

## **DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND THE POOR: ADJUSTING TO THE NEW REALITIES IN NIGERIA**

**ARODOYE, Nosakhare Liberty**

*nosakhare.arodoye@uniben.edu*

**IZEVBIGIE, Norensa John**

*norensa.izevbigie@uniben.edu*

**OMO –IKIRODAH, Beatrice Onawunreyi**

*beatrice.omo-ikirodah@uniben.edu*

Department of Economics and Statistics,  
Faculty of Social Sciences,  
University of Benin,  
Benin City, Nigeria.

### **Abstract**

This study undertook an analytical examination of the dynamic adjustment of the poor to the current socio-economic realities created by democratic governance in Nigeria. This was a departure from the usual theoretical prepositions and an attempt to look into what actually constitute the fundamental challenges of the Nigerian democratic government. The inferences drawn from the analysis revealed that there are various issues militating against the smooth functioning of democratic governance as well as its attendant effects on the poor majority in Nigeria. As a result, far reaching recommendations were proffered in the hope of correcting this undesirable situation in Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Democratic Government, Poverty, Nigeria.

### **Introduction**

The crave for democratic governance and its relative general acceptance as revealed by its penetration into the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa shows that democracy has been generally accepted due to its perceived benefits to citizens and nations. In other words, democratic governance is positively disposed to poverty reduction due to the perceived benefits to the people. It must be stated that some of the underlying principles of democratic government are; freedom of expression and association, equity, responsibility, transparency, defense and rule of law (Vanhanem 1990). Thus, democratic government is sometimes seen as a yardstick for measuring good governance; and to a large extent, a good number of persons agree with this position. Democratic governance has inherent checks and balance principles that prevent any of the organs of government from becoming uncontrollable and overbearing on the system. The system also ensures improved quality of democratic

institutions and processes, and manages the changing roles of the state and civil society in an increasingly globalized world in addition to poverty reduction, environmental sustainability and promotion of human development (UNDP, 2009). Moore (2004) explained that poor people have great potential electoral power. They often constitute the majority in less developed countries like Nigeria for example, where poverty level is relatively high. However, this poor majority lacks the political and financial abilities and is mainly organized by other social groups based on the ideas and policy agenda set by others. However, in some countries of the world, good democratic governance has resulted in better life for the citizens due to the people-oriented policies and programmes implemented. Samarasinghe (1994) was in tune with this position when he noted that there was an improvement in social welfare in some countries as a result of democratic governance because the competition for the votes of the people promotes welfare policies. Numerous examples abound in the literature in favour of the positive impacts that democratic governance has had on poverty reduction. One good example can be found in Sri Lanka where public expenditure on health, education and food subsidies has promoted equity and development of human resources. It is not surprising therefore, that over the years, countries of the world have been agitating for the enthronement of democratic governance at the expense of de facto/totalitarian government due to its perceived benefits in terms of welfare gains both at the micro and macro levels of the economy. In other words, there is a universal crave for democratic governance essentially due to its benefits and by necessary implication, due to the draw-backs of a de facto government. Thus, in order to remain relevant in the scheme of things as well as to gain from democratic niceties most countries including Nigeria are fast embracing democratic governance.

Unlike previous studies that merely reviewed the relationships that exist between democratic governance and poverty alleviation in Nigeria, this study introduces a new dimension to the existing literature in the sense that it seeks to examine and unravel the extent to which democratic governance has facilitated/eased the adjustment ability of the poor to the new socio-economic realities in Nigeria particularly since the inception of the present dispensation of unbroken democratic government in 1999. It also intends to suggest relevant recommendations towards the deepening of democratic culture and good democratic government in Nigeria with the intent of further boosting the benefits the nation currently derives from democratic governance.

### **Democratic Governance in Nigeria**

Democratic governance is a machinery of government that allows the voice of the minority to be heard while majority have their way in deciding and addressing various issues that confront them as a/an people/entity for the good and fairness of all. In the pursuit of this, institutions and stakeholders such as the legislature, judiciary, executive, political parties, private sector, civil society and individuals are expected to play various roles. In this sense, democratic governance brings to the front burner the question of how a society organizes itself to ensure development and progress for all citizens. According to Bello-Imam and Obadan (2004), democratic governance

represents the utilization of the power of State based on the consent of the people either directly or indirectly through representation. And that there is room for State institutions to express the will of the State which is generally accepted on all basic issues of socio-economic and policy direction as it relates to the people. Thus, the basic institutional expressions of democratic governance in recent times are; rights to vote and be voted for, regular election, press and association freedom, rule of law and independence of the Judiciary.

