

DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA AND KENYA

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines democracy and development in Africa with particular reference to Nigeria and Kenya. Using a descriptive analysis, this study takes a critical look at the issues of democracy and development in the two countries. The study finds that corruption, poverty, and unemployment are not only high in Nigeria and Kenya but they permeate all the facets of public and private sectors. The paper argues that apart colonialism, dependency and globalization are responsible for the present pathetic state of development in Africa but also argued that African leaders through the instruments of inept leadership, corruption, authoritarianism, endless political crisis, electoral malpractices and ethnicity have contributed more than any other factor to the causes of underdevelopment in Africa. On that note, the paper concludes that the two countries needs a committed, transparent and purposeful leadership that is determined to provide and ideal democracy based on good governance, rule of law, etc so as to provide happiness to the larger population. The paper recommends amongst others that stiffer punishment be meted out on leaders who are engages in corrupt act such as life imprisonment or death as practised in China, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia.

Keywords: Democracy, Development, Underdevelopment, Corruption, Leadership, Globalisation

Introduction

The 'third wave of democratization which began in the late 1980s has ignited an irreversible process of profound socio-economic transformation in Africa (Huntington,1991). The last two decades of the 20th Century witnessed renewed hope about the birth of democracy in Africa. The process was actively supported by all segment of society including labour, students, market women, rural dwellers and host of others, who saw in it the prospect of reversing the trend of political despair and

disillusionment that hitherto characterized political life in Africa (Adejumobi, 1999). Africa which was described as a continent of mindless and despotic political leadership, the current socio political realities within the continent of Africa suggest that the authoritarian rule can no longer be tolerated. The orgy of political tyranny and dictatorship (having its own clientele and beneficiaries) had negative and suffocating effects on the majority of the people. The opening up of the political space constitutes an uncompromisable part of the democratic quest of the African people.

In countries like Nigeria and Kenya, where the democratization process is in progress, contemporary intellectual preoccupation has been to reflect critically on how the prevailing political conditions can foster good governance and sustainable growth and development. In countries (such as Nigeria and Kenya) where these political transformation is work-in-progress as stated earlier, the first task was the dismantling of authoritarian rule of the military, followed by the successful transition to civil rule and the on-going democratization process. The consensus arising from various discourses is that democracy and good governance should engender an enabling governance environment and furnish the required institutional infrastructures for sustainable development. However, it is instructive to note that, while good governance is the likely outcome of democracy there is also the question of sustainability of this outcome. On this note, Ake (2001) argued that democratic good governance in the long run, "will insist on the democratization of the economic opportunities, the social betterment of the social life of the people and a strong social welfare system". To Ake (2001) it is only through orderly and consistent democratic good government institutions and practices that the gains of development can be sustained and consolidated. It is on this basis that this study examines democracy and development in Africa with reference to Nigeria and Kenya

Conceptual Clarification

Democracy: Conceptualizing democracy is seemingly a hectic task. This is because democracy has been so subjected to contradictory operationalization as it has become fashionable for regimes and states to claim to be democratic even when they are not. As a form of government, the sovereign tradition of democracy was historically inspired by the Greek myth of 'Demo' (people) and 'Kratos' (power) in the Greek city state. This early democratic tradition involved privilege and direct participation where the common good is decided by the will of the majority.

However, the popular view of democracy is the position of Abraham Lincoln, which sees democracy as government of the people by the people and for the people. According to Huntington (1991) the modern usage of the term democracy as a form of government is defined in terms of sources of authority of government, purpose served by government and procedures for constituting government. The central procedure of democracy for Huntington in selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people they govern. To Harvey and Harvey (1989), democracy as a concept involves

among others, “setting affairs according to known rules of government, toleration towards minority views, regular elections, freedom of speech above all, observance of rule of law”.

Schumpeter's (1942) definition of democracy (drawn from the minimalist perspective democracy which gives us a procedure understanding) sees it as a system for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. Przeworski *et al* (1996) on the other hand argues that democracy is a system where political office is filled through regular, free and fair election between competing parties with the possibility of a winners freely assuming office.

