for settling the problems arising from political decision making in the society among competing or rival groups that empowers the greater number of the population to acquire more political influence in political decision making process Lipset (1959: 71).

Using Joseph Schumpeter and Marx Weber’s formula, Lipset’s definition can be grouped into the following classifications: “1. a political pattern; based on Lipset’s view, this category implies belief system which legitimizes democracies through identifying various political institutions E.g., political parties, free media etc. 2. A team of elected leaders in office. 3. Group of elected political leaders out of office who forms and act opposition in a bid to win back political office,” Lipset (1959: 71). In a similar reason, Tom H. Palmer (2008: 444), in explaining democracy, argued that a democracy that is consistent, and aims at growing requires functional and a limited government. In addition it requires a loyal and healthy opposition. Both Lipset and Palmer understanding of democracy links the phenomenon with a political system, which changes government over time, and is ready to guarantee equity among its citizens.

A popular contemporary and democratic thinker, Larry Diamond in his book *The Spirit of Democracy*, reformulated the definition of democracy by distinguishing between what he called “thin” and “thicker” kind of democracy. He explained the “thin” kind of democracy in relation with Joseph Schumpeter’s theory, and therefore argues that, “to

arrive at political decision-making through which individuals acquire the political will or power in making decision by means of a competitive engagement in order to acquire people's vote or mandate" Diamond (2008: 21). What diamond tried doing is to classify democracy as a political system, which have its strength of change of government enshrined within the principle of free and fair elections. On his second approach of defining democracy, the "thick" kind of democracy, Diamond listed numbers of attribute, which according to him makes a political system to be called or regarded as democracy:

- "The capacity to have a considerable degree of individual freedom of belief, speech, association, publication, opinion, broadcast, demonstration, petition, marriage and Internet.
- The ability to possess freedom of identity which includes; ethnic, racial, religious, cultural and other minority groups. People must be free to choose and practice any religion, culture, and to equally participate in social and political life as recommended by the constitution
- Citizens must have right to franchise, that is the ability to vote and be voted for as long as they meet constitutional provisions
- There must be presence of a healthy political opposition, which gives people right to belong to any political party of their choice
- The constitutional provision of a legal equality status of all citizens under rule of law, and laws are interpreted in an objective manner.
- Existence of independent and non partial judicial system that protects the right of all citizens without political interference
- Respect to human rights especially protecting individuals from human trafficking, slavery, unjustified detention, torture and non interference of personal lives and privacy.
- Practicable principles of checks and balances among political institutions and accountability of public office holders
- Freedom of the information, non restriction of press by government institutions
- Allowing the elected political officials to carry out their duty without interference by military. Adequate control of security agencies by elected civilian

governments” Diamond (2008: 22).

Diamond’s argument on the meaning of democracy amounts to defining democracy as a political system which embodies electoral process where free and fair elections is the utmost principle through which leaders are selected and replaced by the people. Diamond insisted that a true democracy must fulfil the ten attributes of “thick” aspect. He further developed the meaning of democracy on the variety of contexts which includes: “liberal”, “illiberal” and “pseudo-democracy.” Based on Diamond’s analysis, liberal democracy occurs when the attributes of the thick aspects exists at a substantial levels. On the other hand, illiberal democracies occur when these attributes are reduced at great levels. Pseudo-democracy or electoral authoritarian regime is linked with a governance structure where there are formal institutions and process of democracy including elections, multiparty system, and separation of power, but leadership cannot be voted out as the elections are consistently rigged and judicial process are not independent. An example of Diamond’s pseudo-democracy can be found in African countries, for instance; 2016 Uganda election, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Egypt, Rwanda, Etc. Although, Diamond’s thick dimension aspect presented a true picture of democracy, however, such perfect democracy is hard to find. Meanwhile, setting his principles as criteria for measuring democracy will make it difficult for developing democracies like Nigeria to survive. Having examined Diamond’s democratic criteria, the following section will study how democracy can be measured.

3.2.2 Democratization measurement

The previous section of this research attempted to theorize the concept of democracy by consulting the explanations from different literatures, both chronologically, and literally. Although, there is no consensus agreement on the definition of democracy, however, based on the knowledge generated so far, democracy is a form of administration, which provides eligible citizens the privileged to discharge their political will either directly or indirectly through elected representatives. This section examines the mechanisms on how we can measure democracy. As Birch (2007) argued that comprehend the inherent meaning of democracy, is to begin by questioning democratic variables.

There are different approaches in measuring democratization process to determine if a certain democracy upholds the universal value under which democratic principles are

built. For instance, Tom G. Palmer (2008:444) emphasized that; a “stable democracy is that which periodically organizes election, where one party replaces another with a loyal opposition.” The most used index in measuring democracy is that of Freedom House measure, this platform annually measures democratic variables (political rights, and civil liberties) using a scale of 1-7. In their scale determinants, 1 is considered as most free, 7 are considered as least free. Thus, the index for worldwide survey is stated as follows:

- “Between 1 to 2.5 is considered Free, that is established democracies
- Between 3 to 5.5 is considered partly free, that is a consolidating democracy
- Between 5.5 to 7 is considered not free, that is non-democracies”

Freedom house created a different checklist for measuring both political rights and civil liberty. Below is the Freedom house checklist for measuring political rights and civil liberty:

A. Political Rights

- “1. How credible (free and fair) is the electoral process through which head of state or head government emerged?

2. How credible (free and fair) is the electoral process that produced the members of legislative representatives?

3. Are the electoral laws admissible; creating equal and fair play to all contestants?

4. Are the elected representatives freely expressing their delegated political powers based on the rule of law?

5. How healthy is the political opposition, and do the people have the will to choose different political party?

6. Are the opposition parties satisfied with the electoral process, and do they have the chances of being elected if need be?

7. Are the people free to choose their rights and identities within the context of the law without fear of molestation from military, religious, economic and foreign powers?

8. Do different identity groups; ethnic, cultural, religious, and other groups have the right of self-determination, or participation in the process of decision-making?" Freedom House (2012).

B. Civil Liberty

"1. Is the media free and independent from government control?

2. Are the religious institutions independent and free from social discrimination and exclusion?

3. Are there freedom of assembly, open public discussion, and demonstration?

4. How independent is the judicial institutions?

5. What is the supremacy of the rule of law in matters of civil and criminal issues? Are the general population treated with equity and fairness? Are the security agencies under civilian control as prescribed by the law?

6. Does the law guarantee protection from political terror? Are there a considerable freedom from war and insurgencies?

7. How transparent is the government officials? Are there independent institution checking corrupt activities of the government?

8. Are there freedom of speech, and right to personal privacy and security?

9. Are there adequate personal autonomy? How effective is the state immigration system? Is there considerable level of employment among the citizens, and is there flexible freedom for personal development?

10. Are there laws protecting ownership of private properties?

11. Are there individual social rights, including equality of all genders, freedom to choose marriage partners, and family size?

12. Is the government fair in terms of opportunity distribution among all citizens?" Freedom House (2012).

Similar to the Freedom House yardstick for measuring democracy is the research of Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino titled, *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*, they defined some set of indicators for measuring democracy. They defined democracy as a "political system that provides its citizens with a high level of human rights, political equality, and popular control over public policies and policy makers through the legitimate and lawful functioning of stable institutions" Diamond and Morlino (2005:xi-xii). These scholars measure democracy in terms of results, content and procedure. Based on their view, result means the degree to which the people's expectations of governance are met. Content is linked with the degree of freedom of speech and political liberty. While, procedure is associated with the authority of the people to check mate government elected officials through rule of law. Each of these indicators identified by these scholars have surrogate variables, for instance; Procedural indicator is measured with political participation, accountability, competition, and checks and balances. Content indicator is measured by civil liberty, political equality, freedom, and implementation of government policies. Hence, the final dimension that is result indicator is being measured by how well government makes laws that positively affects the people.

While both the Freedom House and Diamonds et al democratic assessment apparatus appears genuine and accommodates universal value. However, both the two mechanisms have failed to see democracy beyond what I prefer to call a single lane entity. This is a condition of analyzing democracy based on a homogeneous culture. They have not paid enough attention to democratic survival in heterogeneous society where the rights of the majority are protected at the expense of the minority. The following section of this chapter will discuss ethnic diversity both as a phenomenon and as correlative variable.

3.3 Ethnic Diversity

The common sense knowledge on ethnic diversity associates the phenomenon with ethnic grouping and differences; however the meaning of the concept is far deeper than the literal explanation. For instance: if a teacher asks in class, what constitute ethnic differences? A lot of different opinions and disagreement will be expected from the students. This section of the research will focus on studies conducted on ethnic fractionalization, its measurement and determinants, especially as it concerns the content of this research.

Before now, countless number of researches has been conducted both by comparative political scientist and ethnographers to either define or explain a sufficiently accepted empirical data on ethnic fractionalization. While these researches and studies are very useful and helpful in giving insight to what ethnic fractionalization is all about, however none of these theories have been able to give an articulate and generally accepted description on ethnic fractionalization. At this point, this research will start by examining the previous literatures on the known indicators for measuring ethnic fractionalization, which are: ethno-linguistic fractionalization, ethno-racial fractionalization, and cultural/religious fractionalization.

Fearon and Laitin (2000: 20) set out to offer a definition of ethnicity, they defined ethnic group as a “group larger than a family for which membership is reckoned primarily by descent, and are conceptually autonomous, and has a conventionally recognized “natural history” as a group.” In addition, Fearon (2003: 201) undertake a more tasking empirical research by conducting “cultural diversity index” where he proposed an individual sampling in determining the list of ethnic differences in a particular country. In doing this he developed what he described as “ethnic group prototypical features,” which he thus listed as follows:

“(1) The group membership is primarily linked by descent of members and non members (2) There is high level of consciousness of group membership among members which they consider as both psychologically and normative important (3) There is a common distinguishing features among the members which include; language, culture, religion, and custom and are considered as a uniting factor (4) The larger majority of the group holds these cultural features to be of a value to the group (5) There is a known and common homeland for the group (6) The group share a common ancestral history (7) the group usually stands alone” Fearon (2003: 201).

Fearon index appears very interesting, however, it certainly loses value in a heterogeneous cultural society like Nigeria and Cameroon, where there is almost similar cultural resemblance and yet ethnically divided based on political and geographically demarcation. Secondly, I do not think if Fearon's index considered political influence on this research before carrying it out. For instance: countries like Togo, have a government policy on cultural practice which sees the different ethnic groups in the country to practice a similar culture, observe a shared religious value and yet possess different ethnic groups. Convincingly, I agree with Fearon's historic and cultural index, though is not a good tool to measure ethnic differences.

In a similar reasoning, is the argument from a political science Professor in Duke University, Donald Horowitz who is widely considered as the father of modern ethnic studies. In his thesis, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, first published in 1985, Horowitz attempted to set up a foundational basis for studying ethnic differences in a society. He first defined ethnic society as "people who are connected to a common history, heritage, race, and language" (1985: 14). He accepted that the degree to which ethnicity is pervasive is variable. Horowitz argues that in deeply divided societies the impact of ethnic affiliation is not only being felt within family and social life alone, but also in a more formal organizational structure. He identified what he described as "ranked and unranked systems" in explaining ethnic arrangement. Thus argues that for comparative analysis, which distinguishes between "ranked and unranked systems", "severity of divisions", and group differences is very much significant. In addition, he argues that ethnic groups which are tied to family relations are bounded in such a way that it maximizes the effective use of political structure and provides much more services that replaces what the modern western states provides. Horowitz emphasizes that the impediments surrounding the study of ethnic problems is related with lack of adequate organization structure that is necessary for comparative analysis. Hence, he outlined the following dimensions that are important in studying ethnic differences:

1. The first dimension is what he called "severity of division," Horowitz argues that Africa, Asia, and rest of the Caribbean's are considered as the most severe ethnic divisions. He equally indicates that these areas share similar colonial experiences, and do not have what he called, "salient supra-ethnic identities," that is an inherent political model. "Neither are there any conflicting group

differences that compete with ethnicity and yet the intensity of ethnic conflict is higher in these regions” Horowitz (1985: 15).

2. The second dimension is what Horowitz called, “Hierarchical nature of the groups,” under this dimension he introduced his concept of ranked versus unranked groups. He argues that rank groups, occurs as a result of coincidence of social class which is affiliated with ethnicity. According to him, ranked groups are hierarchical and they are consist of superordinate and subordinate groups, and their mobility is restricted by identity. While the unranked groups cut across classes, they are parallel in formation, and transaction can occur across groups.
3. The third group is what he described as centralization of groups. He argues that in centrally focused society, ethnic cleavages are of greater magnitude and the center is often the focus of competition.
4. The fourth and final dimension is what he described as “ascriptive differences” he recognizes that color is a prominent indicator, although not the sole indicator in grouping ethnic differences. Hence, other things such as language, grammar, religion, or dress can determine origin/ethnicity.

Horowitz made an elaborate analysis on how to classify ethnic differences which the chief among his argument is the understanding that ethnicity is familistic. Those who see themselves as different groups according to him perceive themselves to be of same kin. Yes! It may be that there is a strong believes in family ties in classifying ethnic groups, but this argument lacks merit especially in terms ethnic groups by religious cleavages. For instance, Ethiopian Jews who are of African descent perceives themselves as one with Israeli Jews who are of different descent. In addition, it surprising to see how Horowitz recognized the role of colonialism in creating ethnic grouping and yet went further to insist on paternity as a strong indicator for ethnic groupings.

In a wider constructivist view, Hutchinson and Smith (1996: 36) citing Marx Weber defined ethnic groups as “those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists.” In support of Hutchinson and Smith, (Fearon and Laitin 2000: 20), described ethnic group as a “group larger than a family for which

membership is reckoned primarily by descent, and is conceptually autonomous, and has a conventionally recognized “natural history” as a group.” Similarly, Anthony Smith classified an ethnic group as “a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity.” (Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 6). The later scholars hold much strength on historical and ancestral condition in demarcating ethnic groups. Where such conditions seems true, but yet it lacks a constructivist merit in shaping ethnic groups, for instance, you can hardly identify the differences between the Hutus and the Bantu’s in Rwanda do to the history of civil war.

According to the survey conducted by Alberto Alesina and Romain Wacziarg in (2003), on ethnic fractionalization index which they sampled about 190 countries. They claim to have discovered a new measure of using ethnic fractionalization to prove ethnic differences. They agreed that their new survey partly agrees and partly modified previous results. First, they developed what they referred to as polarization method as an alternative in measuring a heterogeneous society. They discussed that the traditional measure of ethnic fractionalization as a “probability by which two randomly individual are drawn from the population belonging to two different groups. Its theoretical maximum is reached (at the value of 1) when each person belongs to a different group”(2003: 156). In support of their findings, Fearon (2003), recognized that these persons differ in “linguistic fractionalization”, thereby recognizing their ethnic differences, is based on ethno linguistic groupings. This theory was first developed by team of Soviet ethnographers in the early 1960s and prioritized language as the basic ethnic divide. Despite their measurement paradigm forming a starting point for ethnic fractionalization, it encountered a lot challenges in surviving the contemporary political science measurement on ethnic fractionalization. First, I agree that their research which was Soviet Union based, were Russian speakers was seen as the major ethnic group, with other languages being considered as minor, and racial resemblance was almost the same. However, they were unable to pay attention to historical differences even within the popular Russian speakers. Secondly, there were a cross religious differences within this same group. Hence, research of such magnitude must not be limited to a particular region, for instance; there may not be language differences in Latin America, yet there are so many racial and cultural differences. Therefore, I will agree with the ELF theory

that language plays a role in ethnic fractionalization, but does not control significance conviction on ethnic grouping; hence, determining ethnic identity will require other variables. In a broader dimension, Alberto Alesina and Romain Wacziarg (2003) developed a mixed method research to modify their previous view by agreeing in the performance of other variables in determining ethnic fractionalization. However, irrespective of their attempt to operationalize ethnic differences using this mixed method it lacks a practical application.