The fundamental features of democratic governance in the recent past in Nigeria has been undermined considering the myriad of contemporary socio-economic and political issues faced by Nigerians. This is at variance with Roberts and Edwards (1991) when they aptly elucidated the features of democratic governance in contemporary times as popular participation, independence of Judiciary, freedoms of press and association, regular elections, separation of powers, checks and balances and obedience to the relevant constitutional provision.

The implementation process is a rule-making arena for executives. The executive may mold public opinion, to enhance national unity and prosperity. In democratic setting, it is usual for the executive to propose legislation, while the legislature may choose to adopt it or not, with or without alteration or substitution. These powers and others shape the process of governance (Benjamin, 2004).

The measure of the voice of accountability, transparency, government institutions effectiveness are fundamental to examining the influence of democratic governance on poverty alleviation as well as providing a signal for the adjustment or maladjustment to the “new realities” in the Nigeria socio-political environment.

**Table 1 below presents the estimates of governance indicators in Nigeria between the years 2000 and 2014.**

**Table1: Estimates of Governance Indicators in Nigeria, 2000-2014**

	<b>Government Effectiveness</b>	<b>control of corruption</b>	<b>Political stability and absence of violence</b>	<b>Rule of Law</b>
<b>2000</b>	-0.957	-1.126	-1.522	-1.105
<b>2002</b>	-1.056	-1.333	-1.697	-1.482
<b>2003</b>	-0.965	-1.320	-1.651	-1.523
<b>2004</b>	-0.913	-1.305	-1.721	-1.432
<b>2005</b>	-0.883	-1.159	-1.648	-1.361
<b>2006</b>	-0.961	-1.074	-2.036	-1.081
<b>2007</b>	-1.041	-0.984	-2.013	-1.065
<b>2008</b>	-0.967	-0.811	-1.862	-1.060
<b>2009</b>	-1.201	-0.976	-1.952	-1.164
<b>2010</b>	-1.151	-0.997	-2.194	-1.173
<b>2011</b>	-1.077	-1.134	-1.947	-1.216
<b>2012</b>	-0.999	-1.146	-2.057	-1.182
<b>2013</b>	-1.004	-1.202	-2.078	-1.161
<b>2014</b>	-1.192	-1.273	-2.106	-1.084

**Source: Author. World Governance Indicators, 2015.**

Table 1 portends that the governance indicators: government effectiveness, control of corruption, political stability/absence of violence and rule of law are not so encouraging. This woeful performance invariably has serious implications for transparency, accountability and poverty reduction strategies in Nigeria.

Among other institutions promoting democratic governance in Nigeria, the Democratic Governance for Development (DGD II) is more strategic due to the fact that it is funded by various donor agencies including UNDP that help to supervise various projects in line with the mandate of strengthening democratic governance in Nigeria. In particular, the DGD II project provides technical and financial support to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) which is the commission established by an act of parliament to take charge of all activities that concern elections and other related matters in Nigeria, civil society organizations, judiciary, the media, national and state houses of assembly and political parties.

A summary of the multi-partner funding and respective donors of the DGD II between 2012 and 2015 is shown in Table 2 below:

**Table 2: DGD II Donor Assistance, 2012-2015**

Year	Donor	Amount Contributed
2012-2015	European Union	\$25million
2012-2015	Department For International Development	\$10.9million
2012-2015	Canadian International Development Agency	\$3million
2012-2015	United Nations Development Program	\$12.6million
2013	Korean International Cooperation Agency	\$230,000

**Delivery in Previous Fiscal Year**

Year	Total Delivery
2012-2013	\$12.5million

Source: <http://www.ng.undp.org/content/nigeria/en/home/operations/projects/democratic-governance/democratic-governance-for-development.html>.