Kolawole (2004) believes democracy is not the absence of military rule nor is it necessarily the presence of civilian administrators, but a situation where political actors and institution of the state are oiled in democratic values, norms and ethos. In this respect, the impact and effects of democracy must permeate all the strata of society and governance. From Robert Dahl (1971) discourse on polyarchy, asserts that, democracy comprises of components such as; voting equality, freedom of expression and association, effective participation and right to run for public office. Corroborating the works of Dahl, Franceschet (2009) posits that democracy can be defined according to three basic requirements; nonviolence, political participation and control and political equality.

The liberal notion of democracy pays more attention to political and civic pluralism, individual rights, group freedom and civil liberties against the tyranny of the majority to ensure political stability and equality. Diamond *et al* (1989) view democracy as “a system of government that meets three essential conditions ; meaningful and extensive competition among individual and groups, especially political parties, for all effective performance of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force; a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders, and politicizes, at least through regular and fair election such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; and a level of civil and political liberties, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join association or organizations sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation.” For Woltersterft and Cuneo (2012) the Liberal notion of democracy entails commitment to the equal right of citizen to full political voice – voice to be exercised within a legal order that protects citizens against impairment of their rights to full political voice by their fellow citizens.

Democracy from the foregoing point of view involves equality before the law, due process and political pluralism as well as strong institutions. Democratic institutions which include constitutional law, values rules of the game and practices, formal accountability mechanism and sanctions are also central to a democratic polity. These institutions produce codes and limitations on individual and societal conduct, with no

exception to the legislation across persons. Democracy is that system that gives the citizens the maximum and periodic opportunity to determine who shall be their leader for a specific period of time, usually four years after which there would be another election (Jev and Yakubu, 2018). In summation, democracy is essentially, a system that enhances popular participation and fundamental human rights.

Development: As a social process, development is complex and multidimensional. It is important to note that development means different thing to different people. To some, it means making a better life for all. To others development means economic growth (increase in GDP). It entails a process of enhancing social, economic, cultural, political and other facets of life. Throughout history, people have sought to increase their ability to conquer the environment with a view to improving their standards of living (Olufemi, 1998). Development entails qualitative and quantitative increase in the capacity, skills creativity and general material wellbeing of individual. Development is also equalled with progress and modernity (Willis, 2005). Martinussen (1997), the various conceptions of development, entails modernization, elimination of dependency dialectical transformation and capacity building. In its strong sense, development means using the productive resources of society to improve the living conditions of the poorest people (Peet & Hartwick, 1999).

According to Rodney (1973) development at individual level implies increased skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing. At the level of social group, development implies an increased capacity to regulate both internal and external relationship.

Todaro & Smith (2011) view development from an economic point. To them development has been understood as achieving sustainable rate of growth of income per capital to enable the nation to expand its output faster than the population. They present an insight in the definition of development by asking these questions:

What has been happening to poverty?

- What has been happening to unemployment?
- What has been happening to inequality?

They conclude that, if the three have declined from higher level, then beyond doubts, this has been the period of development. If one of the problems have been growing worst especially if all the three have, then that would be a period of underdevelopment.

Development according to Sen (1999) can be seen as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy. The freedom with determinants features such as social and economic arrangements like facilities of education and health care as well political and civil rights like the liberty to participate in government scrutiny provide. Development as argued by Sen requires the removal of major sources of freedom:

Poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as a systematic social deprivation, neglect of social facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states. Sen's perceptions are in line with Human Development Index (HDI) assertions which bring to fore an increased awareness that the commonly used economic measures of development are too limited. The emphasis for the HDI is that, people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country and not economic growth levels alone. For Seers (1969) when we talk about development, we must answer the question of what has happened to poverty, unemployment and inequality. For Seers, understanding how a country is fairing in these three indices can help us answer the question of how developed a country is.