While these measurements and theories examined in ethnic diversity literatures conveyed a strong empirical data, which is enough to convince our acceptance, however there is no particular index tool that is good enough to explain ethnic fractionalization. Therefore, if we must classify ethnic groups based on their identity, each case must be treated subjectively without a universal maxim.

The following section of this chapter will have an extensive literature review on the concepts of democracy and ethnic diversity so as to enable the research highlight the degree of its impact in Nigerian political society.

3.4 Democracy and Ethnic Diversity

The previous sections of this research have so far concentrated in the theoretical issues of this study. It has attempted to examine both the concept of democracy and ethnic diversity as independent phenomenon. This section will focus on literature review of these concepts. It will try to study the effect of ethnic diversity on democracies, by highlighting its impact on democratic consolidation and development. Meanwhile, scholar's arguments and opinions will be grouped based on their categories of reason.

Literatures in Favour of Ethnic Diversity as a Threat to Democracy: Social Identity theory

Over the years there has been a serious resurgence among comparative political science scholars, and other authors writing on democracy and ethnic diversity. Greater percentage among these scholars has so far find a negative correlation between democracy and ethnic diversity. While chief among these scholars believes that, it is impossible for a full democratic consolidation in an ethnic polarized society, others

believe that democracies can survive if certain conditions are met. In unequivocal term Chandra (2003: 1) argues, “ethnic diversity has a bad name in empirical democratic theory.” This kind of statement is often found among prominent scholars contributing in this approach.

Scholars like, Lijphart 1977,1999; Horowitz 1985,2000; Przeworski 1991; Rustow 1970; Ted Gurr 1999, 2003; Schwarz Jr. 1965; Whitehead 2002; Birch 2007; Chazan 1993; Diamond 2004, all conducted different empirical research on democracy and ethnic diversity with each of them arriving at a conclusion that ethnic diversity hinders democratic consolidation. Ironically Arend Lijphart who is considered as the most optimistic and firm political theorist summarizes negative relationship between ethnic diversity and the probability of democratic consolidation. (Lijphart 1977:237).

However among these scholars there are those who find socio-economic variable to be connected with the negative line of ethnic diversity and democratic consolidation, hence conceiving their works as modernization theory. Chiefly among these groups includes; Przeworski 1991; Chazan 1993; Diamond 2004; Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson 2009; Lipset 1959. They found a connection that economic variables play a role in facilitating ethnic unrest, which afterwards hinders democratic consolidation.

On the other hand, scholars like: Horowitz 1985, 2000; Birch 2007; Whitehead 2002; Lijphart 1977, 1999; and Rustow 1970; maintained that institutional structure plays a vital role, stressing that the difficulties that exists between groups in a polarized political environment hinders democratic consolidation. Nevertheless, both groups accepted that ethnic intolerance is a prime factor for democratic instability. Though the most widely adopted mechanism through which the premise of ethnic diversity was established as a direct threaten to democracy is the notion of “permanent exclusion”. Based on this premise for democracy to survive, it requires the interplay of both the majority and the minority in other to function effectively. In this sense, Horowitz (1985) would argue that,” the politicization of ethnic division will certainly produce politics of fixed majority and minority based on ethnic demography.”(84). As a consequence for this argument, ethnic diversity is more threatening to democratic stability than any other social variables.

Horowitz and Lijphart agreed that lack of even participation of citizens in democratic politics especially in an ethnic polarized society is a recipe for low democratic growth.

The works of Arend Lijphart (1977) is worth a review. He is a renowned and a reputable political scientist, most of his political reasoning is very much considered optimistic in social sciences. In his book; *“Democracy in a Plural Society,”* Lijphart developed a theoretical case on what he called plural society (ethnic diversity) and democracy. As indicated earlier that Lijphart is grouped among the hard liners who identified a negative relation between ethnic diversity and democracy. In his consociational democracy theory, Lijphart argued that the “centrifugal tendencies inherent in a plural society are counteracted by the cooperative attitudes and behavior of the leaders of the different segments of the population” Lijphart (1977: 1). In Lijphart idea of a plural society, he admitted that a plural society is a divided society; employing the terminology of “segmental cleavages” used by Harry Eckstein, Lijphart argued that plural society exists only when there is a political division which among the political actors who have failed to recognize equity as an objective principle Lijphart (1977: 3 op). In designing what consociational democracy theory, Lijphart explained that the meaning of democracy is based on two categorical assumptions; first, “segmental cleavages which is an example of plural society, second, political cooperation of segmental elites” Lijphart (1977:5). He therefore developed four definitive approach for this model, which is as follows: 1. “Formation of coalitional government among political leaders of various segments of the plural society. He emphasised that this could either from parliamentary or cabinet members. 2. Collective agreement on majority rule principle. 3. Using the principle of proportionality representation as a political standard. 4. Considerable levels of political autonomy each segment of the plural society” Lijphart (1977:25). This model was developed by Lijphart to distinguish his concept of consociational democracy theory as there are already other similar theorise in comparative politics that analyzed consociationalism. Although, unlike other hard liners in ethnic diversity, Lijphart still believes that “achieving political stability in plural democracies is not a near impossibility as long as consociational democracy theory can be explained using his second category which is cooperation by political leaders of different segmental cleavages” Lijphart (1977:16).

As against the views of Fearon and Laitin (2003) who claimed that societies with higher number of heterogeneity is more prone to violence to be compared with societies with lesser number of ethnic divide. Using Lijphart consociational democracy theory the

reverse of such argument is always the case. He noted that, when there is a disagreement of conflicting interest among two or more segmental parties, or the majority group molesting the smaller or minority groups that political coalition among the leaders of the party offers a possible solution against excluding the minority groups from the government” Lijphart (1977:30). Drawing from Lijphart’s consociational democracy theory, we find out that his theory is closely related to parliamentary federalism, which allows balanced proportional representation of minority groups in the government and creates greater chances of coalition among groups to either form government of the day or influence government policies.

Adam Przeworski is another important hard liner whose theoretical input on democracy and ethnic diversity is very significant to this study. As already indicated on the previous section of this study, Przeworski belongs to the group of scholars who finds a negative relation between ethnic diversity and democracy. In developing his thesis, he first acknowledged that democracy is likely to suffer in a heterogeneous society. However, in admitting this negative impact of ethnic diversity on democratic transition, he quickly recognized that poor economies with heterogeneous societies are more vulnerable to the low democratic performance that rich democracies. In his view, he accepts that the nature of democracy allows the existence of groups, for him democracy is a regime that allows different conflicting groups to process their interest according to established rules. To establish democracy, different groups must agree to disagree: they must accept a framework of institutions within which they would process their conflicts. But if democratic institutions generate distributional consequences, strategic actors may defend the status quo dictatorship or establish a new one even if a democratic system would generate Pareto superior outcomes” Przeworski (2004: 7). In his analysis, he linked the establishment of democracy with a casino game, thus wrote; to establish a lasting democracy, they must first find if, given the historical conditions, there is a game that all players would continue to play even if they lose. If there is such a game, they must agree to play it” Przeworski (2004: 7). He stresses that the mediating rule of the game in such conflicting democratic society is the “constitution”. “Constitutional bargainers must conjure the outcomes that would be induced by each institutional framework and to evaluate these outcomes in terms of their welfare” Przeworski (2004: 8). He agreed that this model is suitable in a federal system but yet feared that large groups will eventually

dominate the smaller ones, which will inevitably produce political consequences. The import of Przeworski's argument is that heterogeneous democracies with a flourishing economic development are likely to develop more than poor democracies. He equally recognized that a periodic election of at least five years encourages peace among different groups. While Przeworski's argument sounds interesting, however he fails to understand that flourishing economy might also increase the incentive for ethnic cleavages thereby undermines democratic consolidation.

The resourceful literature of Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson is a very useful piece that provides a lot of support to this research. In their book titled, "Why Nations Fail The Origin of Power, Prosperity and Poverty" they carefully studied the negative relations between ethnic diversity and democracy. Thus, they agree that the nature of political institution operating in a given socio-political environment defines the inclusiveness of that society. They first set out to define the conditions of democracy in a society, hence argued that, "politics is the process by which a society chooses the rules that will govern it. Politics surrounds institutions for the simple reason that while inclusive institutions may be good for economic prosperity of a nation, some people or group. When there is conflict over institutions, what happens depends on which people or group wins out in the game of politics, who can get more support, obtain additional resources, and form more effective alliances. In short who wins depends on the distribution of political power in the society." Acemoglu and Robinson (2013: 79). They understand the disagreements between different ethnic groups as a necessary condition that exists in a political environment; they emphasized that, "society is divided into deeply antagonistic clans that cannot dominate one another. The power of one clan is constrained only by the guns of another." Acemoglu & Robinson (2013: 80). Unlike Przeworski and Lijphart who agreed that effective power distribution among the different ethnic group will lead to democratic consolidation. Acemoglu & Robinson rejected such premise and argued that, "distribution of power leads not to inclusiveness but chaos, thus, preferred political institutions that are sufficiently centralized and pluralistic as inclusive political institutions" Acemoglu & Robinson (2013: 80-81). Recognizing the conditions inherent in a pluralistic society did not just end in power distribution to promote democratic consolidation but a strong central government that can efficiently control the political power of the society. This strong centralized

institution is to be structured in a way that democratic transitional method such as electioneering process will not affect the effectiveness of the institution. In sum, Acemoglu and Robinson maintained that every functional democracy in ethnic diverse society requires a strong and effective centralized government, though will distribute power, but must vex and control absolute power so as to consolidate democratic gains. They agreed that economic development could only take place based on the structure of the institutions in the society.

In a similar sense, the literature of Ashutosh Varshney provided an insightful argument to this research. Ashutosh Varshney, in his book titled "*Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict*" claims that the ethnic polarized society produces a high incentive for conflict, which hinders democratic process. He wrote, conflicts are much more regular feature of pluralistic democracies, for if different ethnic groups exist and the freedom to organize them is available, there are likely to be struggles over: which language should be used in schools and employment; whether migrant ethnic groups should be allowed entry into the country and or give restricted rights; whether different groups should be under one civil law for marriages, divorce and property inheritance, or multiple should be derived from the diverse religious or customary codes; whether religious dress can be allowed in public spaces; whether some groups should be given the benefits of affirmative action, how, and what extent; whether the allocation of public resources favors some ethnic groups more than others" Varshney (2002: 278-279). The underpinning points in his argument is that for democracy to survive in a pluralistic society, certain elements of freedom should be given equally to all the groups. He argue that no other regime type can provide a better incentive in a ethnic diverse society than democratic system, but a platform which sees equal freedom is the only measure that can sustain a democratic flow. Just like Horowitz, and Lijphart, he agreed that a strong democratic institution with a distributive power among the groups could promote democratic consolidation over a long period of time.

Literatures against the Argument that Ethnic Diversity are Threat to Democracy:

On the counter view are some scholars who reject the premise that ethnic diversity fuels unsuccessful democratic consolidation. For example, M. Steven Fish and Robin S.

Brooks conducted a strong empirical research and came up with an extensive report that shows no relation between ethnic diversity and the failure of democracy.

In their report, titled, “Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?” they wrote, “closer inspection reveals surprisingly scanty evidence that diversity countervails open politics.” First, they question the degree under which ethnic fractionalization is measured. “Group identities are complex and contested; quantifying them is problematic” Fish and Brooks (2004: 155). Secondly, they conducted a vast research, measuring the “homogeneity and heterogeneity on political regime by examining countries with at least a quarter of a million inhabitants as of the year 2000. To assess political regime, they use Freedom House’s index, which are published annually for each country in the world. To make their presentation more intuitive, they reverse the scale so that a higher number means a higher degree of openness (in other words, 7 represents greatest freedom, 1 least freedom). They score countries using an average of their ratings over the five most recent annual surveys (those issued between 1998 and 2002). These scores serve as measures for “political regime,” the dependent variable that they are trying to explain” Fish and Brooks (2004: 157). Thirdly, they discovered that there are other control variables that determine political regime and the conditions of social fractionalization in a given democratic environment. Hence, social fractionalization cannot but be a major factor that hinders democratic consolidation. They identified four controls that play the major factors as follows: economic development, natural resources (oil), Religion, and Colonial heritage.

In a similar direction, Kanchan Chandra (2003) provided an analytic method to reveal that there is no connection between ethnic diversity and democracy. He first developed his theory by rejecting Horowitz claims that plural society will eventually reproduce what he described as “fixed majority and minority”, and argues that ethnic identity is not by any means inherent in itself rather it is an attribute, which can change within any giving time. Chandra’s view on ethnic identity rested chiefly on what he describes as “fixedness.” Thus he argues if by any means ethnic identity is fluid, that is, not fixed, then the opposite becomes the case. Nevertheless, he was certain based on the view from other scholars, that “fixedness” is not by itself an intrinsic property of ethnic identity that are “constrained change.” He states that “If we find that ethnic identities consistently acquire fixedness in a democratic context and that fixedness in turn threatens democratic

stability; it must be due to some extrinsic variable that interacts with ethnic identity which has not been theorized” Chandra (2005: 21). In addition, he developed his own vocabulary in explaining what he considers as a misconception on explaining ethnic diversity. He went ahead to define “ethnic identities as a subset of identity categories in which eligibility for membership is determined by attributes associated with, or believed to be associated with, descent. Chandra’s new definition of ethnic identity differs from previous ones in two dimensions. First, he introduces a new approach in distinguishing between what he calls “categories of membership” and subsets of attributes that qualify individuals for being a member in that category. These two concepts have so far been identified in previous work, but a consistent distinction between them has large consequences for how we think about ethnic identity. Second, his new definition empties certain qualities such as common culture, a common history, a common territory and a common language, which are only sometimes associated with the identities that we think of as ethnic and thus cannot be thought of as defining characteristics”(Chandra 2005: 3). He further maintains that the misconception of ethnic diversity with hindering democracy is simply a category mistake. Hence the earlier we start distinguishing the differences in attributes from categories that is only when we can understand the relations between variables. The import of Chandra’s view is that ethnic diversity alone does not hinder democratic consolidations rather there are other extrinsic variables that hide under ethnic diversity to hinder democratic consolidation.

The crux of this matter is not to quickly take a side on whether ethnic diversity constitutes either negative or positive relation in democratic consolidation. As either of the argument maintained an empirical position, but as argued in the previous pages of this review, what are the criteria or measurement for this ethnic divide, or we just accept every disposed group in a political environment having common value and interest as ethnic based. To affirm each of this position the conditions behind ethnic fractionalization must be made clear rather than just corresponding on assumed facts irrespective of the empirical findings. Just as there cannot be a given measurement of ethnic fractionalization that is objectively tested in all cases not minding Alberto Alesina et al (2003) corroboration of mixed method, so do democratic consolidation differs in interpretation based on context and country of application.

