
Assessing Development Initiatives in Etche Local Government Area of Rivers State 1999-2002; 2003-2007

Obinna Nwodin, (Ph.D)

Department of Political Administrative Studies

Faculty of Social Science

University of Port Harcourt

obinnanwodin@yahoo.com, obinna.nwodin@uniport.edu.ng

Abstract

This paper examines how democracy has been able to foster development in rural communities in Nigeria using Etche Local Government Area of Rivers State as a paradigm of analysis. It focuses on the early years of the current democratic dispensation, 1999-2002 and 2002-2007, when the dispensation was at its teething stage. It asserts that the ushering in of democracy from the military era, after over two decades, came with high expectations from the citizenry, particularly those of the rural communities. The study highlights the concept of democracy with a view to ascertaining whether the principles of democracy were adhered to during the period under review, as well as how the programmes and policies impacted on the lives of the citizenry. It uses the Liberal Democratic Theory as theoretical framework and adopted secondary source of data collection. It recommends, among others, the need to strengthen the local government tier of government in order to meet the aspirations of the grassroots citizenry.

Key words: Democracy, Development, Grassroots populace, citizenry

Introduction

The ultimate goal of any government is to ensure the welfare of its citizenry. In this regard, the Nigerian populace had desired a government that would ensure that the living standard of the citizenry was given adequate attention. Nigeria has had a history of mixture of military and civilian regimes. The year 1999 ushered in the current democratic dispensation after over two decades of military ruler ship. It was believed that the military leadership, which is classified under dictatorship, relegated the democratic features which are believed to be more effective for improved living standard.

The local government tier of government is seen as the closest tier of government to the rural populace. It is the government the people see and so in position to know what the problems of the people are. However, the Nigerian constitution provides a constitutional role for both the Federal and State Governments without clearly spelling out roles for the local government tier of government. Over the years this system of government has operated under the whims and caprices of the various state governments in Nigeria. As a matter of fact, the local government system is seen as an appendage of the State government. In other words, this tier of government does not have financial autonomy that would make it function effectively, by way of providing the infrastructural development needed by the rural populace. In the midst of these, there is no gainsaying that the local government system has played a veritable role in the development process in Nigeria.

Etche Local Government Area is the third largest local government in Rivers State with a population of 461, 000 people according to the 2006 population census figures in Nigeria. Its

people are basically farmers, hunters and a few who live by the side of streams take part in subsistence fishing. The educated ones are engaged in white collar jobs such as teaching and other public service jobs. The period under review was the early days of the current democratic dispensation. After so many years of being administered by sole administrators appointed by the Military, the Local Government saw the emergence of an elected democratic dispensation.

Conceptual/Empirical Review

The concept of democracy has passed through a peristalsis of ideas ranging from the bad to the good. According to Macpherson (1972:1):

Democracy used to be a bad word. Everybody who was anybody knew that democracy in the original sense of rule by the people or government in accordance to the will of the bulk of the people would be a bad thing-fatal to individual freedom and to all the races of civilized living. That was the position taken by pretty all good men of intelligence from the earliest historical times down to about hundred years ago. Its full acceptance into the ranks of respectability was apparent by the end of the First World War; a war which the western allied leaders could proclaim was fought to make the world safe for democracy.

Before delving into the meaning of democracy, it is pertinent to explain how it all began. According to Held (1981), "The history of the idea of democracy is curious; the history of democracy is puzzling." He avers that from the records, little is said about democracy from ancient Greece to the eighteenth century Europe and North America and that the widespread adherence to democracy as a suitable form for organizing political life is less than a hundred years old. This assumption of Held is strengthened by Levin (1920) when he argues that:

With the American Revolution of 1776 and French Revolution of 1789, democracy had re-emerged to become modern. Considering this argument, this system of government has done well over 200 years.

Elsewhere, Ishida and Krauss (1989) trace the historical background of democracy to the Kugawa regime (traditional society) of 1603-1863, during which Japan had something like a national government led by Shogun (Generalissimo) who effectively ruled in the Emperor's name.