Thus, within the context of this paper, the term development is a conscious acceleration of economic, political, educational and technological growth of Nigeria and Kenya (Case Study) through affecting, consistent, progressive and enduring policies of the government. It is reviewed in this paper that effective policies of government that are capable of effective progressive development in all spheres of our national life must curiously evolve from a truly democratic political system in which adequate value is placed on protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedom.

Sustainable Development: According to the World Commission for Environment and Development (1987, P. 43) sustainable development is seen as the development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the abilities of the future generation to meet their own needs. Sustainable development, therefore, emphasizes that any development embarked upon should lead poverty reduction and with people participating in decision making process that affect their lives, job creation and sustainable livelihood; women empowerment and effective participation; and environmental participation. In other words, sustainable development promotes development on a continuous basis which entails that development has no terminal points.

The Nexus of Democracy and Sustainable socio economic Development

Democracy and development remains one of the most important topics in the field of international and comparative political economy in recent time. Olufemi (2000) aptly summarized that democracy was unrealizable and unsustainable without a requisite dose of economic development. The more democratic ethos in a society, the higher the dividends of democracy and vice versa. Development can hardly be felt or achieved when democratic ethics are not imbibed and adhered to by the leaders and administrators. This is because the accommodation of democratic tenets enhances performance and facilitates development.

Theoretical postulations held several view on the nexus between democracy and development. Lipset (1959), one of the leading light of the modernization school had

argued that economic development generated a greater likelihood of democracy. Increased wealth, he argued will reduce the level of inequality, weaken status distinction and increase the size of the middle class. In this regard economic development would also contribute to democracy by giving rise to a large number of organizations that will inspire political participation. Diamond (1992) argued also that, when development is inclusive, it reshapes class structure, political culture, Societal relations and civil society, it also facilitates and deepens democracy.

Chalker, (1991) and Acemoglu *et al* (2005) holds a contrary view to the modernization theorist. They claim that democratic good governance is not an outcome or consequence of development but a necessary condition of the development and improved income. Building from the views above, it is pertinent to understand that, democracy and development share certain basic virtues such as popular participation, capacity expansion as well as freedom. Mazrui, (2002). The tenets of democracy as independent variables explain the level of economic development of any society. Development in a given aspect in any society for example at the political level may in the long run induce development in other aspects. It is on this note that, Osaghae (1995) emphasized that, democratization engenders development.

Adedeji (1997) observed that, the idea of popular participation is crucial to both democracy and development. Popular participation entails the empowerment of the people to involve themselves in the regulating structures and in designing policies and program that serve the interest of all, and contribute optimally to the development process. To this regard, Zack-Williams (2001) concludes that, “No democracy, no development”. According to him, an essential weapon of democracy that makes it a requisite for economic development is that, democracy empowers the general population to control decision making as such, the governed are assumed to have all it takes to hold government accountable by insisting on transparency, openness and other measures of control. The absence of these virtues according to is considered as very inimical to the pursuit of economic development (Zacks & Williams).

However findings on the relationship or nexus between democracy and development may hinge on one's definition of democracy. According to Evans and Ferguson (2013), holding elections alone has no evidence or significant impact on development but deeper measures of political inclusion including political competition issues based political parties and competitive recruitment to these parties are significant and important variables that trigger development in any society.

Theoretical Explanations

Presently, the crisis of development is the most serious issue facing Africa as a continent. This is because the continent has remained largely underdeveloped despite the presence of huge mineral and material resources. Decades after colonialism, most

parts of the continent are still fighting with the challenges of poor infrastructure, poverty, unemployment, high infant mortality rate, political instability. Against the background of African's development crisis emanated the debate on how to solve the crisis of development in Africa. Let us at this point examine two related themes, namely: The controversy over the actual meaning of the concept development and the appropriate path to development. Despite the disagreement among scholar, global policy makers and institutions over these issues, numerous attempts have been made to understand and solve the crisis of development in Africa.