**Problems of Democratic Governance in Nigeria**

Since independence in 1960, the Nigerian state through its elected or imposed government has not been responsive to the yearnings of its citizens. Rather than being at the service of the people, it has been more of a greedy service of the ruling few (Fagbadebo, 2009). Thus, the sustenance of almost two decades of uninterrupted democratic governance (which is a system of governance globally acclaimed to be the best) in Nigeria calls for concern. As a consequence, one of the questions frequently asked is how it has helped to reduce the poverty level of the people. However, some people opine that the situation could have been worse if not for the enthronement of democratic government while others feel otherwise. Although many analysts and development partners also assert that the worst form of democratic government is better than the best form of a 'de facto government', the concern here is how this system has been beneficial to the poor majority in Nigeria.

Democracy thrives where there are free, fair and credible periodic elections with the various actors playing according to the rules. This makes it possible for the governed to effect a change in any government with an unpopular policy and then put in place government that will be responsive and responsible to the plight of the people. This therefore ensures the formulation and implementation of programmes that positively affect the generality of the people including the poor in the society. However, in the Nigerian context these conditions are not strictly adhered to. This is because the system of democratic governance in Nigeria is characterized by some limiting factors such as; over bloated and unsustainable cost of governance, existence of systemic corruption, weak institutions and political will, massive embezzlement of public funds, political patronage and favoritism. This places the poor and vulnerable majority in situation of no option rather than to dance to the tune of the few powerful political leaders for survival. These manifest in their indulging in various electoral offences such as stuffing of ballot boxes, multiple voting, vote buying and other related offences. Besides creating general political apathy, such activities often hinder the

distribution of the dividends of democracy to the masses. Consequently, the challenges, especially the general increase in poverty rate in Nigeria as a nation has not been adequately addressed by the successive democratic leadership that has emerged overtime. This leaves much to be desired especially when one considers the fact that many of these leaders actually emerged through what can best be described as fraudulent democratic process. Adding his voice to this assertion, a former military head of state, General Mohammadu Buhari (now the current serving democratic president of Nigeria) in his remarks delivered at the International Conference on Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects, which was organized by the Foundation for Good Governance and Development in Nigeria at the Imperial College, London, South Kessington Campus on Saturday 25th, June 2005 asserted that:

*what we expected is the arrival of democracy and a government that would immediately set to work towards the creation of a system that would guarantee the installation of a competent and accountable administrative machinery, and the end of arbitrariness and the use of public office for private gain, the putting in place of effective constitutional and procedural checks and balances on the exercise of state power, the nurturing and respect for a free and independent judiciary, the creation of an environment conducive for business and foreign investment and the commencement of the drive for a higher standard of living for our people, and a drastic reduction in the levels of poverty and corruption ...Unfortunately, this was not what we got. Instead, we have become saddled with a regime that wasted its first term doing virtually nothing; and had since then been struggling with questions of legitimacy arising from a rigged election; and this was followed by a display of exemplary incompetence, all within the context of failing checks and balances.*

Sadly then, as a way of expressing their dissatisfaction about this unfortunate realities of our time and perhaps to make their voice heard by many, some groups have resorted to some extremist practices such as taking up arms against the Nigerian state and government in the form of secession move, insurgency, militancy and oil theft/bunkering with their attendant negative consequences on the economy.

## **2.2. Poverty Issues in Nigeria**

Poverty connotes the inability to meet a given standard of living as humans. In its extreme form, it is the inability of meeting the basic needs of human existence such as food, clothing and shelter. Ravallion and Bidani (1994) summarized poverty to mean a state of insufficient consumption which then results to inadequate food, clothing and shelter. Aluko (1975) viewed poverty as lack of certain abilities, such as the ability to