The word "democracy" is etymologically taken from the Greek words *demos* meaning people and *kratia* meaning power. Thus, the popular maxim that power belongs to the people takes its root from democracy. Historically, from the ancient Greece where it was believed to have started, every adult male gathered at the city centre to discuss issues which bothered on their interests. Such discussions were held when the city-states had not become complex, due to the increase in population. During this time, people discussed issues in such a manner that their individual interests were protected. Everyone was a stakeholder and was involved in the decision making of the state. Although it was difficult to have the entire populace agree to an issue, the practice was that the majority in whose decision favoured carried the day. As time went on, the population increased and it became difficult for everybody to be present at the city square. This was because the city square could no longer accommodate everybody, and it was difficult to have everyman's opinion on a particular issue. Hence the need for representation in decision making arose. The people elected individuals to represent them in the decision making process of the state. This situation is justified by Eboh, (2006) thus:

As all the people cannot govern at the same time, because there will be no one to be governed, it is only reasonable that they transfer their united will to a few individuals, giving them their mandate to rule in accordance with the mind of the people.

Democracy has become so popular that nations of the world are striving to adopt it as a form of government. That is for nations that do not practice democracy as a form of government. On the other hand countries that already practice democracy are making efforts to improve upon their service through effective and efficient service-delivery. The argument is that this form of government is the panacea to rapid development of the state.

It has been argued that the complex nature of democracy makes its definition ambitious. According to Macpherson (1972), “Democracy has become an ambiguous thing with different meanings, even apparent opposite meanings for different people.” Holmes (2008) agrees with the ambiguity of democracy when he states that:

Democracy sometimes refers to social levelling or the collapse of legally maintained class hierarchies. At other times it refers to self-government or the institutions guaranteeing that rulers remain responsible to electoral majorities. The essentials of this view lay emphasis on the equality of all the individuals in the state. This equally implies the guarantee of individual rights and freedom. It also emphasizes that the rule of law must be adhered to if the institutions guaranteeing that rulers remain responsible to the electoral majorities must be relevant.

To Obasanjo and Mabogunje (1992):

The concept of democracy should be examined from two points of view that is as an ideology and as politics. Democracy as an ideology is the philosophical governance which is at high premium on the basic freedom or fundamental human rights of the citizen, the rule of law, the right to property, the free flow of information and the right of choice between alternative positions.

This view adds to the basic features of democracy.

Pempel (1989) adducing a definition of democracy states that:

Democracy involves the right of citizens to determine their form of government and to choose those who will constitute that government. It also requires that government be responsive to the preferences of citizens. And finally, it requires that each citizen's preferences be weighed relatively equal.

This definition re-echoes the absoluteness of the individual's welfare and the interest of the state. The reality that democracy is all about the interest of the individual cannot be over emphasized. It is the promotion of the individual's welfare, his involvement in the choice of who makes decision on his behalf and how the decisions are made. The absence and lack of any of these is undemocratic. The people make choices regarding who directs their affairs and represent them in government. According to Cummings and Wise (1997), “Democracy carries with it the concept of majority rule. Everyone is free to vote, but normally whoever gets the most votes wins the election and represents all the people, including those who voted for the losing candidate. In his study of contemporaries Powell Jr. (1992) outlines the following criteria for contemporary national democracies:

- i.** The legitimacy of the government rests on a claim to represent the desires of its citizens. That is the claim of the government to obedience to its laws is based on the government's assertion to be doing what the people want it to do.
- ii.** The organized arrangement that regulates this bargain of legitimacy is the competitive political election. Leaders are elected at regular intervals and voters can choose among alternative candidates. In practice at least two political parties that have a chance of winning are needed to make such choices meaningful.
- iii.** Most adults can participate in the electoral process, both as voters and as

- candidates for important political offices.
- iv.** Citizen's votes are secret and not coerced.
- v.** Citizens and leaders enjoy basic freedom of speech, press, assembly and organization. Both established parties and new ones can work to gain members and votes.