Hence, it will be noteworthy if cases of democratic consolidations are treated individually with a specific system of government that makes it work or fail. So far, with the theories of Horowitz, Lijphart, Przeworski, Acemoglu, they all agreed that open and centralized democracy best suits ethnic divide society. In that case giving room for power divide and centralizing power at the center which best corresponds a federal system.

3.5 Democracy and Ethnic Diversity: The Nigerian Factor

Studies conducted so far on ethnic diversity and democracy as represented by Horowitz 1985, 2000; Arend Lijphart 1977; Fearon and Iaitin 2003; Przeworski 2004; Acemoglu and Robinson 2013; Varshney 2002; Fish and Brooks 2004; as well as Chandra 2005; has being conducted through different arguments, from diverse theoretical interpretations. This study consists of scholars who found a negative relationship between ethnic diversity and democracy in an ethnic pluralized Nigeria. Although a few of them accepted that there are still little chances of democratic consolidation if certain institutional and economic changes are made. The second group consists of those who insisted that there is positive relation between ethnic diversity and democracy in a multi-ethnic Nigeria. This group includes Fish and Brooks 2004, and Chandra 2005. They argue that there is other surrogate variable, which is itself extrinsic to democracy.

On the one hand, Horowitz 1985,2000; Przeworski 2004; and Lijphart 1977; emphasized the Significance of modern political institutions which is structured in such a way that it recognizes the divergences which exists among various identity groups in a democratic society, hence to encourage stability of democracy in such a polarized society. However, there is some level of agreement between both scholars that ethnic parochialism is a recipe for deterioration of democratic politics, which undoubtedly leads to political instability. As a matter of fact, their proposition on the nature of ethnic politics in Nigeria, emphasizes a closer cooperation amongst the contending ethnic cleavages in order to sustain democratic growth, enhance a stronger political institution, create an openness for participation of a healthy opposition, give room for mobilization of fresh political actors into Nigerian politics. Although, this view does not go uncontested since definition of ethnic cleavages in Nigeria is in constant flux, irrespective geographical

and regional disposition, the event of party politics and party identity is gradually eroding this doctrine. If that be the case, it is difficult for the two contending opposition parties that have since reshaped identity politics in Nigeria and by chance has overcome ethnic definition to form a coalition government as advocated by Lijphart. However, Horowitz simple logic on his “ethnic groups in conflict”, insists that the pervasiveness of political instability among groups originates from “ranking or non-ranking status” hence the political experiences within this groups does not only emerge from their colonial experiences, but also through their individual group traditional institutions” (Horowitz 2000).

The literatures of one the Euro-Africanist scholar, Arthur Lewis (1965), who wrote extensively on issues of Sub-Saharan African politics and the problems of democracy in West African region is very significant to this study. Lewis started his theoretical findings by arguing that politics in the “West African states are vertically and horizontally divided” Lewis (1965: 19). According to Lewis, the “ethno political arrangements in this region ranked people vertically higher than others, and the differences in language, culture, history, tribe and habitation which amounts to political solidarity have horizontal effect on people” Lewis (1965: 20). He argued that each of these indigenous individual groups possess their own distinct political philosophy with inter-group relational mind-set and as such the more these group attempts to accommodate each other the more uncertain their political future becomes. He argued that the political philosophy of most of the tribal heritage survived in Africa after the exit of the European imperialist because of their preserved values, culture and language. Although the created political environment left behind by the Europeans still exist, however it does not translate into political stability and unity among the groups rather their political survival is based on tolerance and accommodation. As indicated earlier that the existence of a united Nigeria state is a common legacy of the Europeans, who out of their selfish interest unified the three distinct ethnic nationalities to form a common independent Nigeria. The democratic institution, which exists in Nigeria state today was designed and imposed by the imperialist Britain, and this factor, contradicts Lipset’s endogenous democratic theory.

Furthermore, applying more of these arguments to the Nigerian state, both the ancient political philosophers like Plato, Thomas Aquinas, Thomas Hobbes, Aristotle, John

Locke, and other classical scholars, and even the so called contemporary theoreticians who parade themselves as modernist's political thinkers, propositions on Nigeria democratic politics are incoherent. Considering the fact that, their political logic seems to ignore the significant of the historical relationship which exists in establishing democracy in the Nigerian state and the existence of these ethnic groups that no interaction of whatsoever among themselves.

As already stated in the previous chapter that Nigeria is a triadic ethnic society that battles to define a common national identity, however the question of political rivalry between the three contending ethnic group arises, to weather democracy can survive in such an ethnic rooted political environment? And what are the efforts being made by the so-called political elites to diminish political bigotry among these entities? Surprisingly, if the level of political animosity and rivalry as reported by different scholars on these ethnic entities actually exist, then how has the country managed to survive colonialism, and series of autocratic government together. Negligence to these fundamental questions has since mislead many researchers to believing that ethnicity in Nigeria is a negative factor to Nigeria's democratic growth. Most notably is the literature of Ihonvbere (1985) who in his bid to rescue ethnic politics in Nigeria labelled the existence of different nationalities in the Nigerian state as a "product of history, whose persistence continue to undermine social formation and challenges the rise of bourgeois" Falola and Ihonvbere (1985: 234). In addition, he argued that the history of party politics in the 'Nigerian' state, was dominated by tribal affiliation and individual lobbyse who attempts to advance their self or group interest, and that party candidates were not selected based on political merits but by the choice of these self or group actors. Similarly, Osaghae (2003) argued that the "persistent increase on ethnic influence in Nigeria politics is a clear indication on the failure of government to adequately distribute democratic dividends" Osaghae (2003: 54).

The systemic problem hindering democratic performance in Nigeria is well beyond most of the known variables as stated by scholars reviewed in this research. For instance; scholars like Fearon and Latin 2003; Przeworski 2004; Acemoglu and Robinson 2004, had identified economic imbalance, ethnic pluralism, and education as an inherent variable undermining Nigeria's economic performance. Unfortunately, these scholars are not completely correct, infact their theory failed to acknowledge that before the

coming of the British imperialist that there was no known line of historical interaction between the existing ethnic nations in Nigeria. What is known as a Nigerian state today is an artificial creation, which forcefully amalgamated the three ethnic entities in 1914 into one, and yet the country out of tolerance has managed to survive history.

In contrast to Horowitz claim, these scholars failed to understand that each among these three ethnic groups in Nigeria developed differently depending on the economic structure of the region. For instance, the South easterners are known as industrialist, the northerners are known as farmers, while the Westerners concentrated more on education and farming. However, it is completely wrong to use educational imbalance as yardstick for measuring democratic development in Nigeria among this regions

In accepting Diamond's premise that regional and tribal sentiment contributes in creating political inconsistency and instability in Nigeria. However it is not completely correct, Diamond's assertion may have been correct, but applying to the current political situation in Nigeria today the argument will be very much incoherent. The pre-colonial history political development of these three ethnic groups showed different characteristics and structures. However, the shift in identity politics in Nigeria today is completely refuting the ethnic sentiment, party politics is beginning to shape the political norms and values in Nigeria democratic development. Secondly, Diamond has failed to give a clear demonstration on how ethnic and regional politics undermines democratic stability. In essence, should we just assume that democracies with multi-ethnic cleavages are not going to enjoy stable governance? In each of the cases highlighted earlier, Democracy is strictly defined as the existence of a stable, responsible and popularly elected government, which equitably manage and distribute scarce resources for the wellbeing of the people. If this is the case as Diamond vehemently argues, then between the periods of 1999 to 2015, Nigeria democracy have managed to be stable both in governance and in distribution of resources. Therefore Diamond's argument about the potency of political instability among plural society needs to answer more questions on Nigeria democracy.

It is imperative to argue that most literature reviewed so far on democracy and ethnic diversity have only provided traditional variables; dealing with the structure and institution of governmental, resource control and cultural bigotry. None has adequately explained other factors like corruption, external influence, incompetency in governance

fuelled by nepotism and greed. As I have mentioned earlier that none of these known traditional variables have the tendency of explaining the fundamental points hindering democratic growth in Nigeria. However, I am optimistic that the following chapters of this research will be able to explain the unknown intrinsic factors that hinder democratic growth in Nigeria. The chapter three and four of this research will detail more on the condition of Nigerian ethnicity and democracy.



4. RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at conducting a comprehensive evaluation of major opinions, theories, and variables that formed part of this research. It will employ a more detailed approach by using qualitative analysis in explaining the internal and political differences among the three contending ethnic groups in Nigeria. The chapter highlights the rationale on the political mentality of each of these three ethnic groups, and how it has so far influenced democratic consolidation in the country. Different social science research operative mechanisms will be employed in explaining how ethnic diversity in Nigerian politics works. The research will use graphical designs such as; table, figures, and pie chart in evaluating political differences in the study.

4.2 Selection Of The Three Major Ethnic Nationalities As A Case Study: Comparative Study Of The Ethnic Impact On Nigerian Democratic Consolidation

The controversy of what constitute ethnic diversity has being a very strong debate among different social researchers' especially between comparative thinkers. So many methods of measuring ethnic fractionalization have been developed by different scholars as seen in the previous chapter of this research, ranging from ethno-linguistic measurement, cultural/religious measurement, and mixed method analysis. Nevertheless none of this approach was able to quantify the Nigerian ethnic divide, which its measurements cannot be deduced using the aforementioned methodologies. Hence this issue becomes a major methodological threat facing this thesis on how to directly avoid the challenges encountered by other researchers dealing on this approach. Although, one is careful of the tangential relevance of other theories and statements that so far interprets ethnic behaviour and other issues that may cause political instability in the country. Considering the significant amount of political resemblance between the three

ethnic groups in Nigeria, and the level of political solidarity exhibited within their entities of political bargain which is capable of correlating democratic norms that has since been promoted through some sets of government institutional measures.

On issue of political development: the research on ethnic diversity faces a pressing difficulty on which socio-political elements should be applied as tool for analysing the politically influenced relationship that exists among these three ethnic groups and how it shapes democracy performance in Nigeria. The research equally explained the reason for using different mechanism in measuring the identified variables. In addition, there are also the challenges of addressing other minor ethnic groups (tribes) that make up the giant three which often raises concern on the adopted method of ethnic fractionalization (geography) in Nigeria. Distinctively, the Nigerian state comprised of several ethnic groups, which spreads geographically across the three regions, which are hence addressed as three main groups.

My choice of adopting and researching on the three main ethnic groups of Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani as the main focus of this study, is not based on any prejudice or on a traditional assumption which hitherto existed, but it is solemnly based on the political recognition and affiliation of these groups which are equally being influenced by geographical and historic disposition. To establish a rational choice of selecting the existing three ethnic groups, it will be necessary to review the existing views on the number of these nationalities. So far it's been a great controversy among scholars on the exact number of ethnic nationalities in the Nigeria. Some social analyst who employed linguistic criterion in measuring Nigerian ethnic fractionalization suggested different numerical figures in demarcating ethnic differences. Scholars like: (Hoffman 1974, Otite 1990) suggested 394, (Wente-Lukas 1985; Otite 1990 in Nnoli 1995) agreed on 550 and 619. While, Coleman using linguistic fractionalization insisted that, "there are approximately 248 distinct language groups in the Nigeria" (Coleman1958: 15). On a separate dimension, the data given by national population commission in 1992 census report, which used linguistic criterion indicated that there are 52 ethnic groups in Nigeria. However, the most popularly used figure among different studies is 250 ethnic groups as the formal figure (Nnoli 1995). Although, other researchers like, (Awolowo 1968) came up with different figures like 60, (Nnoli 1995) 374, and (Odetola 1978) 143. Meanwhile anthropologist like: (Gandonu 1978), affirmed 161, and (Murdock 1975),

arrived at 62. In line with (Nnoli 1995: 26) criticism, confronting the challenges that these scholars failed to understand about using language in Nigeria's ethnic divide is that many Nigerian nationalities "speak cluster of languages." Notably, there are series of dialects, which these scholars were unable to differentiate between what they assumed as languages. Other similar argument is that, cultural affiliation especially within the Northern periphery of the country, which is dominated by Islamic religion, has influenced other minor tribes into adopting Hausa language as the major lingua franca, leaving their original dialects behind. Similarly, each of these three regions have the superiority of a common language with each region, example, the south-easterners speak Igbo, while the Western region speak Yoruba. Significantly, the influence of English language as the national language equally countered the assumption of using language as a sole judge of measuring Nigerian ethnicity.

Despite the fact that there is no concluding agreement among researchers on the exact number of ethnic groups in Nigeria, no single research has being able to convincingly include half of what is known. Each researcher adopts either some creative or convenient approach in arriving at a representative sample of ethnic nationalities in the country so as to meet the purposes of their own study. The most convenient criterion known to be popular among researchers has been population size. However, it is very wrong to use population in categorizing these groups, since each of these giant groups is made up of component units who still makes claim of ancestral and historical differences.

Nevertheless, some scholars have swiftly adopted the three most populous ethnic groups, which are aforementioned as Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani as their criterion in categorizing Nigeria ethnic groupings. Those who have selected these three most populous ethnic groups for their research have argued that their population confers political significance on them while the less populous ones which are described as "tiny and politically insignificant" are left out on account of their comparatively smaller population (Diamond 1988: 21). As indicated earlier, the history of the country and its inhabitants seems not to support this view. Existing literature on the history of the Nigeria does not accept the view that political significance of these nationalities is a function of their respective population size. Meanwhile there are other indicators to substantiate these arguments. The pre-colonial history of Nigeria recognized with a great

significance the strong political myth of these minor ethnic groups especially, the Ijaws, itsekeri, and the calabari who first traded directly with the Europeans (Ejiogu 2004). However, the 1967 Nigeria/Biafra civil war conscripted these groups into other giant's ethnic nationalities. Example, the Ijaws, Itsekeri, Ehurubo, Ibibio, calabari, Ukwuani and Ikom all identified Igbo's as their brothers.

Within this context, ever since the country was amalgamated by European powers within the nineteenth century into a nation state today referred to as Nigeria, each of among the three Ethnic Nationalities (Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani), which made up the country has being very susceptible and consistently displayed disaffection and disparity against each other's perceived dominance of national politics. The three ethnic nationalities have done so without respect to the common issue of national interest. Within the context of this research, all such suspicious mindsets influenced political rancour from the three most populous ethnic nationalities in the country, which constitutes valid indicators of ethnic and tribal polarization, of which Nigeria is the case in this study.

4.3 Data and Their Sources

This research is structured to accommodate different methods of social research data collection and analysis. But due to time and cost effect, the research will utilize secondary data collection approach in generating information for the study. This approach includes; empirical surveys like Afro Barometer survey, organized researches like Okoro (2012), Larry Diamond's Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria, Toyin Falola and Julius Ihonvbere's The Rise and Fall of Nigeria's Second Republic (), Alex Gboyega (), Laurence Whitehead (), Chazan (), Adigun A.B. Agbaje (). Including other resourceful links that will be relevant to the evaluation of this research.

4.4 Hypothesis Statement

Hypothesis 1

Considering the degree of differences that exists between the three ethnic groups in Nigeria, it implies that anyone who does not share a similar ethnic identity is not qualified for leadership and cannot be trusted.

Hypothesis 2

Considering the level of religious/cultural differences that exists between the three ethnic groups in Nigeria, it implies that any individual who does not share a similar belief or faith is not worth respected or trusted.

Hypothesis 3

Given the high level of geographical and ideological divide that separated Nigeria into areas of regional politics, the assumption that regional mindset that characterizes Nigerian democracy will diminish in future is high.