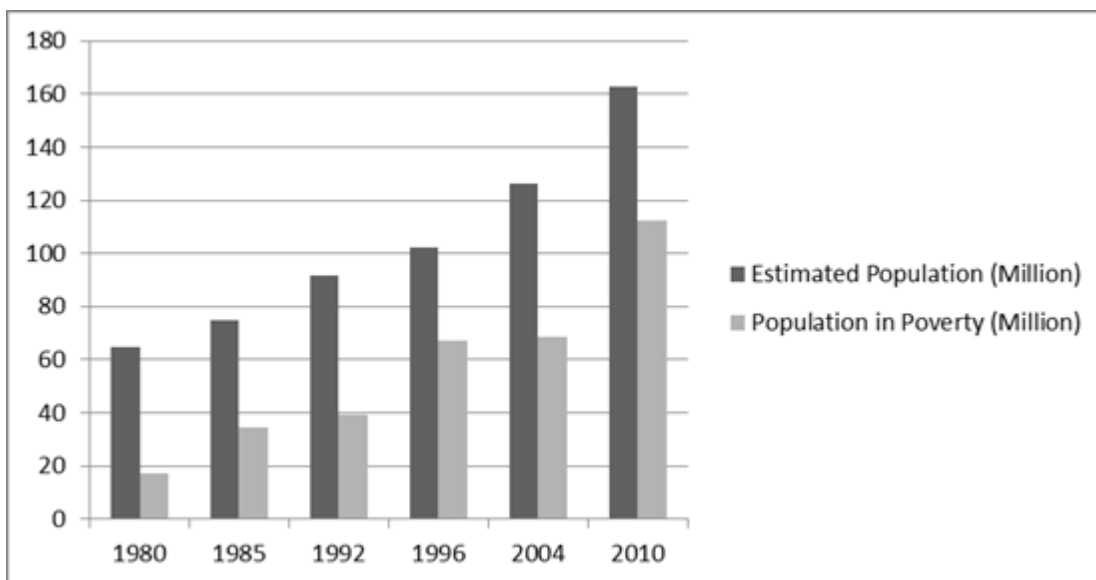
participate with dignity in societal endeavours. Also, Sen. (1992) opined that poverty is not natural within a larger frame of issues created by inequality; rather it can be reduced to the barest minimum if people are empowered to become independent from their needs. This is in conformity with the famous quote attributed to the late president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela;

*Like slavery and apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings.*

However, the most popular methods of estimating poverty line under extreme poverty are the food energy intake and the cost of basic needs methods. These are based on the cost of achieving a given level of food energy/calorie intake. This basic measurement reveals the general poverty level in a single index form, for example, the head-count ratio (proportion of the population that is poor in relation to the entire population). Others include incidence, depth and severity of poverty. Of major interest is the over 1.2 billion persons surviving on less than \$1 a day as well as the over 1.6 billion on less than \$2 a day globally (WDI, 2012), with Africa accounting for a large number of these persons. Also, a cursory look at available statistics shows that Nigeria accounts for the highest number of persons leaving below the poverty line in Sub-Saharan Africa owing to her population size amongst others. Thus, taking necessary steps towards poverty reduction will be of immense benefit to the majority of the world's population especially in Africa and Nigeria in particular. There has been an increase in poverty rate resulting in an upward trend over the years in Nigeria as revealed in various reports. This no doubt has put to question the sincerity of the policies that have been put in place by various Nigerian government which they claim are aimed at checking this menace threatening the survival of the poor majority in the country.

Figure 1 below shows the poverty profile of Nigerians between the years 1980 and 2010.

**Figure. 1. Nigerian Population and Poverty Profile**



**Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2010)**

Figure 1 above shows that the Nigerian poor increased between 1980 and 2010. The figure also shows that the country's population followed a similar trend within the period. A closer look at the report shows that the proportion of non-poor was much higher in the country in 1980 (72.8 percent) compared to 1992 (57.3 percent) and 1996 (34.4 percent). Although it rose to 43.3 per cent in 2004, it fell to 31 percent in 2010 (NBS 2010). Available record also shows that there was an increase in the number of the extremely poor from 6.2 percent in 1980 to 29.3 per cent in 1996 but later fell to 22.0 percent in 2004. However, the moderately poor were a bit different as there was an increase between 1980 and 1985 from 21.0 percent to 34.2 percent and thereafter dropped from 36.3 percent to 32.4 per cent between 1996 and 2004 (NBS 2010).