In his argument, Joseph (2001) add that the liberal view of democracy that usually embraces such notions as popular sovereignty, consent, equality and representative government. These, he argues, are major ingredients of a democratic government. Obiyan (2003) identifies the existence of free and fair elections, legislative and executive arms with defined power, a fair and independent judiciary, a free press and the protection of human rights as the attributes of democracy.

In addition to their views, Obasanjo and Mabogunje (1992) enumerated the following as essential elements of democracy:

- i.** Right of choice
- ii.** Freedom from ignorance and want
- iii.** Respect from the rule of law and equality before the law
- iv.** Empowerment and capability
- v.** Promotion and defence of human rights
- vi.** Creation of appropriate political machinery
- vii.** Sustained political communication to create trust and confidence among the leaders and populace
- viii.** Accountability of the leadership to the followership
- ix.** Decentralization of political power and authority
- x.** Periodic and orderly election through secret ballot

These elements can be said to be more comprehensive than the ones earlier enumerated. Nwabueze (1993) in his contributions outlined 12 point characteristics of democracy thus:

- i.** Multi-partysm under a democratic constitution having the force of a supreme and overriding law.
- ii.** A complete change of guards and exclusion of certain categories of persons from participation in domestic politics and government.
- iii.** A genuine and meaningful popular participation in politics and government.
- iv.** A virile and civil society
- v.** A democratic society
- vi.** A free society
- vii.** A just society
- viii.** Equal treatment of all citizens by the state
- ix.** The rule of law
- x.** An ordered stable society
- xi.** A society infused with the spirit of liberty, democracy and justice, and
- xii.** An independent, self-reliant prosperous market economy.

Dwelling more on politics, he explains that a virile society is one that has the existence of a tight network of autonomous institutions and organizations which has not one, but a thousand centres and is able to act as check against any usurpation of power and violation of individual liberty by government, thus providing an anchorage for the individuality of each person. As regards democratic society, he further avers that there can be no democracy, truly so called, unless the condition of society itself is democratic, by which is meant that it should be nearly equal among all the people.

In his study, Obiyan (2003) enumerates three (3) perspectives of democracy thus:

- i. The compatibility perspective;
- ii. The conflict perspective;
- iii. The sceptical perspective.

According to him, the Compatibility Model holds that democracy has no negative consequences for economic development and that it is conducive for development. The proponents of this view argue that democracy promotes economic development because it possesses the attributes that strengthen the market economy, which is superior to other economic systems. In this way, democracy is said to promote development which promotes economic growth, quality of life and welfare of the citizenry. It is imperative to point out that scholars who hold this view see democracy as a tool that engenders development. In other words, democracy and development go hand in cap to achieve the good life for the people. Conversely, the Conflict Model holds the view that democracy is antithetical to development. Obiyan avers amongst others that there are many dysfunctions in a democratic system and that the nature of democratic politics is such that demanded the satisfaction of the majority in order to retain their support. This often involves the redistributive measures, which are antithetical to economic growth and development. Rather than focus on efficacy and productivity, democratic tenets are thought to emphasize redistribution thus hampering growth. Another argument Obiyan put forward is that this model holds the view that democratic governments are unable to implement policies that are considered important in facilitating growth.

The third model, the Sceptical Perspective as the name implies is neither here nor there. The Sceptical Model denies that democracy necessarily promotes economic development. It neither denies that development can occur in a democratic setting. It accepts that development can occur in both democratic and undemocratic systems and thus prefers to look at the inducing conditions for growth and development in factors other than regime type. In all, the reality on ground shows that democracy offers greater opportunity for the development of any state. The wide acceptance of democracy as a form of government, globally demonstrates this.

Pempel (1989) further outlines pre-requisites for democracy when he states:

A democratic political system exists when the political institutions provide opportunities to gain and exchange information, articulate opinions and exposes their political view point. Potential leaders are free to compete for the support of citizens. And government institutions ensure that state policies are seen in some measure congruent with citizen's expression of preference.

In their work, Janda, Berry and Goldman (1989) lay emphasis on the concept of democracy as "characterized by the people deciding who should govern and how they should govern. Jike (2003) contributing on the features of democracy argues that:

The key emphasis of democracy, therefore, is the instrument of representation. An individual elected into a public office is supposedly the voice of those who elected him, doing their bidding, protecting their common interest and routinely reporting back to them, the primary constituency, to canvass a more desirable position, if a decision is to be taken on a contentious national issue.