4.5 Operationalization of Variables

This research is formulated in accordance with the social science research genres of variables, which are grouped into dependent and independent variable. These variables influence the performances of each other either directly or indirectly. The following paragraphs of this section will examine the performances of this research variables and how it influences each other.

(i) Independent Variable: Because of the nature of this research, the independent variable is categorized between the main variable which is Ethnic group, and the surrogate variables as politicians, traders, and academicians. Different literatures like; (Okoro 2012), (Agbaje, Diamond, Onwudiwe 2004), and (Ejiogu 2004) reviewed the political relationship that exists between these ethnic groups and the human elements involved. They conducted a grass-root survey within the different sections of each of these ethnic groups, that of which different opinions of people was sorted for. Their study was based on the relationship that exists between political elites, political parties, and individuals from different ethnic groups, the ethnic mind-set of academicians and traders during electioneering process, and the determining factor of national polity based on ethnic versions.

(ii) Dependent variable; for easy analysis, I divided the dependent variable into two, and they are institutions of governance and political parties. Based on the previous literatures reviewed on this regard, they analysed human structure of the existing political parties in Nigeria; that is, the composition of political parties' leadership and their ethnic

representations, and how these entities relate with the general society. The research will explain Institutions of governance based on the premise of Institutional reaction to the demands of the people and the equitability on the distribution of state resource among the three ethnic groups of the study.

To study the veracity of political disagreements influenced by ethnic resentment between the existing three ethnic groups in Nigeria, and the curiosity for political recognition within its communities, the research will specifically examine the political structure of each of this nationality for an answer and as well the heterogeneity of the political system in across the three ethnic nationalities. In addition, the research adopted and applied Horowitz (2000) methodological framework, “ranking theory,” and supported by primordial properties analysis of Geertz (1965). Horowitz and Geertz explained that recognition of differences among groups and ranking system is an inherent behaviour of primordial properties of ethnic groups in a plural society, that are determined by different ethnic interactions and the problem of transparent governance, lack of equality, and their impact on political performance in a divided society. In sum, the existing independent variables in this research are structured to correspond with hypotheses statements discussed in the previous section.

The first listed variable contains the differences in political activities among the three selected ethnic group. The second listed variable contains the identity politics and the political philosophy among the three selected ethnic group. The third listed variable contains the administrative structure of political institutions in Nigeria.

Meanwhile the research measures the dependent variable based on the outcomes of democratic politics in Nigeria, using political parties campaign, elections, ethnic languages during campaign and regional candidacy as a constant indicator for accessing democracy in Nigeria between 1999-2015.

4.6 Case Study Areas of Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani Ethnic Nationalities in Nigeria

The three ethnic nationalities were chosen because of its regional political significance in the democratic statecraft in Nigeria. Meanwhile this regional significance is possible due to the geographical and ethnic disposition of Nigerian state, which sees this three

major ethnic group to occupy a given geographical area with political importance. Conducting research in these selected areas enables this study to understand the gaps and differences in political behaviour of Nigerians and how it generally shapes democratic performance in multi-ethnic democracies. The selected case study areas equally allowed the study to know if democracy can play any role in uniting ethnically divided society. Choosing a country with multi-ethnic identity structure is a way of highlighting how ethnic group manages political power and how often other ethnic groups are resisting repressive powers.

Nigeria is an ethnic divided society in terms of region, economy, politics, religion and culture. There is always the claim of political domination by all the ethnic groups and regions in Nigeria, but none of the regions ever accepted dominating others politically. Researching in this area will provide a first hand knowledge to these claims, and how to theoretically explain it. Thus, it's my strong believe that researching in these selected areas will provide a theoretical window of accessing political participation of the locals in democratic development of a state.

Each among the three ethnic groups in Nigeria has always claim the hereditary right of producing the President of the country, especially among the Hausa-Fulani in Northern region and the other two ethnic nationalities of Igbo, and Yoruba in the West and Southern part of the country. Channelling this research in these three areas created an avenue to look at the relevance of democracy in a multi-ethnic and politically divide Nigeria. Hence, applied the research in these selected areas of the study to examine the dividends of democracy, and analyse people's mind-set on the pre-assumed political covenant between the society and the state, which the is been epitomized by democratic Politics.

4.7 Analyzing Igbo Ethnic Nationality As A Case Study

4.7.1 The political mindset of igbo ethnic nationality in nigeria

The Igbo ethnic nationality occupies the southeast region of Nigeria and is considered as their ancestral homeland. Geographically, the area covers between "Cross River in the borderland of Cameroon to the mid-point area of Niger River in the direction of southwest Nigeria" (Isichei 1973). The homeland of the Igbo is located right in the thick

rainforest belt of Nigeria. In comparison to the Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, the place of ancestral homeland tells much about the Igbo people. Several researches have been conducted on this purpose but so far each of the research has failed to connect knowledge with the concrete evidence on the impact of ethnic line in Nigerian democracy. Unlike other ethnic nationalities in Nigeria, the Igbo people operate a decentralized system of political participation, which makes a common political opinion difficult to be arrived at. The area comprises of nine states as will be discussed in the next chapter of this research, which will focus more on the geographical and political arrangement of Nigeria state. Yet political opinions are not state based but based on organized social groups. This implies that, both governmental and non-governmental organizations, such as organized labor union, traders association, tribal groups influences political decisions within their groups more than government institutions. Below is a graphical presentation on how political decisions are generated among the Igbo's.



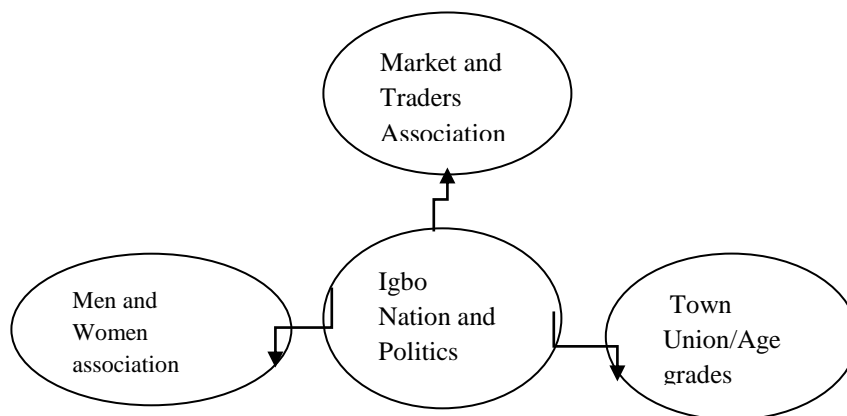


Figure 4.1 showing how political decisions among the Igbo people are generated.

The above graphical sketch, represent the various channels/institutions that generates political opinion among the Igbo ethnic group. The Igbo ethnic block is found at the center of the political organigram, however, its political performances are based on the branches, which are both internally and externally connected to the Igbo Nation. The establishment of these bodies or branches may not have any political connotation, but their political influence shape the political opinion and direction to wich the region formulate its policies. The members of these associations are bond by their value to implement any political decision they have reached within their organization. Such decision includes; the political party to support during election, candidates to vote for, and the laws to support. The chapter four will do more elaborate analysis on this.

4.7.2 Political factor

According to the literature of A.E Afigbo (1992) “*Groundwork of Igbo History,*” the book detailed the political decision making organ among Igbo communities, which is vested in three human structural dimensions. These structures play a significant role in shaping the political attitudes of the Igbo’s. Generally, it is commonly observed among the Igbo people that most of the citizen belongs to one or two of the 3 association. These three associations as presented in figure 3.1 represents the following: the Market and traders Associations; these includes both Men and Women market association, the Age Grades, and the town union.

The market association is a very powerful interest group in the politics of Igbo ethnic nationalities. These being that the Igbo’s are commonly regarded as known traders in every part of the country. Hence this becomes an opportunity to create an umbrella

organization that shoulders the political interest of their members. Most of these umbrella organizations cut-across the nine states that make up the Igbo ethnic nationalities. Thus no political party can be successful with the Igbo region without identifying with the interest of these groups as they play significant roles on their members. It is common within the Igbo's that during election politicians and political parties lobby traders and market union for votes and any one that fails to gain the support of these people is already doomed for failure.

Across every town and villages within Igbo ethnic nationalities, there is always a governing assembly referred to as Town Union. The structure of this assembly is political but performs within the community level. Its governing council comprises of elected members, who in coordination with the king run the political activity of the community. This association wields the most powerful political influence within the community political level. Every biological member of the community is automatically qualified member.

It is common among the villages or towns of Igbo ethnic group, to see the men under different age grades to organize themselves in different associations and groups. The Age Grade is a very strong political organization that performs different tasks in the community including; community police, warlords, and project executors. The purpose of establishing this group has often been argued to only involve traditional, however its political participation is very powerful in influencing communal decisions.

Women association is another strong communal political body that influences political decisions among the Igbo ethnic nationality. In every community within the Igbo extraction women always organize themselves in a small groups, starting from *Umu Ada* (the first female daughters) to *Orie aku* (Married wives). Unlike other ethnic groups, the woman of Igbo extraction plays a very significant role in political decision-making. Within their own existing associations, they make rules and enforce it A.E Afigbo (1992).

4.7.3 Ethnic influenced mindset of the igbo people and democratic politics in nigeria

In every given political environment, it is the individual needs combined with group needs that determine the outcome of political manifestation. Thus the ways the Igbo people perceive national politics in generally makes it appear as politics of survival shaped by ethnic interest. Based on the data generated from different surveys, most political discussions among the Igbo people differ in perception based on age, gender and position of the respondent. Based on other research conducted on a similar research, for example Afro-barometer (2014) survey indicated as follows:

2400 survey was held across the three ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. 800 surveys were obtained from each of the ethnic groups.

Survey Question: If you are asked to choose between being an Igbo and being a Nigerian which group will you identify with?

Eight hundred (800) interviews were held across the nine (9) states that comprises the Igbo people in the south east Nigeria and the following results was obtained;

Table 4.1: Showing Respondent Answers In Igbo Question Of Their Identity (Source, adapted from Afro-barometer 2014, with modification)

I choose be Nigerian	10
I choose to be both an Igbo and a Nigerian	40
I choose to be more Igbo than Nigerian	480
I choose to be only Igbo	240
I choose to be more Nigerian than Igbo	20

Suppose we present this result in a pie chart, it will give us the following result;

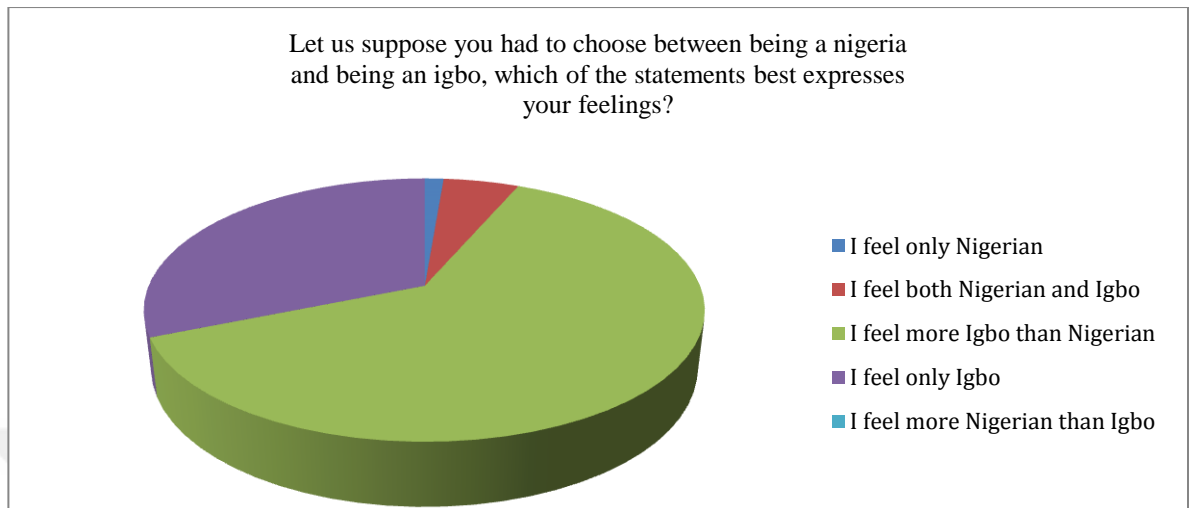


Figure 4.2 showing a pie chart result on the survey conducted by Afro-barometer 2014 around Southeast Nigeria.

The result of the above Graph indicates the general feeling expressed by Igbo people, which are based on the common belief that, they share common identity. That about 94 percent of the respondents to the survey agreed that they are Igbo first before being identified as Nigerians provide a strong insight to the many serious problems confronting the state of Nigeria. Many regard their presence in the geographical structure of Nigeria as a human construct, and not a situation that cannot be corrected. However, just 4 percent of the individuals interviewed accepted the idea that they are both Igbo and Nigerians. Invariably it proves right those ideas and assertions that there is a strong ethnic mind-set on the ethnic composition of Nigeria. Accordingly, Diamond (1997) pointed out ethnicity as one of the teething problems confronting democracy in the country.

The Igbo ethnic nationality defined their traditional and political philosophy as democratic system with a decentralized mechanism, thus irrespective of the political decision composition that includes: the village, town or organization. The significant numbers of political decisions are usually organized through collective agreement. Everyone is given an opportunity to contribute his or her idea, with regard to issues of general effect. Then, in every election on national political offices, individual preferences and political sympathies are substituted with group political philosophy.

Within the Igbo Society, political discussions are usually deliberated within social organizations. These associations as earlier could be in the form of market men and women, or traders Associations. It is so obvious to notice the political mood of the people around you, whenever a national political discourse is raised especially as it concerns ethnic participants.

Furthermore, the Nigerian democratic structure is organized in such a way that general elections especially the one involving the office of the presidency often appear as a litmus test on the democratic development in the country. Every ethnic group in the country always laid claims on the reasons while they should be preferred to another hence under guiding the true principle of democracy.

On a different approach, Okoro (2012)'s research on Nigerian voter's behaviour further explains the height of ethnic attachment in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria.

Survey Question: You voted a candidate during the April 2011 Presidential election because of the followings?

Table 4.2: 2011 Nigeria Presidential Election Voters Behaviour Among The Igbo's (okoro 2012 with modification)

No of Respondents	64
Ethnic Identity	61
Religion	18
Qualification of the candidate	20
Party Program	22
Regional Affiliation with candidate	18

The above represented data's from the table further highlighted ethnic behaviours among the eligible Igbo voter participants. It is very obvious that the Igbo ethnic nationality cast their votes based on the ethnic background of the contestants, followed by the regional affiliation of the contestant. Meanwhile the party manifesto of the contesting candidate plays less or no significant role on the choice of vote. The data generated indicated that the Igbo people do not consider religion of the contestant as an indicator in casting their

votes; in addition, the choice of ethnic identity plays a very significant role in the mind of the voters.