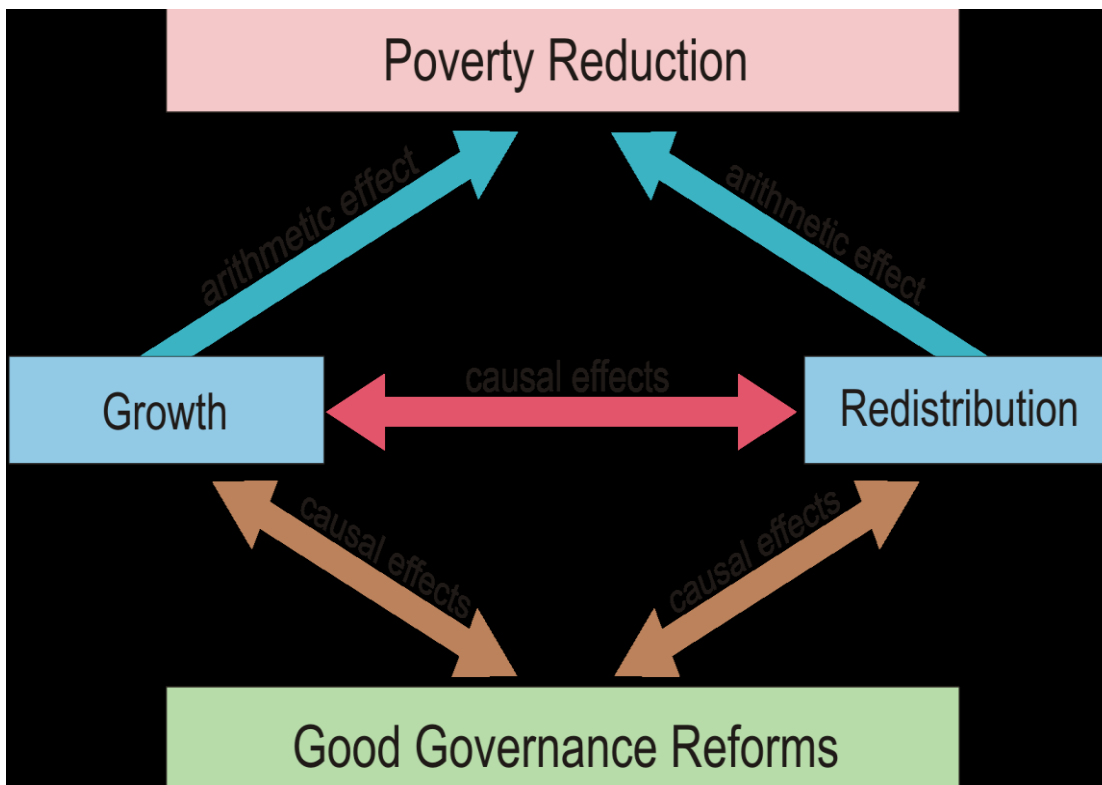
### **3.0 Democratic Governance and Poverty Reduction in Nigeria**

Democratic government in Sub-Saharan African is mainly disposed to the interest of the few ruling class (Ojo, 2005). In particular, Nigeria seems not to have been so lucky owing to her long history of military interregnum since her independence from Britain in 1960. Before 1999 (that is, about 39 years after independence) which brought about the current and on-going democratic dispensation in Nigeria, the system of government that was prevalent in the country was military system. They rule by decrees and fiat with the legislative arm of government suspended and the judiciary covertly caged by their influence and powers. Contemporary evidence about the socio-political, economic and historical development in recent past in Nigeria has shown that the country has



been riddled with myriad of intimidating problems. Quite apart from its inherent fundamental structural defects, the economy has been overburdened by policy inconsistency, massive looting of available resources and corrupt and greedy political leaders resulting in various crisis such as energy crisis, fiscal deficit, low rate of economic growth, massive poverty, distortion in the allocation of scarce resources, low capacity utilization, and hence, high unemployment, weak production structures, technological backwardness, all of which threw macroeconomic fundamentals overboard. This situation has led to the near collapse of the country's infrastructure and services in the midst of an excruciating external debt overhang (Bello-Imam and Obadan, 2004). The United Nations Development Program reported as at 1998 that Nigeria ranks amongst the 25<sup>th</sup> in terms of countries that account for highest number of poor persons globally and that about 48.5 percent of the entire citizenry lives below poverty line. Thus as at today, Nigeria as a country reflects a paradox of a country rich in natural resources but with her citizens lacking most of the basic needs of life such as; three square meals a day, adequate shelter, potable water and access to basic health care facilities after almost two decades of an uninterrupted democratic government. Also, about one million Nigerians have lost both their lives and properties in about forty one ethno-religious crises since mid-1999, all of which have shaken the very foundation of the country's democratic experience. The African Economic Outlook survey(2010) revealed that in terms of national poverty line, about 52.8 percent and 34.1 per cent of Nigeria rural and urban population respectively are poor, and also the international poverty line showed that 62 percent lives below \$1.25 per day while 82.2 percent also lives below \$2 per day. Consequently, the democratic governance in Nigeria has not substantially changed the trend of growing poverty in Nigeria since 1999, while the international poverty lines of some other Sub-Saharan Africa countries like Seychelles(0.3% and 1.8%); Botswana(13.4% and 27.8%); Cameroon (27.6% and 53.2%); Namibia(23.5% and 43.2%) are on the decline.