Shortly after independences, western bourgeois popularized the modernization theory which was designed to help the continent in their search for development. The summary of the modernization theory is that if we Africa must develop, then it must follow some procedures already adopted by the west. It is within this framework that we can locate views of Rostow (1960), Almond and Coleman (1960) Almond and Powell (1960) and Pye (1960). From the angle of public making, African leaders, their western counterparts, and the international development agencies have all for a long time struggled with different strategies programmes and plans that aimed at solving the development crisis.

Among African scholars, different school of thoughts also emerged to proffer suggestions aimed at solving the problem. In the early 1970s and 80s, scholars like Walter Rodney, (1972) Claude Ake (1982) used the Maxian perspective to explain the reason for underdevelopment in Africa. They are of the view that the problem of development in Africa cannot be explained outside the impact of colonialism, neo-colonialism and dependency. As Claude Ake points out:

“The present conditions of the third world countries are not in the least analogues to the conditions of the industrialized countries in the earlier steps of their economic development. The present condition of the third world is the effect of the slave trade, colonialism and unequal exchange (Ake 1982: 153”.

In a like manner, Walter Rodney asserts that Africa development is possible only on the basis of radical. Greek with the international capitalist system which has been the principal agency of Africa over the last seven centuries (Rodney 1972:7).

We are now in the era of globalization; another school of thought argues that globalization constitutes the major problem facing Africa's effort to development particularly Nigeria and Kenya. This is because of the fact that the benefits of globalization are not equal and just for all regions of the world (Asobie, 2001; Olukoshi, 2004).

Yet, there are some scholars who believe that African leaders should be held responsible for the present pathetic state of underdevelopment in the unfortunate continent. Recently, it has been said that Africans through the instruments of inept leadership, corruption, authoritarianism, endless political crisis, military rule civil wars

and lack of concern for the poor, have contributed more than any other people to the cause of underdevelopment in the continent (Folola, 2005: 3).

The views expressed above are welcome, which invariably implies that the African ruling elite have done more harm than that of colonialism, dependency and globalization. Kenya and Nigerians have contributed more than any other people to their problem of underdevelopment. It is pertinent to note that while this paper do not exonerate colonialism on the basis for underdevelopment for the African continent, it strongly attributes the situation to the inherent contradictions within the African continent itself, such as corruption, prolonged military rule, poor governance among others.

Democracy and National Development in Nigeria

Problem and Prospect the Nigeria democratic experience calls for reflection on whether democracy as a political ideology is supposed to give power to the electorates promote the pursuit of public interest and enhance social orders. However, according to Oluwayemisi (2015) what the present democratic experience has offered us is nothing other than economic and social problems manifesting in high level of insecurity, corruption and poor leadership. All these problems are militating factors against national development.

Since Nigeria returned to democracy in May, 1999, after almost three decade of military rule, and almost two decade of economic crises, the country still faces the complex challenges of national reconstruction, integration, economic reform and democratic consolidation. Nigeria continue to grapple with several challenges and the citizens are yet to enjoy the dividends of democracy such as social welfare, security, justice, equity and equal access to state resources as well as state power.

In the contention of this paper, the greatest challenges of democracy and national development in Nigeria are the twin issue of electoral malpractices and wanton corruption. Although, there are other challenges, but these two remain vital in understanding democracy and development in Nigeria. According to Gilbert et al (2015) **Electoral malpractices** refers to the unlawful and dishonest acts in the conduct of elections. It ranges from snatching of ballot boxes, falsification of election result, imposition of candidate by political parties, victimization and inducement of electorates' arson, Kidnapping and assassination of political opponent, unlawful disqualification of aspirant and candidate by political parties and electoral bodies amongst others. This offence when translated constitutes electoral malpractices under the law.