Among the Igbo people, the way democracy is perceived varies at different levels. For instance; within the state or local level, ethnic identity has no role in electing a candidate during an election. Contestants are elected based on their party and campaign manifestos, individual credibility, personal track record, and group affiliation. At this level democracy are tested to be purely more credible since voters are choosed based on competency and individual antecedents. The people directly hold politicians accountable. Political corruption are at a lesser or minimal level. Meanwhile at the federal level, democratic politics is completely a different thing. First, there is an internal rivalry between the three ethnic political actors. Second, federal politics is seen as a struggle for survival, commonly referred to as; *Do or Die Affair*. Third, politics at federal level lacks character scrutiny, candidates are not been voted for based on personal antecedents but based on ethnic and regional affiliation. Voters first consider a candidate that will favour their region better than other region in choosing who to support. This two different perception on democratic politics in Nigeria clearly shows how politically divided the people are in terms of national politics. By engaging in national politics, an average Igbo person perceives it as act of self-enrichment and therefore what goes on at the federal level should not be his concern.

The method of approving candidate at the local or state level is completely different from the way candidate is approved at the federal level. At the local level, the people are said to be familiar with politicians, they know their family background, political history, and individual capability. While, political players at the federal level are very much distance from the people

4.7.4 Igbo's And The National Politics

There are different views among Nigerian's when it comes to analyzing people's mindset on national politics. Different factors may be considered to be responsible for these different opinions especially within the people of Igbo extraction. Having previously attempted secession from Nigeria, which resulted to the known Nigeria civil war with a lot casualties. The Igbo's strongly holds ethnic rancor on the nature of national politics in Nigeria. Okoro (2012) identified three factors stands out as the basis

for the Igbo's in judging the national politics. The Igbo's strongly reserves the realist perception of a continuous threat arising from other ethnic groups in Nigeria. This fear created the nature politics is played in the region as a fight for survival. Below is the graphical representation of the impending factors on Igbo ethnic nationality in national politics.

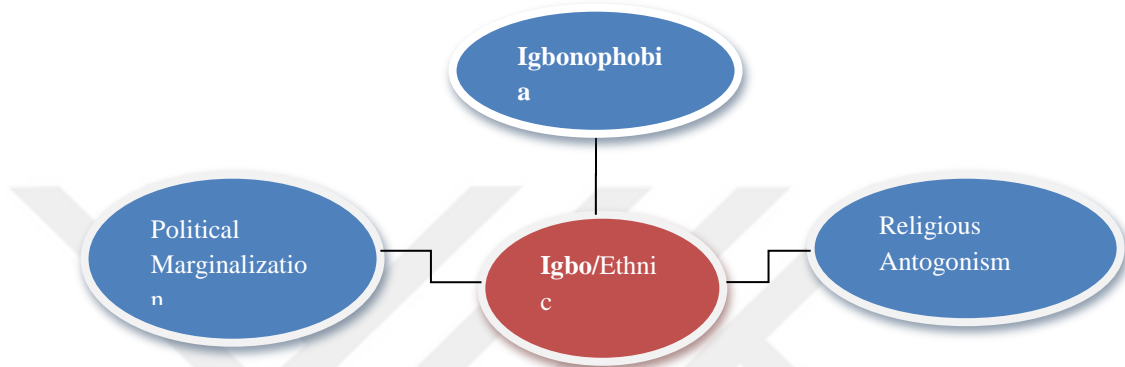


Figure 4.3: Ethnic and Mindset dilemma of the Igbos and democratic realism in Nigeria

The figure displayed above shows different factors that influence the political behaviour of Igbo people towards the wider society. Ever since after the Nigerian civil war of 1967 between the defunct Biafra republic orchestrated by the Igbos' in an attempt to become a republic, there has been a suspicion of a strong ethnic crusade against the Igbo ethnic nationality by other ethnic groups in the Nigeria. Having this in mind-set among the Igbo people, it is virtually difficult in convincing the population for a continued existence of Nigerian state as a unifying political entity. Furthermore, the shared grievances among the Igbo ethnic nationality that the region is yet to produce a president of the country ever since the return of democracy in 1999 till date increases anger and their frustration of a common identity. More so the incessant attack and destruction of valuable properties of the Igbos who reside in the Northern part of the country from time to time, which now matured to Boko Haram insurgency, is a direct indication that the country is ethnically divided beyond political integration.

In sum, the Igbo ethnic nationality of Nigeria remains very susceptible of Nigerian integration and identity as a human construct, which will be undue over time and as such have no faith on the democratic development of Nigeria as a common state.

4.8 Analyzing Hausa-Fulani Ethnic Nationality As A Case Study

4.8.1 The political attitude of the hausa-fulani ethnic nationality in nigeria

The Hausa Fulani inhabits the Northern region of Nigeria, and the area covers nineteen (19) states of the country with a large historical claim of different empires and Kingdoms. Geographically it borders Chad republic, Niger Republic, Cameroon and Gulf of Gunea. Unlike the southeastern part of the country, which is located at the tropical rain forest, the northern Nigeria climate condition is Sahel climate or tropical dry climate with temperature of around 40c average. As stated earlier the Hausa-Fulani dominated the political landscape of Northern Nigeria with a centralized system of government, which gives the traditional rulers more prominent control of political issues more than the state officials. Most of the state within the region adopted state internal law, which is referred to as Sharia law, as against the national law of the country. Despite the large presence of Hausa-Fulani in the region there are other minority tribes that are located in the region though because of language complexity in Nigeria it will be hard to differentiate the minorities in every particular region.

4.8.2 Political factor

Arriving at a political decision in an ethnic polarized state, especially given the strength of its components parts, most times depends on different factors. The most commonly arrived factor is the height of ethnic identity. The Hausa-Fulani's are considered in Nigeria as the largest ethnic group both in population and in geography. They are equally regarded as the most cultural oriented ethnic group due their keen respect to both their culture and religion. Majority of the Hausa and Fulani's are Sunni Muslims, while the minorities among them are Christians, there are handful of Shia Muslims among them. Among the Hausa-Fulani's ethnic solidarity plays a greater role in making political decisions. The reason is related with their centralized system of their domestic politics that sees the traditional and religious leaders to be supreme than the government. Similarly, greater percentage of the population are uneducated, thus influences their ethnic solidarity since there is lack of information. An Hausa man only regards that person from his region as his brother. Their method of identity is simple, I am an Hausa

man, and I am a Muslim, therefore, I am a Nigerian. This is a common inductive reasoning of an average Hausa-Fulani person.

Political decisions among the Hausa-Fulani's are being determined by handful of traditional institutions, such as; The Arewa consultative forum, 'Arewa' in English language means an Hausa person. Council of traditional rulers chaired by Sultan of Sokoto, and Emir of Kano, Arewa youth council. Once these organizations arrive at a common political decision, such a decision is binding irrespective of the national government policies. Below is a sketch of political organogram of the Hausa-Fulani ethnic nationality.

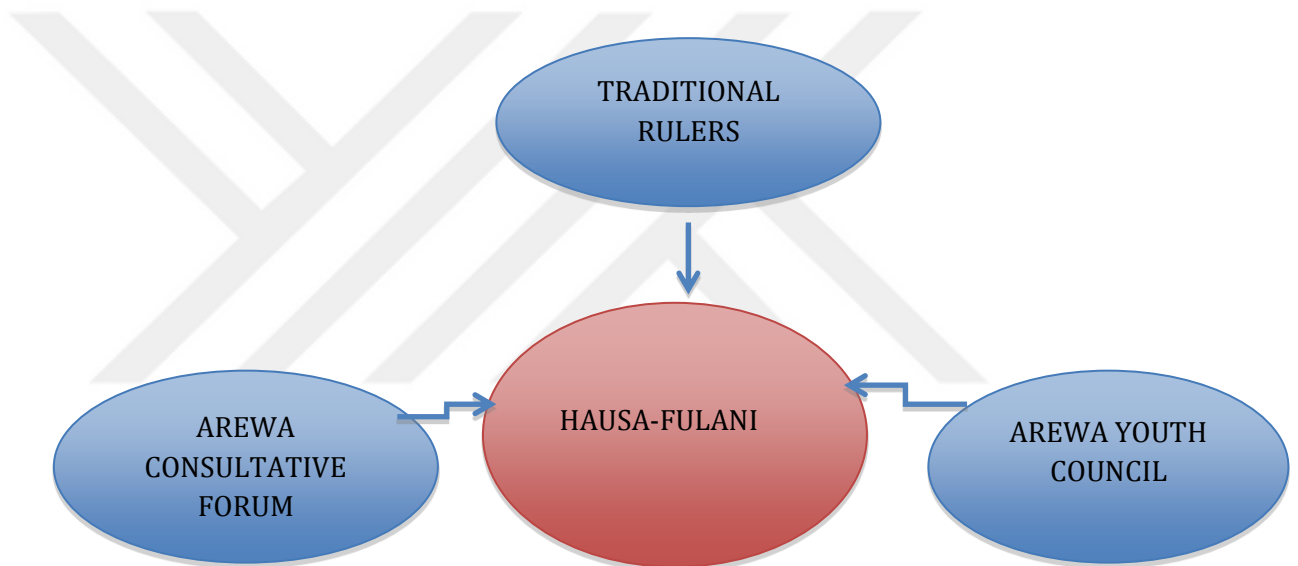


Figure 4.4 Display of Political structure in Northern Nigeria.

4.8.3 Ethnic Attitude of the Hausa-Fulani and Democratic Politics in Nigeria

The political behaviour of Hausa-Fulani people towards other ethnic groups in Nigeria portrays a different picture other than what is perceived within the other ethnic groups in the country. An average Hausa-Fulani man believes that Nigerian politics is a game of number and since the margin falls in their favor it is their inherited right to play politics of dominance. Such perception provides a clear picture to most of the ethnic inspired problems facing Nigeria's democracy. The nature of this problem is argued to be inherent in democracy, since most of the popular definitions of democracy attribute it to majority rule. On such premise, it is not surprising to see the majority ethnic group

dominating the minority using population as an indicator of supremacy. This kind of problem is not just found only in Nigeria's democracy but also in developed democracies with ethnic lines. In this regard, it is evident to have seen the Hausa-Fulani dominated Northern region to have ruled Nigeria for the past 38 years out of the 55 since Nigeria got her Independence.

For the purpose of record, it is wise to argue that the historical artefact which left Nigeria to much of this political quagmire to some extent has a colonial undertone which was orchestrated by the Britain who created Nigeria in an imbalanced political environment in a mere attempt to exploit the countries natural resources. Distinctively the political democracy in Nigeria after independence favoured the people of northern extraction more than other regions with a common believe that the south and west are strangers and are not ethnically to them, therefore it's difficult if not impossible to share a common political trust. Hence, the continual culture of "us versus them" has also as destroyed the notion of political ones the country. This is so, because each tribe has continually regarded each other as a distinct entity.

Based on the survey organized by Afro-Barometer on a similar research on ethnic behaviour and identity of each ethnic group in Nigeria. They offered the following data on the Hausa-Fulani behaviour.

Survey Question: If you are asked to choose between being a Nigerian and being an Hausa-Fulani which group will you identify with?

Eight hundred (800) interviews were held across the nineteen (19) states that comprise the Hausa-Fulani people in the Northern Nigeria and the following results were obtained.

Table 4.3, Showing Respondent Answers In Hausa-Fulani Question Of Their Identity (Source, adapted from Afro-barometer 2014, with modification)

I choose to be Nigerian	0
I choose to be both Nigerian and Hausa-Fulani	20
I choose to be Nigerian than Hausa-Fulani	0
I feel choose to be Hausa-Fulani than Nigerian	640
I choose to be Hausa-Fulani	120
I don't know	20

Suppose we present this result in a pie chart, it will give us the following result:

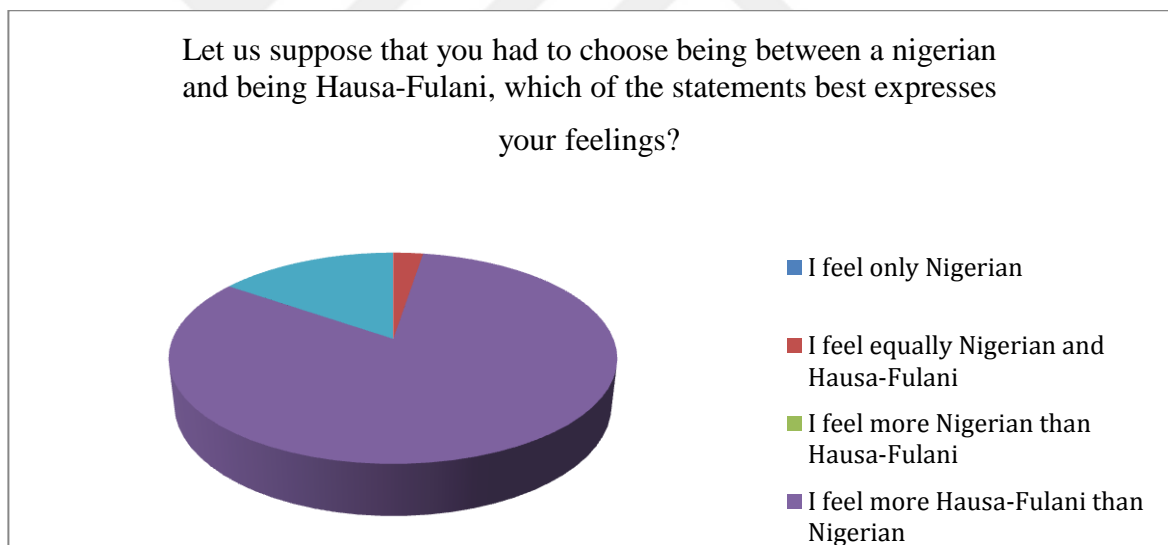


Figure 4.5 showing the graphical representation of Survey conducted on Hausa-Fulani ethnic nationality in Nigeria.

The pie chart above indicated that 640 respondents from 800 participants in the survey, representing 80% of those who responded to their question accepted that choose to be more Hausa-Fulani than Nigerian. The second responding group of 120 interviewed, which represents 15% of those they interviewed total agreed that they choose to be regarded as Hausa-Fulani only, meanwhile 20 of the respondents representing 2.5% accepted that they choose to be regarded as Nigerian and as well as Hausa-Fulani. In the

data above, none of the respondents indicated interest of identifying to be a Nigerian only, or choose to be Nigerian than Hausa-Fulani. The statistical data shows that almost all the participants in their survey accepted that they are neither the same with the Igbo, nor are they the same with the Yoruba. And in national politics, the Hausa-Fulani always exhibits these differences.

In a similar perspective, Okoro (2012) research presented more interesting information on Voters behaviour among different ethnic groups in Nigeria. Using 2011 presidential election, Okoro (2012) arrived at a result showing Hausa-Fulani voters behaviour. The following data represents the result of his survey:

Survey Question: You voted a candidate during the April 2011 Presidential election because of the followings.

No of Respondents: 54

Table 4.4, showing the voting behaviour of Hausa-Fulani during 2011 Nigeria Presidential election, data adopted from Okoro (2012) with modification

Ethnic Identity	54
Religion	54
Qualification of the candidate	20
Party Programme	15
Regional Affiliation with candidate	54

Using the result obtained from Okoro (2012) survey, the result indicates that ethnicity, religion, and regional affiliation are the basic determinants, which construct voter's behaviour among the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group within the Northern Nigeria. The data further reviewed that at least 50% of those interviewed accepted that ethnic identity of a contesting candidate, his region, and as well his religion impacts their choice of voting. Meanwhile, about 15% of those interviewed accepted that party's manifesto impacts

their choice of voting a party or a Candidate. The consequence of this shows that Hausa-Fulani people considers ethnic identity as the paramount indicator in making choice of electoral candidates.