**Figure 2: Causal Links among Governance, Growth and Redistribution**



**Source: Culled from Khan(2009). Governance, Growth and Poverty Reduction.**

Figure 2 above was employed by Khan(2009) to explain the two-way horizontal arrow. These relationships have significant implication for the transmission of democratic governance to poverty alleviation.

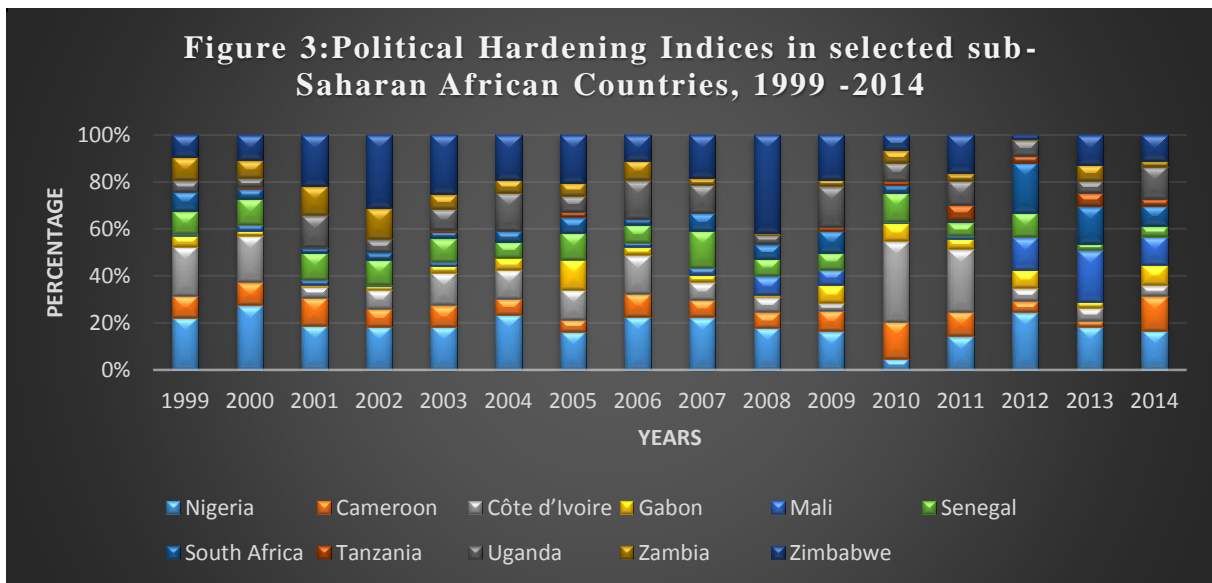
The relationship subsisting between democratic governance and poverty reduction is not debatable. While it is recognized that the quest for democratic governance and political stability as a way of bringing about sustainable economic growth and development is revered particularly in Nigeria, the horrible impoverishment facing the country is frightening. In fact, the high rate of poverty has caused public apathy in the democratic process, since democracy which is expected to improve the wellbeing of the masses through its dividends has turned out to be an abysmal catastrophe in the country over the years.

#### **4.0. Democratic Governance and Nigeria Socio-economic Development**

Democratic governance and Nigeria socio-economic development may elicit the following thoughtful issues:

*A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, Which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and Improvements, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned...This is the sum of good government. Thomas Jefferson (In a letter to Andrew Jackson)*

In spite of the efforts made since 1960, Nigeria as a nation state has not been able to attend to the socio-economic aspirations and improved welfare of its citizenry. Thus, the elimination of the scourge of poverty has remained a mirage in Nigeria (Obadan, 1997). The hardening of political conditions shows that tension remains high at about 8.3% in 2012 as a result of the killings by the religious Sect ‘Boko Haram’ to the tune of about 568 persons in 2012 and about 299 persons in 2011 (Risk Advisory Group, 2013). Though, the biggest increase in the political hardening condition (that is, government violence, arrests, bans, curfews and state of emergency) was experienced in Zimbabwe, with a record of about 9.9% in 2008, which represented a significant decline from 2009 to 2014 (see figure 3 below).