In Nigeria, political competition is characterized by violence and such violence is used to get access to the state and to use political power for their own selfish and private accumulation since state power appear or assume significance as a means of creating economically dominant class. To Ake, (1978), all these constitutes serious impediment

to a healthy democratic practices hence good governance will be lacking at the expense of national development. Lack of good governance militates against national development. This is because, in a democratic governance system, it is expected that, there should be observance of democratic principles which include rule of law, transparency, accountability, participation and responsiveness to the need of the poor, marginalized and underrepresented groups. But in Nigeria, good governance has remained a mirage. To this end, Achebe (1983) concludes that, the problem of Nigeria democratic experience and national development is that of poor or absolute bad leadership. He affirms that, "The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example, which are the hallmarks of true leadership".

Another remarkable impediment to democracy and national development in Nigeria is **corruption and indiscipline**. Corruption can be seen or described as the use of public offices for private gains especially through bribery and theft of government financial resources. An overview of the Nigeria State shows that the phenomenon called corruption is manifesting in various forms such as political corruption, electoral corruption, bureaucratic corruption, judicial corruption bribery, embezzlement, extortion, fraud, nepotism and many others unholy activities that are clog on the wheel of social order, peace growth and development. The manifestation of corruption in the political arena makes it look as if it's another defining characteristic of democracy in Nigeria.

Corruption is generally accepted the bane of Nigeria's development. According to Mimiko (1998), "the Nigerian state is corrupt, managed by corrupt leaders who have made the state an instrument of private capital accumulation instead of using it to project the interest of the citizens". Corruption is antithetical to democracy and national development. Both democracy and national development cannot coexist and thrive where corruption is specifically present and hence, both suffer greatly.

To Alapiki (2004), "the wealthiest people in Nigeria are generally people who have acquired wealth through state power by political corruption, by access to state contracts, agency rates or concession such as import licenses, which does not usually involve then in direct productive activity". He believes that, because their wealth are acquired through fraudulent manipulation of their relationship with the state, they resort to unimaginable strategy to capture power by all to means maintain the status quo. To Gilbert (2003), "their desperate, lawless and at times destructive mannerism discourages others from participating in the political system. In this regard, it can be seen that, electoral malpractices and other corrupt practices affect the prospect of Nigeria's democracy and national development.

However, the prospects of democracy and national development in Nigeria are quite enormous. New development policies and strategies are currently in place as

alternative strategies for national development by successive democratic government such as the seven point Agenda Initiated by President Umaru Musa Yar'adua administration: The Transformation Agenda by President Goodluck Jonathan administration and the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) by the President Muhammadu Buhari administration. These policies and visions are intended to improve the people's living standard in all sectors of the Nigeria economy. Taking a look at some of these initiatives or policies, for example the President Jonathan transformation agenda; one can see that, the agenda or policies are designed to offer a complete change in the existing structure. Its main target is the economy. It aims at engendering economic growth and development in the welfare of the citizens. The transformation agenda further stated that the objectives of enhancing economic growth and development are to be pursued by providing "a suitable environment for productive activities to flourish and the provision of suitable environment will be by means of priority policies and programmes, involving the diversification of the economy away from oil by energizing such other sectors as manufacturing, agriculture, solid mineral and the service sector: This agenda is adjudged as being responsible for some appreciable progress made in notable areas of Nigerian economy like education, agriculture, commerce and industry.

The present democratic rule in Nigeria headed by president Buhari has also brought about the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP). The ERGP is a medium term all round development initiative that is focused on restoring growth, investing in people and building a globally competitive economy. It is geared toward; stabilizing the Macro environment, achievement of agriculture and food security, energy sufficiency in power and petroleum products, improved transportation infrastructure, drive industrialization focusing on small and medium enterprises (SMEs) amongst others. Positive results are already manifesting in Key economic indices such as real GDP growth year on year, growth in foreign reserves down ward trend in inflation, increased capital importation and narrowing foreign exchange gap. Also there is increase power generation and Nigeria being ranked as one of the countries of the world with ease of doing business and the largest economy in Africa thereby up surpassing South African economy.