In sum, the Hausa-Fulani ethnic nationality remains the dominant political force in Nigerian democracy and yet do not consider other ethnic groups in the country as part of them rather as an accident of human history that resulted in a structural integration which can be reverted over time. Although the current wave of democracy in Nigeria is gradually restructuring this orthodox political believe.

4.9 Analyzing Yoruba Ethnic Nationality As A Case Study

4.9.I. The Political Mindset Of Yoruba Ethnic Nationality In Nigeria

The Yoruba ethnic nationality inhabits the Western region of Nigeria. Yoruba's are commonly regarded as the most unified ethnic group in Nigeria, since it consists of people who claim to share same historical heritage and language. Unlike the other regions in Nigeria, the geographical climate condition of western region is swamp and mangrove forest. Its political history is established under a monarchical system that allows the Oba of Ife to be worshiped and respected all over the kingdom of Yoruba land. Thus, giving rise to a transformed and modernized centralized system of government within the region.

Like every other ethnic nation within the state of Nigeria, the Yoruba's also display a high level of disparity and disaffection towards other people of different ethnic group. It is a commonly believe among Nigerian that it is the Yoruba's that brought about ethnic tribalism following the political event of 1966 Nigerian electoral history which witnessed the history of political polarization based on ethnic fraternity. Similarly, using the survey conducted by Afro-barometer on Nigerian ethnic identity it indicated as follows:

Survey Question: If you are asked to choose between being a Nigerian and being a Yoruba which group will you identify with?

Eight hundred (800) interviews were held across the six (6) states that comprise the Yoruba ethnic nation in the Western Nigeria and the following results were obtained.

Table 4.5, showing respondent answers in Yoruba question of their identity (Source, adapted from Afro-barometer 2014, with modification)

I choose to be Nigerian	20
I choose to be regarded as Nigerian and Yoruba	193
I choose to be more Nigerian than Yoruba	2
I choose to be regarded as Yoruba than Nigeria	300
I choose to be only Yoruba	3
I dont know	0

Suppose we present this result in a pie chart, it will give us the following result:

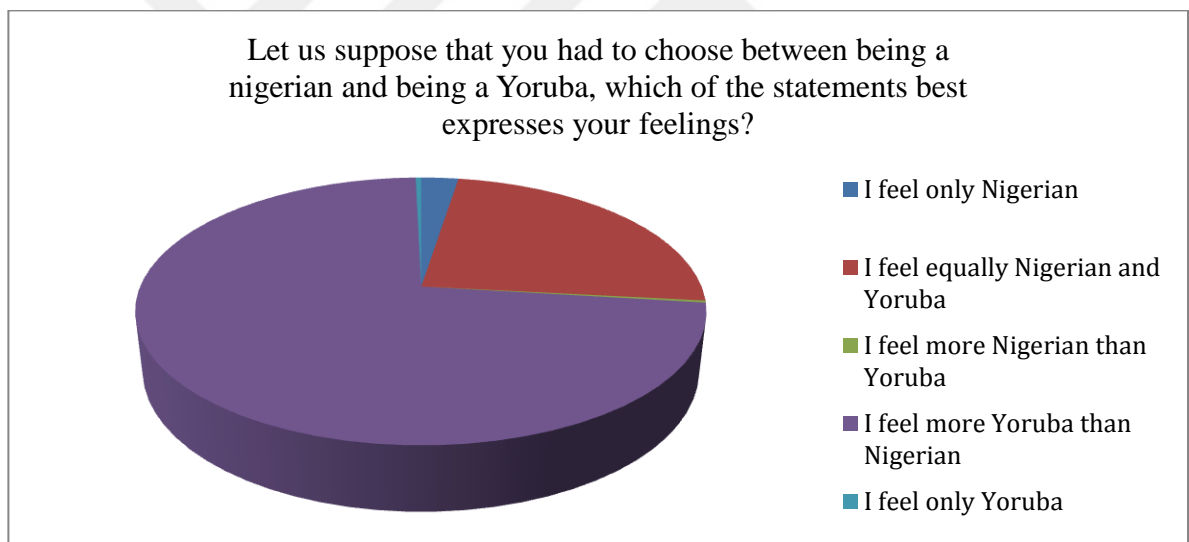


Figure 4.6 showing the graphical representation of Survey conducted on Yoruba ethnic nationality in Nigeria.

The data contained in figure 4.6 above indicates that, 580 out of 800 respondents to the survey which represents 72.5 percent accepted to feel more Yoruba than Nigeria, while 193 of the respondents representing 24.2 percent accepted to feel both being Nigerian and Yoruba, meanwhile 20 respondents appear to be patriotic accepting their identity to be Nigerians only.

4.9.2. Political Factor

Within every practicing electoral democracy, it is always assumed that the Manifesto of a contesting candidate and programmes of political parties attract qualified citizens. Such assumption has so far reflected among the Yoruba political history. Thus, allowing them with a distinct political history and system in the country. Following Nigeria's political history, the Yoruba's structured their political life in a way that revolves around what they assume to be meritocratic system of government which sees a very few selected individuals as political sage who only have all it takes to make impact. Example of these people includes the likes of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Late Ladoke Akintola, and many more who established the socialist political welfare system in the western region of Nigeria.

Furthermore, these groups of politicians within the auspices of what was referred to as The Action Group developed social welfare programmes which contained issues like; Free Education, Free Medical Services, and other issues like Agricultural development, and Infrastructural development strongly keyed into the political calculation of the Yoruba in the 1960s. The resultant effect of these political traditions materialized to the present day Yoruba political behaviour. Between 1999 to 2011, this socialist ideological oriented party Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) dominated the Western region of Nigeria, however the change of political landscape in the country in 2015, which resulted to the merger of regional parties gradually, eroded this tradition into a national front cheered by conservatives.

In line with this research, the survey conducted by Okoro (2012) on the voting behaviour of different ethnic group in Nigeria will be very useful at this point in accessing the behavioural pattern of a Yoruba voter towards choosing a national political candidate.

Survey Question: What shapes your mind as you go to vote in the 2011 Presidential election?

Table 4.6, showing the participants motivations during elections (Source, adapted from Okoro 2012 with modification).

2011 Election Survey in Western Nigeria (Yoruba Ethnic Group) No. of Respondents 44	Partly Agree	Strongly agree	Never
Your Religion and the religion of the candidate?	13	4	27
Your Ethnicity and Cultural Affinity with the candidate?	5	3	36
Your Regional Identity and that of the candidate?	5	3	36
The Candidate Party Manifesto?	10	8	26
Quality and Qualification of the candidate	12	5	27
Your Economic Situation?	10	13	21

Another contending factor that influences the political direction amongst the Yoruba ethnic nations is the issue of ethnic identity of the candidate during national election. Most findings suggest that the ethnic identity of a candidate is an important factor when individuals began to analyse the chances of the Yoruba in the affairs of the country. As it is, people use ethnicity to determine their voting preferences during elections. But that is so far as the there is no candidate of Yoruba descent is among the contestants of this particular election.

Although the conditions surrounding 2011 presidential election in Nigeria to a large extent eliminated tribal preferences due the national sentimental attachment of the number one candidate who strived to succeed the deposed president. However, based on Okoro (2011) data, the Yoruba's still maintained the orthodox tradition of voting system. Below is their Voting behaviour extracted from Okoro (2012) survey:

Table 4.7, showing the number of respondents in Yoruba, who voted in the 2011 presidential election (Source: adapted from Okoro (2012) with modification).

No of Respondents in Western Region (Yoruba): 44	
Ethnic Identity	11
Religion	4
Qualification of the candidate	15
Party Programme	10
Regional Affiliation with candidate	4

But then the political climate of Nigeria does provide need for this apprehension. So people are usually bent on having a strong ethnic representation in the government, just in order to safeguard the interest of their people. However from the resulted generated from this survey it is discovered that religion and regional affiliation had little or no influence on how the Yoruba people cast their ballots, either as group or as individuals in the April 2011 Presidential election.

In sum, the Yoruba ethnic nation posses a strong and undefiled ethnic sentiment and are very much susceptible of other ethnic group irrespective of low natural resources in the region yet they organized themselves politically against any aggression from other ethnic nationality.

Despite this ethnic feelings and discrepancies found within these ethnic groups against each other, yet Nigerian democracy has so far survived the test of time irrespective of the slow pace of its development and the dramatic corruption orchestrated by fraud and fair elections by few despotic politicians who are desperate for political office holders. Although 95 percent of Nigerians preferred to be seen and identified with their ethnic groups but the adoption of federal system of government defined by federal character in terms of resource and human empowerment allocation it has so far helped in facilitating the growth of democracy and unity government as seen in the recently concluded 2015 presidential election.

4.10 Comparative Study Between The Three Major Ethnic Groups In Nigeria

Democracy is often classified as majority rule but then what about the minority. This research has since attempted to accept the measurement of democracy through an inclusive system of government, and not just the prevailing exclusive practices. It has always being a conflicting argument if democracy is really good for a multi-ethnic environment like Nigeria, since its runs depends on our first premise of ‘majority rule’ which amounts to the principle of the winner takes all. But if our measurement of democracy depends on the general goods provided for the well-being of the people, I am afraid to accept that Nigerian democracy is below standard. And if we follow Freedom House measurement of democracy through civil liberty, change of government, and rights of citizens then we may have the course say Nigeria democracy is a functional democracy. For more than a decade, there have been periodic elections, transfer of power from one government to another, opposition winning elections, free media and increase in civil liberty. This research examines peoples opinion on the survival of democracy among the three ethnic groups using Okoro (2012) related survey.

Group 1,

Survey Question: Which of the following Statement is close to your own Opinion on the Survival of Nigerian democracy?

Table 4.8 showing the result of ethnic Igbo people opinion on the survival of Nigeria Democracy (Source adopted from Okoro (2012) with modification).

No. of Respondents from Igbo Ethnic Group 64		
A	Will Democracy eliminate ethno-centricism in Nigeria	7
B	Democracy cannot change the eternally entrenched ethnic consciousness in Nigeria	46
C	For someone like me, it does not matter what kind of Political System we have in Nigeria	10

On comparative terms, the data generated from Okoro’s survey as represented on the table, indicates that various individuals that responded to the questions expressed mixed feelings on the democratic politics of the country. Majority of ethnic Igbo’s believe that democracy cannot change the eternally entrenched ethnic consciousness in Nigeria. According to the statistics 72 percent of the total contributors agreed that democracy cannot change the ethnic divide in Nigeria. Meanwhile 11 percent of the respondents agreed that democracy will help eliminate ethnocentrism in Nigeria. While 17 percent of the contributors stated that it does not matter to them, what kind of political System Nigeria has or adopted.

Group 2,

Survey Question: Which of the following Statement is close to your own Opinion on the Survival of Nigerian democracy?

Table 4.9, showing the result of ethnic Hausa-Fulani opinion on the survival of Nigeria Democracy (Source adopted from Okoro (2012) with modification).

No. of Respondents from Hausa-Fulani Ethnic Group 40		
A	Will Democracy eliminate ethnocentrism in Nigeria	8
B	Democracy cannot change the eternally entrenched ethnic consciousness in Nigeria	18
C	For someone like me, it does not matter what kind of Political System we have in Nigeria	13

Within the Hausa-Fulani group, the information received from Okoro (2012) indicates that, most of the people that contributed on the survival of Nigerian democracy were of the opinion that, democracy cannot change the eternally entrenched ethnic consciousness in Nigeria. About 47 percent of the respondents agreed that democracy couldn’t change anything. Only about 20 percent of the overall participants agreed that democracy would help eliminate ethnic based politics in Nigeria. While 33 percent of the participants were

of the political opinion, that it does not matter to them, what kind of political system that Nigeria operate.

In sum, this indicates that, only a sum of 20 percent of the Huasa-Fulanis' showed positive opinion about the state of democratic politics in Nigeria today; while about 80 percent of them showed negative opinion on the state of democracy in Nigeria.

Group 3,

Survey Question: Which of the following Statement is close to your own Opinion on the Survival of Nigerian democracy?

Table 4.10, showing the result of ethnic Yoruba people opinion on the survival of Nigeria Democracy (Source adopted from Okoro (2012) with modification).

No. of Respondents from Yoruba Ethnic Group; 15		
A	Will Democracy eliminate ethnocentricism in Nigeria	1
B	Democracy cannot change the eternally entrenched ethnic consciousness in Nigeria	6
C	For someone like me, it does not matter what kind of Political System we have in Nigeria	8

Within the Yoruba ethnic nation, the trend is equally the same with other ethnic groups. A whole 53 percent of those that participated in the entire research agreed that political system in Nigeria do not in any way mean anything to them. But interestingly, it is only 7 percent of the participants subscribed that democracy will help to eliminate ethnic political biased in the Nigerian state. While a total of 40 percent of the participants were of the political opinion that democracy cannot change the ethnic consciousness of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria.

This chapter has so far attempted to show how ethnic diversity influences democratic consolidation using multi-ethnic Nigerian society as a case study. It used both analytic and comparative approach in studying the behavioural pattern of the ethnic groups involved to show how their political opinion affects democracy. The hypothetical statements were structured in such a way that it reflected in all the parts of the research. The following chapter of this research will make a detailed analysis of the Nigerian

state, and how each among these ethnic nationalities differs from each other using geography and ecology to support our findings.



5. ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICS IN NIGERIA

5.1 Ethnic Politics and Nigeria Democracy

Evolution of democracy in Nigeria can be classified on the words of Przeworski and Limongi (1997) "*Modernization: Theories and Facts*," where the authors revisited Lipset's view on democracy, and created an exogenous window of opportunity in interpreting democracy, which according to their theory emerges independent of economic growth. Nigerian democracy as discussed earlier is an invention of colonial legacy, which was meant to unify the divided line of ethnic cleavages in the country. Its purpose was to create conducive political atmosphere in the country, irrespective of ethnic identity, and differences among Nigerians. Neither was democracy meant to be hijack by a specific group, or political entity, nor was it meant to be dominated by any kind of ethnic philosophy or ethnic identity. Since democracy is defined as an all inclusive political system by its inventors, application of this method could be perceived as to best suit an ethnic diverse society like Nigeria. In this regard, ethnic coloration of democracy or an act of exclusion should not be the case.

Democracy itself by definition recognizes ethnic differences in every human society; hence, it does not respect ethnic based political philosophy. In an advanced democratic society, political participation or political decision is not based on linguistic differences or regional inclination in deciding who is merited or who is not merited for political position. In such a society, the ethnic backgrounds of candidates are insignificant as criteria for qualification. Political parties are qualified based on law and manifestos.

In Nigeria, the reverse is always the case. Ethnic polarization is felt virtually in all area of political performance. Ranging from individual to individual conversation, group to group participation, party politics and more strikingly on national issues; every individual or group participates on national issues with ethnic sentiment in mind. No

individual is judged on issues of national interest based on character and personality; the first act of judgment is rooted on ethnic background.

The timeline of this research covers Nigeria democratic consolidation between 1999-2015. This period in Nigeria political history is addressed as “fourth republic.” The reason for this acronym relates the inconsistency in regime change in the country. The “fourth” represents, the fourth time power was transferred to civilian rule. In the previous three republics, the military infers with state control taking over government because of what they considered as abuse to power. But significantly, the so-called “fourth republic,” have witnessed the longest and the most continuous democratic period in Nigeria political history. Within this period, four general elections were organized and cover the following periods: 1999-2003, 2003-2007, 2007-2011, 2011-2015. Nigeria election tenure system covers a political period of four years.