Source: Author, 2016. [From African Economic Outlook, Dataset].

**Will Nigeria’s Democratic Government Allow the Poor to adjust to the New Socio-economic Realities in the Country?**

This study has been thoughtful in examining the dynamic adjustment of “bad” or “good” governance on the incidence of poverty taking into account current realities

rather than theoretical prepositions. Hence, the question of what constitute these “new realities” may arise. Some of these issues are: economic recession; declining foreign investment inflow; depreciating rate of foreign exchange; poor macroeconomic management; double-digits inflationary figure; “inconclusive elections”, inconsistencies in budget formulation; authorization and implementations -“budget padding”; multiple taxation in many states of the federation; and undeveloped capital market as evidenced in the performance of its indicators. Also, in tune with these realities, the World Happiness Report of 2016 ranked Nigeria as 103 and 6<sup>th</sup> in the world and Africa respectively as against 78<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> in 2015. This fall in Nigeria world rank in happiness could be attributed to the fact that a significant proportion of its citizens have continually been impoverished due to the weak policies and programmes of political office holders. More so, state and local government workers are owed salaries for several months. These ugly scenarios abound in most parts of the country.

In addition, CIA World Fact book (2015) showed a damning picture of poverty in Nigeria when it revealed that life expectancy was 52 years in 2011 and 2012 and 52.62 years in 2014, infant mortality stood at 100 out of 1,000; 24.4 per cent of children under five years of age were stunted due to malnutrition. In 2013 over 70 per cent still live on \$1.25 per day and 35 per cent live in abject poverty, despite its abundant resources and oil wealth. In summary, Arowolo and Aluko, (2012) and Igwe (2010) explained that democracy had not been able to deliver the much anticipated development dividends in Nigeria.

It will be difficult for the poor to adjust to the new realities in the Nigeria’s economic and political spheres considering the substantial economic and market risks starring the faces of the poor rural and urban households in Nigeria. This vicious circle of poverty may continue if the poor are not allowed by the “political godfathers” to unconditionally participate in the country’s electoral process. Hence, Ake (1996) clearly described such scenario as:

*...political power was everything; it was not only the access to riches but also as a means to security and the only guarantor of general wellbeing. For anyone not within the hegemonic faction of the political elite, it was generally futile to harbour any illusions of becoming wealthy by entrepreneurial activity or to even take personal safety for granted. For anyone who was part of the ruling faction, entrepreneurial activity was unnecessary, for one could appropriate surplus with less risk and less trouble by means of state power.*

This is however at variance with what is obtainable in advanced democracies where self-seeking politicians are relatively few. Idada and Uhumwuangho (2012) were however of the view that for there to be a significant improvement in the democratic processes, amongst others, Nigerian political leaders should change their dispositions in the handling of state affairs.

## **Conclusion**

The Nigeria democratic experience has not resulted in the much expected good governance which is the foundation for economic growth and development and by extension poverty reduction. This is because democratic government in Nigeria is practiced at variance with the basic tenets and principles of good democratic government. Relevant studies revealed amongst others that democratic government in Nigeria is pervaded by various issues such as electoral violence, manipulation of election results, political apathy and the 'do or die' posture of the major political leaders. These challenges have made it difficult to achieve consolidated democracy that will, in turn, ensure good governance and by extension improvement of the general well-being of the poor majority in the country.

## **Recommendations**

The followings recommendations are therefore deemed appropriate based on the foregoing discussions:

- Technologically driven measures should be adopted by the Independent National Electoral Commission in conjunction with impartial security agencies to reduce the incidence of electoral malpractices and violence before, during and after elections in order to guarantee sanctity of the electoral process.
- Adjustment of political institutions to encourage the poor to organize pro-poor policies. This kind of political arrangement which is 'home grown' requires committed, progressive politicians, public servants and activists who understand their own political and bureaucratic systems(Moore, 2004).
- Putting in place adequate macroeconomic and institutional policies and programmes aimed at creating employment in the critical sectors of the economy, for example agricultural sector, the downstream oil sub-sector and manufacturing sector as well as strengthening the Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) in order to diversify and enhance the real sector of the economy.
- Policy makers should, as a matter of urgency, review the Nigeria's educational programmes and curriculum in order to include basic skill contents of global best practices to widen the prospects of job seekers and graduates, and thus help reduce graduate unemployment.