Rural Development

The rural life is an idyllic and local setting that essentially features traditional and crude activities. In the Nigerian situation, the rural area is characterized by absence of pipe-borne

water, electricity, quality schools, health care delivery system, good road network, illiteracy and poverty. The rural areas basically consist of communities and villages outside the cities and urban centres. There is the absence of white collar jobs, as the dominant occupation of the people are farming, fishing and craftsmanship, among others. The prevalence of poverty, illiteracy and lack of basic necessities of life necessitates the unwholesome trend of rural urban migration. There is the prevalence of the desire of individuals in the rural areas to migrate to the cities. A critical assessment of facilities in the rural areas shows that there is little or no infrastructure put in place in the areas. Most efforts to set up infrastructure in the polity are cited in the urban areas. Development scholars have argued that rural urban migration can be adequately checked if basic utilities and an environment conducive for improved living are put in place at the grassroots level. The population of the rural environment is highly unskilled, thus necessitating the need to improve the skill of the people. As a result of the high proportion of the unskilled nature of the people, it is imperative to reiterate the fact that poverty is a major feature of the rural populace.

The concept of development is a man-centred phenomenon. It refers to the durable social and economic progress of the people. It means the improvement of the living conditions, which economic growth and industrialization are essential components. Shepherds, (2003) defines rural development as the set of activities and actions of divers actors-individuals, organizations, groups- which if taken together leads to progress in rural areas. Put rightly, development is more than a passage from poor to rich, from traditional or rural setting to a sophisticated and urban one. It stretches beyond building sky scrapers and erecting modern buildings and technological inventions. It carries with it not only the idea of economic progress, but also of greater human dignity, security, justice and equity. Development is not the volume of money in circulation in an economy or the revenue accrued to the government. It is the prudent application of the State's scarce resources for the improvement of the living standards of the people. It is a process that frees the individual from fear of want and exploitation. It adds value and worth to life and gives the individual the opportunity to express himself and apply such expressions to the improvement of the society. A developed society is that which affords the individual the opportunity to influence decisions in the state, as well as control the activities which face him. Efemini, (2002) examining Ake's view on development brings to fore the fact that development must focus on people. He re-echoes the point that development is a man-centred concept. Ake insists that development is not a project which can be executed, but rather a process which must involve the people. Development is a transformation from one level, usually a lower one, to a higher one. Toyo (2002) agrees with this position when he argues that the term development must be referred to like the organism by which it acquires new qualities, making possible an enhanced mastery of its environment. Efemini (2002) seems to agree with this position of transformation when he posits that, "Development is a process which leads to social transformation for the benefit of the people. In his view Akin (1986) agrees with this position when he states:

To be meaningful, development should be people-centred. This appropriate measure of developmental activities is shown to impact on individual households, community, workplace and society at large.

According to the Report of the South-South Commission (1990):

Priority must be given to meeting the basic needs of the people. Hence there should be strong emphasis on food security, health, education and employment, all of which are essential for enhancing human capacity to meet challenges of sustainable development.

In his contribution Nduka (2006), asserts that:

The quest for development is the totality of concerned efforts by individual societies to overcome weakness by acquiring increased control over the forces of nature, thereby progressively eliminating the country's old scourge of poverty, ignorance and disease and making life on earth worth living.

He further states that: "The neglect of rural areas while concentrating most development efforts on the urban centres is readopted either as a result of habit or for other reasons by the post –independence, corrupt and (or incompetent leadership most of whom were and still are) pupils of neo-colonial interest."

Objective of the Study

The aim of this study is to ascertain how democracy as practiced at the local government level has been able to enhance grassroots development. It attempts to examine the meaning of the concept of development, as well as find out if the local government system has been able to improve the living standard of the rural populace. The paper also seeks to find out if successive council administrations were able to put in place infrastructure that have direct bearing on the lives of the people within the period under review.