As indicated earlier, Nigeria is practicing a presidential system of government, with a Bi-camera legislative structure. Nigeria political arrangement is similar with that of the United States of America, where federal and state structures exist indirectly independent of each other. But unlike the US the presidential, governorship and legislative elections are held simultaneously within the same period. This type of electoral arrangements makes the elections so ambiguous and complicated, since there is an excess workloads on the electoral umpire. The credibility of these elections by far lacks merit, especial in the midst of ethnic political enterprise and sentiments. However, internal states elections where same ethnic group or tribe competes among themselves are said to be more credible, in comparison with the federal elections, where there is a high level of competition amongst the three ethnic nationalities. Despite Nigeria running a multiparty political system, it has always been the case that two major political parties dominate the country’s political environment. These parties are regarded as national political parties, however its formation and operation is orchestrated by ethnic sentiment, group politics, and identity politics. The now opposition party (PDP) which has been the ruling party between 1999-2015, lost power in 2015 as a result of ethnic dissatisfaction among its members. PDP is an acronym representing Peoples Democratic Party, which was formed in 1999 by group of nationalist who wrestled power out of the military. Between 1999-2015, the PDP’s successful produced different presidential candidates starting from, ex-president Olusegun Obasanjo 1999-2007, Late president Umaru Musa Yar’Adua 2007-

2010, who died during his tenure, and was succeeded by his then Vice president Dr Goodluck Jonathan 2010-2015.

The death of president Yar' Adua in 2010 changed the political atmosphere of Nigerian politics. First, it highlighted the level of ethnic sentiment among the PDP members; second, it showed the desperation of politicians to cling to political power. The PDP having produced Ex-president Obasanjo from the Western region, late president Yar' Adua from the Northern zone would have out of common sense freely allowed Dr. Goodluck Jonathan from the Southern region to assume power on the capacity of acting president. But that was never the case. The Northern members of PDP who claims to be the party owners insisted that a senior party member from the North should assume office of the presidency to complete the tenure of the late president since he is from the North. This was considered as an eye opener among Nigerians who see such an action as injustice and a slap to nationalism. Jonathan assumed power through the authority of the national assembly, and was later elected as president in 2011 election. His election resurrected a strong ethnic resentment among the three ethnic nationalities. Since, it is unusual for a candidate to emerge from minority group without the endorsement of the majority ethnic group. Prior to 2011 presidential election, elections in Nigeria is not just a matter of the majority electing the leader, it is more of the decision from a small group of political elites from the majority ethnic group. As stated earlier, that the political decisions of the northern region as the majority ethnic group is been decided by a crop of few individuals who constitute themselves as the political stakeholders. These group influences the decision of the entire population. In this regard, Nigeria democracy before 2011 is not completely based on majority syndrome, but on the minority in the midst of majority. Dr Goodluck Jonathan's presidential bid in 2011 attracted a lot of solidarity among Nigerians. The quest for some PDP northern members to hold on to power after the death of Late President Yar' Adua, as against the constitution which favours the vice president to take over power in the absence of the president helped to shift political decision from political elites to the wider citizens. This was demonstrated by the support Goodluck Jonathan enjoyed irrespective of coming from the minority ethnic group. This shift in power approach can be interpreted as healthy for a growing Nigerian democracy. The bane of democratic consolidation in Nigeria lies between the lines of ethnic diversity. If democracy is only to be measured by regular elections, civil liberty, and

change of government, then between this selected periods of Nigerian democracy can be scored as a performing democracy. But such measurement seems to lack merit, since definition of democracy sparks an inclusive system of government. This circumstance produces this research with a more question like: how inclusive is Nigeria democracy? To answer this question, the following section will examine identity crisis as a diving factor in Nigerian inclusiveness.

5.2 Identity Politics As A Political Factor In Nigeria Democratic Consolidation

In recent years, the concept of identity politics is gradually emerging as one of the most widely discussed part of social construct among scholars of comparative politics, and other fields of social sciences. In comparative politics, identity politics is witnessed at the center of discussions like nationalism, ethnicity, and race. This issue reflects in the foundational scholars like: (Horowitz 1985; Smith 1991; Deng 1995; Laitin 1999). Most of the intense controversy surrounding identity politics lies on how best human identity can be classified in a political environment. As part of our main focus on ethnic politics, the chapter two of this research examined how best we can categorize ethnic groupings. But since this research is treating the question of identity politics as a distinct entity, we shall briefly examine the definitions of identity politics from different scholars, and see how best it interprets Nigerian political factor. Below listed are other scholar's definitions of identity:

1. On the words of Hogg and Abrams (1982:2), they defined identity as “peoples concept of who they are, of what they represent, and how they relate to each other.”
2. Deng (1995: 1), used identity in his book to describe the way “individuals and groups define themselves, and are defined by others on the basis of ethnicity, race, language, religion, and culture.”
3. Similarly, Jenkins (1996: 4), defined identity as the way through which “individual and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities.”
4. Bloom (1990: 52), defines identity in terms of national approach, he describes “national identity as a condition through which mass of people have common

identification with national symbol, and such symbol is internalized as the status of the nation.”

5. Kowert and Legro (1996: 453) on their words conceive identity as a “prescriptive representation of political actors themselves and their relationship with each other.”

While there are other meaningful definitions of identity, these scholars appear to have giving us a meaning insight of what identity is all about. Although, there are huge challenges with these definitions, because none of the scholars whose definitions are listed above was able to distinguish between individual identity and group identity. Identity is about portrayal of self, and this may be in terms of singular or plural. In this sense, this research focuses on group identity, since our objective of study deals on three ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. In Nigeria, the question of national identity as Bloom (1990) perceives it, is one of the greatest challenge threatening the unity of the country. The idea of national symbol is accepted on little conditions of no alternative. Nigerians mostly embrace their national identity only on the issue of sports and foreign relations. Ethnic identity is often seen to dominate national identity. Nigerians commonly prefers to be identified in terms of their ethnic background instead of common national identity. Irrespective of government policies in harmonizing a common national identity, yet little is being achieved in improving this situation. For instance, the government understanding the importance of harmonizing a national identity introduced different policies such as; compulsory National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) for every first-degree graduate in the country. This scheme makes it a compulsory for every Nigerian graduate to undertake a one-year community service in a different region other than the region of birth. The purpose of this scheme is to help youths in intercultural assimilation and association among peers from different ethnic group. The government equally introduced the teaching of the three major ethnic languages in primary schools to enable Nigerian children are able to simultaneously speak the three languages that forms the national symbol. Similarly, the introduction of annual national cultural carnival was meant at bridging the gaps among different cultures in these ethnic nationalities. In addition, the law that allows Nigerian the freedom to intermarry without cultural restriction. All these policies and more were meant to curtail the identity sentiments among Nigerians; however, the reverse has always been the case.

The following section will examine how identity variables hinder democratic consolidation in Nigeria, using ethnic boundaries and formation in explaining each variable.

5.2.1 Ethnic/Regional Identity As A Political Factor In Nigerian Democracy

Geographically, Nigeria comprises of three main regions. These regions as discussed earlier, represent the Northern Nigeria, the Western Nigeria, and the South-eastern Nigeria (see, map 1.2 above). In each of these regions is one dominant culture, which out of ancestral claims and political recognition, harmonizes other minor existing cultures into one. This research explained these minority cultural groups in these regions as tribes whose population and geographical settlements is not enough to be categorized as a distinct ethnic group. Thus, each of these regions is being characterized with a specific ethnic group as discussed earlier. In addition, the natural climate condition aided by the boundaries of river Niger and river Benue facilitated in separating these regions.

Each of these ethnic groups representing these regions places more emphasis on regional or ethnic identity in describing, “who they are” as interpreted by Huggs and Abrams (1982). Identity is the bedrock of Nigerian political structure. Every political gathering in Nigeria is either directly or indirectly being influenced by ethnic identity. Political parties are formed on this basis, and members of political parties are determined based on identity configuration. Bureaucracy is structured to favour members of a specific identity inclination. National political appointments are made to fulfil “federal character” not on the basis of merit and credibility. Federal character is the constitutional criterion that requires that each state of the federation will be represented on the political office appointment in the federal parastatal. Government recruitment of employees are not completely based on qualification or merit of applicants, but are based on identity representations, which are born out of the so called “*godfatherism*,” or what is popularly referred to as “*Longlegs*.” All this emphasis is based on the idea that government employments are being offered by people with the same identity as to the officer in charge.

As indicated in the chapter two of this research that Nigerians prefer to identify themselves based on their ethnic background, and then refers someone of another ethnic background with a name description based on language. For instance: An Igbo person

from the Southeast addresses a Yoruba person from Western region as “*onye ofenmanu*” meaning someone that eats soup with a lot of oil. In addition, the Igbo person calls an Hausa-Fulani man from the North, as either “*Aboki or Malam*” meaning cow rarer or someone who doesn’t know anything. The same goes with other ethnic group. Formation of national identity as a social cohesion is difficult among Nigerians, except on issues that affects everyone simultaneously.

The performance of a public office holder in Nigeria is measured based on the identity the officer represents. For instance; if an Hausa-Fulani man is in charge of public office, Nigerians from either Yoruba, or Igbo ethnic descent will never accept the officers performance as merit. On the contrary, the people from Hausa-Fulani descent will easily praise the performance of that office holder, *vice versa*.

Recently, people of Igbo extraction started denouncing their citizenship of Nigeria, in a bid to show solidarity on their agitation for a sovereign state of Biafra. In most part of South-eastern region, Nigerian flags, which represents national symbol, are being removed and replaced with the so-called Biafra flags. Most Nigerians prefer to decorate their cars with English football clubs flags instead of Nigerian flags. Nigerian flags are only seen in public offices and places, and not home and private buildings. Religious leaders surround their place of worship with flags of other nationality and designed symbols.

In sum, identity in Nigeria is a matter of ethnic and regional configuration. National identity only exists based on specific areas of common interest. In a country, where checks and balances, human rights and social welfares are being determined by ethnic identity configuration and regional inclination will be difficult to measure democratic performance.

5.2.2 Religious Identity As A Political Factor In Nigeria’s Democracy

Nigeria as a multi religious society adopted secularism as a way of guarantying equal freedom among all religious faithful. This policy gives Nigerians the right to any religious faith, and as well excludes religion as a basis for implementing government policies. Nevertheless, religious identities are being felt in all spheres of Nigeria’s political life. The two most dominant religions in Nigeria are Christian religion, and

Islamic religion. Although there is minority of other religions such as: Traditional religion and Hinduism, but their followers does not constitute a good population.

The two religions of Christian and Muslim are in itself a strong factor of measuring identity in Nigeria politics. Followers of each of these religions hold a different political view against another. In a case where ethnic interpretation fails, religious faith stands as an alternative yardstick for measuring identity politics in Nigeria. Between Christians and Muslims, there is a strong distrust and resentment among them. Political performances are accessed based on religious faith. Organizing political campaigns in Churches and Mosques are the most recent political strategy in Nigeria. Once a politician identifies himself with a particular religious group, the action of that politician is being judged based on his/her religious faith.

Nigerians identify themselves first with ethnic background, second with religious faith, and third as a Nigerian. This factor hinders democratic progression in the country. Religious rivalry is often witnessed in some part of the country. People resort to religious conflict in the name of protecting their religious interest. During national elections, voters put religious sentiment as a basis for voting for a candidate. Political parties that fields two candidate of same religion are born to fail. For parties to win national elections, candidates representing different religion must be fielded.

In Nigeria, religion is a strong basis for political participation. People are inclined to their religious doctrine in undertaking a political activity. Each religion shapes the political ideology of their followers, and how they relate with each other. Religion equally influences Nigeria's foreign policy formulation. Whenever a Christian President is elected in Nigeria the country's foreign relations shifts closer to the West, the same goes if a Muslim President is elected, the country's foreign relation shifts to the East. Religion identity factor is equally being felt in federal appointment. In making appointment to political office, the person in charge considers religious identity as a factor before appointing whom to work to it. This process undermines democratic credibility and hinders democratic consolidation.

5.3 Nigeria In The Midst Of Federal Democracy

Studying democracy and ethnic diversity in Nigeria between the periods of 1999-2015 have enabled this research to examine different factors that may have contributed to democratic survival in Nigeria within the selected period of this study. The both concepts of democracy and federalism directly represent Nigeria political situation. As indicated earlier, Nigeria is a liberal democratic country enshrined under federal system of government. As against the British introduced regional federalism, Nigeria is practicing state federalism. That is a federal system with states as its component parts. Presently, there are 36 states in Nigeria, with Abuja as its capital territory.

The concept of democracy and federalism complement each other in explanation, but means entirely different things in approach. Although, both concepts represent political system and forms of government but does not necessarily mean the same thing. Democracy is a form of government that is built on certain values, guided by the constitution, and its regime regulated by election through people's mandate. It is a direct opposite of dictatorship or autocracy. On the other hand, federalism is a political system in which there is devolution of power among subsidiary parts of government; these parts could either be regional or states. The opposite of federalism is unitary political system of government in which power is completely vested at the centre of government. In the federal system of government, power is not completely handed over to the states. Most vital powers that cannot be handled at the states level are vested on the centre. In that case, constituted authority at the central government still controls a reasonable amount of power to regulate the activities the political activities of states. Federalism can function in any form of government. It doesn't necessarily mean that the performance of federalism lies in democracy. However, we can argue that federalism is significant for democratic development, especially in multi-ethnic societies. In line with this argument, Stepan (1999: 19-20) clearly stated that, "every single longstanding democracy in a territorially based multilingual and multinational polity is a federal state."

While there is a huge theoretical support showing a strong connection between federalism and democracy, the consensus agreement among literatures is that successful federalism requires well functioning democratic institutions such as; functional judicial system, well structured electoral process, and national political parties. The argument

implies that only in well functioning democracies can federalism be a successful and stable government.

Nigeria federal democracy is not an exception to this logic, owing to the fact the drum of multi-ethnic composition of Nigeria; the two political elements has so far become a stabilizing factor to the survival of Nigerian state. In the Nigerian case, federalism has helped to limit the boarders of ethnic nationalism into national polity. The creation of states in Nigeria reduced ethnic political grievances, since government is made closer to the people. Nigeria federalism equally reduced ethnic political tension from the central government to allow democratic sustenance. The bi-camera legislative system in Nigerian federalism equally plays a vital role by introducing constituency politics. As a federal state, the election of federal representatives is based on federal demarcated constituencies across the country. States have no control over these constituencies. They exist as a direct federal political presence within the locals. This system further makes the people feel a bit closer to the federal government, as they are directly electing their federal representative. In addition, the presidential system in Nigeria federalism equally serves as an ingredient of democratic survival. The Nigerian constitution mandated the formation of the presidential cabinet to reflect federal character. That is, each state of the federation will be represented in the presidential cabinet formation. These acts further create room for sense of belonging among the contending ethnic nationalities.

In sum, federal democracy has played a great role on the growth and survival of Nigeria democracy. Although at a very price, since this system of government is expensive to run, the cost of governance and some irrelevant bureaucratic procedure still hinders development. But it as well reduced the tension of ethnic identity as a source of conflict in the country.