## **References**

- Ake, C. (1996): *Is Africa Democratizing?* Lagos, Malthous Press Ltd.
- Aluko, S. (1975). Poverty: Its remedies. In: Poverty in Nigeria. *Ibadan: Proceedings of the 1975 Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society*, Ibadan, August.
- Arowolo, D. E. & Aluko, O. A. (2012). Democracy, political participation and good governance in Nigeria. *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, 1 (3), 797-809.
- Bello-Imam, I. B. & Obadan, M. I. (2004). Democratic Governance and Development Management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic 1999 – 2003: The Prologue, In Bello-Imam, I. B and Obadan, M. I (eds), *Democratic Governance and Development Management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic 1999 – 2003*, Ibadan: Jodad Publishers.
- Benjamin, S.A (2004). The Executive in Democratic Nigeria: Problems and Prospects. In Bello-Imam, I. B. and Obadan, M. I. (eds), *Democratic Governance and Development Management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic 1999 – 2003*, Ibadan: Jodad Publishers.
- Buhari, M. (2005). *Challenges facing democracy in Nigeria*. Remarks delivered at the international conference on sustainable democracy in Nigeria: Challenges and prospects Organised by the foundation for good governance and development in Nigeria Held at Imperial College, London, South Kessington campus on Saturday 25th, June 2005
- Fagbadebo, O. M. (2009). *Nigeria and the Perennial Problem of Governance*. Unpublished Seminal Paper: Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Benin.
- Gwartney, J.D and Stroup, R.L (1993). *What everyone should know About Economics and Prosperity*. New York: The James Madison Institute for Public Policy Studies.
- Idada, W and Uhumwuangho, S.O.(2012). Problems of Democratic Governance in Nigeria: The Way Forward. *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 3(1): 49-54

Arodoye, N. L., Izevbigie, N. J. & Omo-Ikirodah, B. O.: *Democratic Governance and the Poor: Adjusting to the New Realities in Nigeria*

Igwe, L. E. (2010). *Democracy and Development in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges.*

*International Journal of Economic Development Research and Investment*, 1 (2) & (3), 116 -122.

Khan, M. H. (2009). *Governance, Growth and Poverty Reduction*. New York: UN/DESA Working Paper 75.

Moore, M. (2004). *Democratic Governance and Poverty Reduction*. Paper, Centre for the Future State, The Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Sussex, UK.

National Bureau of Statistics (2010). *Nigeria Statistical bulletin and report*.

Obadan, M.1 (1997). *Analytical Framework of Poverty Reduction: Issue of Economic Growth Versus Other Strategies*; proceedings of Nigerian Economic Society Annual Conference.

Ojo S (2005). *Democratization and Democratic Struggles*. In: Alikelegbe (Ed.): *Introduction to Politics*. Benin: Imprint Publishers, p.8

Ravallion, M., and Bidani, B. (1994). How robust is a poverty profile? *The World Bank Economic Review*, 8(1): 75-102.

Risk Advisory Group (2013), [www.riskadvisory.net/terrorismtracker/](http://www.riskadvisory.net/terrorismtracker/) (accessed 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2016).

Roberts, G. & Edwards, A (1991). *A New Dictionary of Political Analysis*, London and New York.

Samarasinghe, S, W, R de A (1994). *Democracy and Democratization in Developing Countries*. Massachusetts: Data for Decision Making Project.

Sen, A. K. (1992). *Inequality Re-examined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

UNDP (2009). *Democratic Governance Reader: A Reference for UNDP Practitioners*. [www.Undp.org/undp/.../democratic-governance/...govern.../democratic-governance](http://www.Undp.org/undp/.../democratic-governance/...govern.../democratic-governance) [Accessed: 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2016].

Vanhanem, T. (1990). *The Process of Democratization: A Comparative Study of 172 States, 1980-1988*. New York: Russak Publishers