Theoretical Underpinnings

This paper is based on the Theory of the Liberal Democratic Theory. Proponents of this Theory are basically C.B. Macpherson, Robert Dahl, Joseph Schumpeter, etc. The Theory holds that the individual in the society has the freedom to order his life the way he deems fit and to be involved in the decision making process of the state by voting and being voted for. Dahl had referred to democracy as a political system in which the opportunity to participate in decision is widely shared among citizens.

The Theory gives the individual the opportunity to lead a decent life, have an improved standard of living and by extension initiating good governance in the state. The expected effect of this form of government is that if the grassroots people are actively involved in who should direct their affairs, the public officers would be responsible for their actions and be accountable to the people by providing infrastructure that would have direct bearing on their lives. Based on the assumption that liberal representative democracy has been accepted as the best method of managing political affairs (Lukeman et al 1998:129), it adheres to the principle of strict compliance to the rule of law.

Perspective of Etche Local Government Area

Etche Local Government Area was created on May 3, 1989 by the General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida administration. It was de-merged from the then Ikwerre/Etche Local Government Area. The Council on creation consisted of both Etche and Omuma, both making up the Etche ethnic nationality, On December, 5, 1996, the late General Sani Abacha announced the creation of new local government councils and Omuma Local Government was one of them. Since its creation, Etche local Government Council had heralded successive leaderships. Chief Watson Nwankwoala who was a councillor representing Mba Ward in the then Ikwerre/Etche Local Government Council was appointed pioneer Chairman of Etche Local Government Council. The following have been successive heads of the Council since then:

Chief Paulinus Onuoha-Chairman Caretaker Committee-1989-1990

Sire Isaiah Choko- Executive Chairman-1991-1992

Dr Jon C. Ihejirika-Sole Administrator- 1992-1995

Mr Augustine Nwagwu- Chairman- 1995-1996

Chief 9Dr) Obi Njoku-Chairman- 1996-1998

Chief Chu O.Chu- Sole Administrator- 1998-1999
Barrister Nnamdi Okere- Executive Chairman- 1999-2002
Mr John Nwanjoku- Chairman Caretaker Committee-2002
Mr Silver Amadi- Chairman, Caretaker Committee- 2002-2003
Mr Ephraim Nwauzi- Executive Chairman, 2003-2007
Mr Michael Amadi- Chairman Caretaker Committee- 2007
Mr Lawrence Njoku- Chairman Caretaker Committee- 2008
Mrs Okey Amadi- Chairman- Caretaker Committee- 2009
Barrister Reginald Ukwuoma- Executive Chairman, 2011-2015
Mr Charles Anyanwu- Chairman Caretaker Committee-2015
Mr Ability Nweke- Chairman Caretaker Committee- 2016
Michael Amadi, Chairman Care taker Committee- 2016-2017
Mr Egbuchelem Ebereonwu- Chairman- Caretaker Committee, 2017

Development Initiatives in Etche Local Government 1999-2002

Under Mr Nnamdi Okere's administration of 1999- 2002, the following projects and infrastructure were put in place:

- i. Provision of neighbourhood water scheme in the 19 political wards in the Local Government area at the cost of N300,000 each
- ii. Renovation of the Legislative Chambers of the Local Government Council at the cost of N300,000
- iii. Fencing of the Local Government Council Secretariat
- iv. Construction of Umuaturu - Akpoku bridge destroyed during the 1967-1970 Nigeria Civil War at the cost of N50 million.

Source: Works Department, Etche local Government Council

From the above, the Council administration provided neighbourhood water scheme in the 19 political wards. Provision of clean and portable water is a basic responsibility of government, which must be given priority. It has direct bearing on the lives of the citizenry.

Development Initiatives 2003-2007

Under Mr Ephraim Nwauzi's administration the following projects were embarked upon:

- i. Completion of the Nihi/Ordufor bridge which was started by the defunct Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) at the cost of N150,000,000
- ii. Construction of market stalls at Okehi at the cost of N8,000,000
- iii. Construction of garri processing factory at Okehi at the cost of N4,000,000
- iv. Construction of cottage Hospital at Chokota at the cost of N6,000,00
- v. Construction of Police Station at Umuebulu
- vi. Completion of the NDDC initiated electrification project at Okehi and its environs at the cost of N100, 000,000.00.