6. SUMMARY/RECOMMENDATION/CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This research so far investigated democracy and ethnic diversity, a case study of Nigeria. A comparative study of Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani in Nigerian democracy between 1999-2015. To arrive at basic argument of the study, an intensive research method was applied so as to bring a clearer understanding on how democracy and ethnic diversity works. Rigorous analytic approach was employed in explaining the case study of the research, which focused on highlighting the degree of democratic performance in Nigeria, using the three ethnic nationalities of Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani. The chapterization of the research were both chronologically and contextually arranged to suit the information of the research. Below is chapter-by-chapter summary of the research.

The chapter one of the research, focused on the background study of the research. It started with introduction of the study, where it briefly highlighted the insight of the study by explaining the impact of ethnic diversity on democratic development. It specifically used Nigeria ethnic factor in making the research evaluation. At first, a Shakespearian phrase used in *Hamlet*, “To be or not to be: that is the question” was used to explain the nature of a fragmented Nigeria society, and how the people perceive themselves. In addition, the introduction reviewed insight of the study on the nature of Nigeria’s ethnic fractionalization and how ethnic politics shapes democratic politics in the country. It highlighted the central research question that the study attempted to answer, outlined the research hypothesis, explained the research methodology, the scope and limits of the research, and finally, discussed the organization of the study.

The chapter two of the research focused on a more complex part of the research. The section combined theoretical overview and literature review in an attempt to explain variables. The chapter started with theoretical overview by explaining issues of

conceptual framework of the study like; the concept of democracy, and ethnic diversity. Different literatures were reviewed in the section; both literatures that opposed the arguments and the ones that supported the arguments were presented side by side. To enrich the content of the study, Freedom House measurement index was applied in measuring democratization. In addition, these literatures were applied in analysing Nigerian factor of democracy and ethnic diversity. Most of the literature reviewed on democracy and ethnic diversity found a strong correlation between democratic consolidation and ethnic diversity, although, the chapter grouped this correlations based on their different schools of thought.

The chapter three discussed the research design of the study. It started by explaining the reason for selecting the case study area of Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. It detailed the sources of data collection, outlined statement of hypothesis, and operationalized the main variables that constituted the research. In addition, the chapter gave a detailed and comparative analysis of each among the three ethnic groups selected as the case study of the research. Used both graphical design and table to explain data generated in the study. The research approach used was completely based on ethnographical and qualitative research method.

The chapter four dealt with issues that concerns Nigeria as the case study of the research. It started by conceptualizing Nigerian state, explaining the geographical disposition of Nigeria, and how each region that makes up the Nigerian state is demarcated by natural geography. It equally, analysed what constitute ethnic group in Nigeria, and how ethnic mind-set shapes democratic politics in Nigeria. It used maps to explain the regional and ethnic arrangements in Nigeria.

Chapter five discussed the core concept of the research, which anchors on democracy and ethnic diversity. It explained how ethnic mind-set hinders democratic performance in Nigeria. It used identity and religion as ethnic variables that hinder democratic development in Nigeria.

Finally, the chapter six focused on the research summary, recommendation, and conclusion of the study. In addition, the bibliography of the study is included in chapter six.

6.2 Recommendation

The impact study of this research exposed a lot of inadequacies in the previous theories on democracy and ethnic diversity. Nevertheless, the research did not reject the significance of their impact, but rejected the totalizing and objective claims of these theories. The followings are observations of the study and possible recommendations.

On defining what constitute ethnic fractionalization, the research acknowledged the significance of existing ethnic fractionalization index analysis, ranging from ethno linguistic index, ethno religious/cultural index, ethno racial index, and even Alberto Alesina and Romain Wacziarg (2003) mixed method approach. But at same time, refuse to acknowledge its objectivity as the only source of measuring ethnic fractionalization. The study suggests that, the measurement of ethnic fractionalization should not be based on a certain theory or a specific index method; rather each case of ethnic evaluation should be treated as a distinct factor with a suitable fractionalization index. For instance: the research recognized that, the Nigerian factor of ethnic diversity couldn't be adequately explained by applying the conventional index method alone. It discovered that geographical measurement could as well serve a purpose in evaluating ethnic fractionalization. In addition, the research recognized the problem that may arise using geographical differences, especially as it concerns other minorities covered in the same environment. Therefore, it explained the differences between tribal groups and ethnic groups, by using population criterion. This criterion can be used to differentiate between what we consider as language and dialects. Applying this criterion in the Nigerian ethnic factor, the research considers any group with a general population percentage of more than 15% as an ethnic group, and any group below this thresh hold as a tribal group. The research further recognized that ethnic groups are made up of tribal groups who share historical relations between themselves. For this reason, this research recommends that, in evaluating ethnic diversity a closer empirical study is required in studying cases, and the correlating factors.

On defining democracy and democratization measurement, while the research recognizes the difficulties among social science scholars in accepting a common

definition of a phenomenon, the research insists that a political system that does not fulfil the basic or fundamental requirements of democracy should not be accepted or considered democracy. Although different scholars argued that it's easier to explain democracy than to define it, yet any explanation that doesn't meet the universal principle of democracy should not be accepted. In addition, the research considers John Locke's treaty as a good example in explaining democratic principles. Democracy must be built on rule of law, civil liberty, freedom, equality, fairness, free and fair elections, healthy opposition, and tolerance. Even though, the research acknowledges that human society is in a "state of flux" as ancient Greek Philosopher Heraclitus predicted, and such democratic development is considered as a process, but certain institutional principles must be present in political system before it can be considered a democracy. Meanwhile, the research frowns at what it considers as interpretational democracy. That is, the idea of explaining democracy based on different cases. Yes! It is possible to have different models of conceiving democracy, but any model of democracy that does not fulfill the universal requirements of democracy should be considered a developing democracy. For instance: most countries in Africa, and Asia who laid claims to be democracies should not be considered as democracy except they fulfil the fundamental requirements of democracy, which includes what is earlier stated. In addition, the research accepted Freedom House democracy index, but as well recommends that definition of democracy should include an all-inclusive system of government, and not just government of the majority at the expense of the minority.

On explaining democracy and ethnic diversity, the research observed the conflicts among scholars of comparative politics. The study grouped the dimension of their argument into two categories, which are argument for, and argument against. The former identified ethnic diversity as source of delay in democratic consolidation and the later denied a direction between ethnic diversity and the slow growth of democratic consolidation. As much as this research accepted the argument from both parties it argues that neither both parties are completely right or wrong. Ethnic diversity is not completely the cause of slow democratic growth, and in some cases ethnic diversity contributes to slow democratic performance. Countries with higher percentage of ethnic group in terms of population are more likely to witness high performance of democratic development. Meanwhile, countries with lesser percentage are likely to witness conflict,

which in turn undermines democratic development. For this reason population of ethnic groups in a democracy is itself a factor. In addition, natural resources plays a role, for instance, countries that have larger concentration of their natural wealth in the side of the minority ethnic group are likely to witness resistance by militant groups which slows democratic performance. Furthermore, the composition of government structure plays a role in strengthening in democratic development. If governments are composed to accommodate equal rights of citizens, then democracy is likely to develop. This research recommends that countries that practice an all-inclusive democratic system will likely experience democratic consolidation.

On the political structure of government, the research discovered that federal democracy with states arrangement is more suitable for multi-ethnic societies. This structure allows decentralization of power to components units, thereby allowing a more functional government to the people. Since federal democracies allows power and responsibility distribution among its component parts, lesser attention is paid at the central government. Furthermore, federal democracies with states arrangement, equally dissolves a huge ethnic concentration, since political interest are shared among states and constituency representation instead of ethnic composition. For instance, the Nigerian democratic consolidation is only possible because of the federal political structure, which distributed powers into state formation, and concentrated federal political interest within the state's political block instead of ethnic arrangement.

On the question of Nigerian democracy, while the research recognized ethnic identity as a strong factor in democracy politics in Nigeria, it suggested that other variables such as institutional corruption, nepotism, and lack of patriotism contributes in hindering democratic development in Nigeria. Despite observing regime change through elections, and protecting civil liberty, democracy is not functioning properly. This research recommends that the country must reform its political structures to deal away with the identified problems for democracy to function.

On testing the hypothesis, while the research accepted the statements of the hypothesis to be true, it equally insist that democracy is the only form of government that can create an acceptable social cohesion among the three contending ethnic nationalities in Nigeria.

6.3 Conclusion

While there is a strong indication that ethnic diversity possesses a threat to democratic performance, this research insists that, ethnic diversity in itself poses no threat to democracy. But lack of implementation of the fundamental principles of democracy in a multi-ethnic society creates room for slow democratic performance. Therefore, an adequate implementation of the universal principles of democracy such as; rule of law, civil liberty, recognition of human rights, free and fair election, equality, freedom of the media, independent judiciary, checks and balances etc., will certainly create a functional democracy in a multi-ethnic society. There is no other form of government that is more suitable in a multi-ethnic society like democracy. However, the approach through which democratic dividends is distributed among the citizens, determines if democracy will survive or not.

Opponents of ethnic politics see ethnic loyalty as nothing different from self or group declaration of existence and not the modern definition of quest for existence. On the contrary, the critics of ethnic politics, perceives ethnic political loyalty as not just intellectually flawed construct, but a dangerous force that is capable of withering away a political system. This is certainly an illusionary kind of imagination. The continuous effort to build a united Nigeria is animated by this view. The resolution by political elites after independence to abandon the part of pre-colonial ethnic political structure to build a common identity exclusively created on equal right, justice, freedom and political unity of all Nigerians, is a prime indication that multi-ethnic harmony is possible. The critics of ethnic politics have failed to answer the question to whether democracy discourages ethnocentrism and identities that results to it, or if it can offer a credible alternative? An inclusive democracy remains a unifying factor that breaks the barriers of ethnic politics. Human nature is built on an unsatisfactory ego, so are the groups they found themselves. Hence, there must be political resentment among political actors whether fuelled by ethnic motivations or individual selfishness, the efforts of democracy is to bring about an equal mediation between the contending duels.

This research so far has attempted to answer most of the structured research questions, which formed the basis of this research. The researcher believes that the study have supplied adequate answers required to the formulated research questions. To highlight

answers to these questions as indicated all through the sections of the research implies as follows:

To what extent can ethnic differences be attributed to the slow democratic performance in Nigeria? Does the differences contribute in political polarization, fraudulent elections, political instability, and corruption in Nigerian Politics?

The chapter 2&4 of this research provided adequate response to this question by explaining the degree of ethnic political mind-set amongst the three contending ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. While the research accepted that ethnic influenced mind-set contributes to the slow democratic development in Nigeria, it rejected the idea that ethnicity is the precursor of slow democratic consolidation. The research identified other factors such as corruption, nepotism, and political desperation among political elites. Ethnic politics in Nigeria has nothing to do with fraudulent elections and corruption. Political actors hide under the banner ethnic sentiment to perpetrate their corrupt practices. Inequality and lack of full independence of the judiciary can equally be considered as a factor in tackling corruption in Nigeria.

Are there any chances of democracy promoting political unity among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria?

The chapter 2, 5&6 of this research provided answer to this question. The research discovered that there is no other form of government that can provide an inclusive political system better than democracy. Lack of functional democracy in a multi-ethnic society is attributed to inadequate implementation of the universal principles of democracy. Where equality, rule of law, protection of human rights, freedom of the media, independence of the judiciary, and appropriate distribution of justice exists, democracy is said to function efficiently. In addition, federal democracy in Nigeria has so far helped in unifying the contending ethnic nationalities by effective distribution of power among its components units, and reduction of excess power concentration at the centre.

What makes up the structure of political parties in Nigeria? Are political party formation designed to promote cultural consciousness?

As discussed in chapter 2, 4&5 that ethnic mind-set plays significant role in all the political activities in Nigeria. Political parties in Nigeria are formed with the interest of

forming a national government; however, the lines of ethnic identity cannot be undermined. Party affiliations are aimed at protecting the interest of dominant ethnic nationality, although the recent changes in political atmosphere in Nigeria since the death of president Yar' Adua in 2010 has so far shifted ethnic doctrine to party sentiments. The two dominant political parties in Nigeria, APC & PDP have gradually diminished ethnic sentiment among Nigerians who now seek the interest of party politics. The objective of government policy in harmonizing national identity is to diminish ethnic cultural consciousness. These policies as stated earlier can be witnessed in the area of Youth integration through NYSC programs, national sports programs, and national cultural carnivals.

What is the role of ethnic identity in shaping Nigeria political system? To what extent have the policies of political parties and government contributed in minimizing effect of ethnic dependence in Nigerian politics?

Ethnic identity is perceived as the greatest threat to the survival of Nigerian state. As discussed in chapter 2 & 5, Nigerians are divided along the lines of ethnic sentiments. These sentiments cut across different ethnic variables like regional inclination, and religious identity. However, the recent changes in party politics in gradually redefining politics in Nigeria.

Can democracy survive in an ethnic polarized society like Nigeria?

This question formed part of the basics for this research. All through the section of the research, various attempts were made to provide adequate ground to ensure that democracy survives in Nigeria. This research covered a period, which stretches more than a decade in Nigeria democratic consolidation. Within these periods, four different elections were held, and regimes were equally changed with healthy oppositions. The research agreed that the chances of democratic survival in Nigeria are high, since basic requirements of popular democracy are gradually taking place.

While Nigeria is slowly developing into a democratic country, built upon democratic institutions, and principles, in bid to harmonize ethnic differences and minimize perennial identities among the three contending ethnic nationalities by institutionalizing common national identity. The negative ethnic mind-set already created by these ethnic groups presents strong challenges to democratic development in Nigeria. It is of a strong

opinion of this research that if the political terrains in the country are constantly modified to accommodate the present day changes in political structure, then democratic values will help to minimize the rising issues of ethnic identities among the contending ethnic nationalities in Nigeria.

The research equally recognized that ethnic and regional integrative processes changes domestic and political opportunities, which includes the structures needed for the advancement of a coherent national political identity, but do not render them obsolete. It is always the case that, old and new forms of ethnocentrism exists mutually which challenges and reinforces one another in a more complex process and shapes the chances of integration in a divided society. Integration influenced through democratic politics does not cause ethnic identity to lose its relevance; rather it shapes it in a way that it can co-exist with national identity. In Nigeria, national identity is one of the strongest pursuits of government in the contemporary times. Government strategy is not to annihilate the existing ethnic formula, but to prioritize national identity significance among its citizens. The historical goals of each of the ethnic groups in Nigeria, presents a different political logic and institutional consequences for Nigerian democracy, but it is the responsibility of government to fashion out policies that can permanently eradicate ethnic bigotries among the contending ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. Democracy alone cannot eliminate ethnic bigotries in Nigeria; government must come up with a more totalizing strategy of eliminating corruption, which stands as a bane to democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

The research strongly believes that, renouncing ethnic identity in the name of democratic politics in Nigeria would deprive the various ethnic groups of vital components of social cohesion. Such like a single narrative on which the people can share their ancestral and historical story as a matter of a common identity. Undoubtedly, the change in diversity mechanism in the country to embrace a wider spectrum of political, religious and organizational dimension as a means of pursuing political interest, should be an eye opener for the readjustment and expansion of inclusive dynamism, and at the same time recognize her commitment to promoting liberal democratic values. Democracy in Nigeria should not just be a government of a shared gain, but also a shared responsibility. Nigerians must be ready to embrace the political dynamism in the country, and understand what it means to promote democratic values.

In conclusion, this research recognizes that ethnic diversity stands the chance of either promoting or diminishing democratic consolidation. But as well accepts that the strength of democratic institutions plays a significant role maintaining balance in ethnic identity and promoting democratic consolidation.



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