Hence, in positioning Nigeria democracy for National development, it is noteworthy that the role of the game must be anchored on Justice, fairness and equity. To achieve these virtues the rule of law becomes highly imperative the promotion of enjoyment of fundamental freedom becomes indispensable, accountability, transparency and due process must be the guiding principle in the conduct of public affairs. Thus, the challenges of our national unity should be viewed as critical to our national progress and the realization of the state goals for Nigeria's unity in a democratic arrangement constitutes national development.

Democracy and National Development in Kenya: An Overview. The Independent Republic of Kenya was formed in 1964. It was ruled by the Kenya African National Union (KANU) led by Jomo Kenyatta during 1963 to 1978. Kenyatta was succeeded by Daniel Arap Moi who ruled until 2002. Moi was barred from running in 2002 elections because of his involvement in human right abuses and corruption and was succeeded by Mwai Kibaki. Kibaki was succeeded by Uhuru Kenyatta in the 2013 general elections. The historic 2010 constitution and the introduction of devolution in Kenya's democracy can be seen as the culmination of a much longer struggle to achieve a more equitable and more democratic institutional structure. On March 4, 2013 Kenyans voted in the first elections under the new constitution, introducing ambitious devolution reforms, Under these reforms significant political functions, fiscal resources and administrative responsibilities have be devolved to forty seven (47) country units at the sub-national levels. These constituted historic changes in the institutional structure of Kenyan States.

Under article 174 of the constitution, there are four main set of objectives for the devolution namely, to break up the centralization of power by decentralizing state organs and by enhancing the separation of powers; strengthen national unity by recognizing diversity; protecting minority and marginalized communities and sharing resources equitably, to enhance democracy by introducing self-governance and participation through improved delivery of services (constitution of Kenya (2010)).

Despite two decades of democratization in Kenya - including the introduction of multiparty system, the promulgation of a progressive constitution and a number of institutional reforms one possible explanation is that the democratic transition is has not yielded tangible economic benefit for the people.

Comparative Analysis of the Democratic System between Nigeria and Kenya

- i. Campaign financing has been a major concern in Kenyan and Nigeria. Unregulated campaign financing often create an uneven playground election contest. It is obvious that large sum of money give certain political parties or candidates undue advantage over their opponents. Most often, candidate with must money always win elections or party nomination process. The 2013 election process in Kenya just like our closed country Nigeria in 2019 would be remembered as one of the most expensive election in the history of both countries. The money spent during election in both countries did not only stay at the top, but has also trickled down to the grass root who got the chance to sell their votes. The money are spent on travel operation, events, media adverts and merchandise from helicopter to branded vehicles. According to business dailyafrica.com (2013) it is estimated that the four main coalition – Amani, Cord, Eagle and jubilee – spent as much as shalom 1,115,000 million on hire helicopters for their campaign, according to figure obtained in the aviation industry in Kenya, Jubilee Alliance, led by Uhuru

Kenyatta and his running mate William Ruto, has six helicopters and six wing aeroplanes on its campaign trail. The Ralia Odigaa led Cord Coalition had four helicopter and two fixed wing aeroplanes. The cost of hiring a chopper ranges from \$1,500 to \$2,000 per hour depending on the organisation (Eme and Nkechi, 2014 P, 23). The story is not different from what was seen in the just concluded 2019 general election in Nigeria. The government funded the election with N242 billions of which N189 billion went to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). While the remaining N 53 billion was shared by the security agencies (INEC 2019). How political parties finance their campaign is critical to any democratic elections sponsorship of any political party or candidate is effectively a business investment, which the investor must recoup the investment the moment candidate gets into office. Our worry here is that electoral laws governing how parties should secure and spend their funds are ineffective in these countries. Elective offices under this situation become mere commodities to be purchased by the highest bidder and the politics of business become merely to divert public attention against the pressing needs of the larger population.

- ii. Sources and legal framework for funding of political parties in Nigeria are supposed to come from the Statutory allocation, fees and subscription and lawful donations from the public section 221 of the 1999 constitution prohibits any association other than political parties from making political donations. Section 76 provides for the oversight function of the electoral commission and section 226 of the constitution empowered the commission to prepare and submit a report on the financial account of the political parties to the National Assembly. The NASS on the other hand, is empowered in section 228 of the 1999 constitution to make laws for the punishment of any individual or party who fails foul of the above provisions. In Kenya, article 19 have analysed the Kenya publication of electoral bill 2011 the analysis of the draft bill, emphasised that transparency in campaign financing is indispensable for embedding accountability and is integral to the promotion of good governance and democracy. Campaign expenditure by parties and candidates in the electoral process in Kenya remains electoral laws which have now received full implementation on this basis, we assert here that this is one of the major bottlenecks that lies in the path of the guest to consolidate democracy in Kenya and Nigeria.
- iii. Both Nigeria and Kenya are faced with the challenges of ethnicity and ethnic politics Just as post-election violence characterised our democracy in Nigeria, Kenya is also confronted with this issue serious violence occurred in the announcement of the election results in 2011 and 2019 respectively especially in Kano and Kaduna State. There was violence in 2007 in Kenya. Unlike the situation which was curtailed within a short period of time in

Nigeria, in Kenya, the violence spread fast and split the country along two major ethno-regional blocs. It is to be noted at this point that Kenya had a history of political transition from one –party rule since the early 1990s and a tradition of regular elections. The violence pushed the country towards the brink of civil war. What is interesting in the evolving political dynamics, is that the Kikuyu and Kalenjin, that fought themselves later regrouped into a major political alliance. The alliance according to (IDs, 2014) had both the presidential (Kikuyu) and deputy. Presidential (Kalenjin) candidates who were indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for the post 2007 election violence. (IDs) Nairobi. A publication for the institute of development studies.

- iv. On a general note, corruption breeds poverty and unemployment which are greatly affecting Nigeria and Kenya. The emphasis on corruption is made because corruption accounts for the root cause of the poor facilities we have and other anomalies. While discussing the consequences of corruption on the Nigerian Society. Anger and Tsuwa (2011 p.211) lamented thus:

Basic to the numerous negative effect of corruption is the failure of the government to achieve its original goals and purpose. The state is a form of the social contract which people expect to prudence the gains of government, the basic necessities of life like water, electricity, motorable roads, good health facilities etc. This is a duty that the government have failed to do.

A closer look on the way and manner in which democratic principles are abused in these countries bringing to a situation where money budgeted for development purposes are embezzled by few individuals and majority of the citizens are short changed in terms of opportunities. High poverty and unemployment rates are inevitable. It is obvious that power holders in these countries have created a class of domination which enables them to use their offices to reap personal gains against the pressing needs of the larger population.

According to Transparency International, Nigeria and Kenya ranked 144 and 124 respectively in the corruption perception index, showing that they shared one thing in common. The present insecurity we are experiencing could also be linked to corrupt practices by power holders. Ineffective institutions and weak democratic values are largely responsible for the pathetic state of development in Nigeria and Kenya.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study examines the challenges of democracy and development in Nigeria and Kenya. The paper discovered that the tenants of democracy – transparency, accountability, adherences to the rule of law are not strictly adhered to. Political

activities are carried out contrary to the provisions of the constitution. The study identifies ethnicity, faulty elective and its abuse of the rule of law as some of the obstacles to democracy and development in Nigeria and Kenya. The study recommends that: in order to decisively address the persistent problem, confronting election administration in Nigeria and Kenya, major state holders must play positives roles especially through participation to bring about credible electoral reforms which would provide greats independent of the electoral bodies. There is the urgent need for civil awareness of the danger of monetizing politics.

The electoral system is revisited with a view to establishing a system that would promote inclusively, build stronger and institutionalized parties and aspect of the current system. There is the urgent need to strengthen institutions saddled with the responsibilities of curbing corruption. Death penalty should be enforced.

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