Discussion

During the 1999-2002 era, a total of 22 physical projects were initiated. The provision of neighbourhood water scheme in all the 19 political wards had direct bearing on the lives of the people. By this, the Council provided portable drinking water to the populace. Those who hitherto went to streams and water wells to get water for domestic use had a new lease of life. This project was evenly spread across the Local Government Area. The construction of the Umuaturu-Akpoku Bridge was a huge relief to the people of Akpoku, Obite and Umuoye communities as they were physically cut off from the rest of Etche communities. It made

movement difficult, because farmers found it difficult to convey their farm produce to the market. This difficulty added to the economic burden and poverty rate of the people. However, the bridge has since been in disuse as the Rivers State Government constructed a road linking Umuaturu and Akpoku communities with a new bridge which is currently in use. Also the Federal Government through the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) constructed another road running across Etche and Omuma Local Government Areas with a bridge running across the Umuaturu river. At present two bridges have been constructed making life much easier for the people.

The renovation of the Court Hall that was used as legislative Chambers for councillors and the fencing of the Local Government Council Secretariat did not have direct bearing on the people. They were for administrative convenience and cannot be considered as development projects.

However, it was reported that the central source of revenue under this period were very low as the administration under review was said to witness what was regarded as zero allocation. Under the 2003-2007 administration, the projects enumerated were developmental projects that had direct bearing on the living standard of the people. The completion of the Nihiri/Ordufor Bridge was a huge relief to the people as the project afforded them access to other parts of Etche till present. Although there were criticisms of poor engineering supervision. It has stood the test of time as the medium by which the people could access other parts of the local government.

The construction of market and garri processing factory were economically viable projects that have the capacity of improving lives of the grassroots people. It provided a platform where the farmers traded their products for economic sustenance. The market was hardly used by traders as they complained that the location where it was cited was not appropriate. For so many years, the market operated marginally and was not effectively utilized. The garri processing factory had the capacity of improving the rate of garri production which is the staple food of the people in the Region. These projects did not stand the test of time because after it was commissioned, the factories never operated. In other words it was a drain on public resources.

The construction of a Cottage Hospital was to take care of the health needs of the people in order to improve the quality of life of the grassroots citizenry. The Hospital functioned a while after commissioning with some health officials posted to it. There was no medical doctor posted to the hospital as the few medical facilities installed it became disused.

The completion of the NDDC electrification project in Okehi, the local government headquarters and its environs was a lofty project. This project brought a new lease of life to the people in the local government areas as small scale business that need electricity to run sprang up. It had a rippling effect on development in the local government as economic activities were enhanced.

Under this administration, a total of 400,000,000 was spent on various infrastructural projects.

Recommendations

The paper recommends that:

- i.** The local government tier of government should be strengthened for effective and efficient service-delivery. This can be done through constitutional provisions that would make the local government system independent, politically and financially

- and not an appendage of the State Government This will help build and strengthen government at the grassroots. No development can take place in a state without a corresponding development of the rural populace;
- ii. There is need to introduce mechanisms to check misappropriation of public funds at the local level
 - iii. There is the need for the establishment of an Institute for Grassroots Governance where aspiring leaders and local politicians would be trained and given the required orientation. This will enable such politicians imbibe the philosophy and objective behind the establishment of the local government tier of governments
 - iv. The local government tier should have the same tenure in office as other tiers of government- federal and state

References

- Cunning M. C. Jnr. (1997) *Democracy Under Pressure- An introduction To & Wise, D. American Political System*, Eight Edition, Fourth Worth, Harcourt Bruce Publishers.
- Eboh, M.P. (2001) *Dialogue, Democracy and Morality: President Obasanjo's Moral Foundations For Our Polity & Other Nigerian Ethical Policies Revisited*, Owerri, Springfield Publishers.
- Efemini, A. (2002) *Ake and African Development: Selected Issues*, Port Harcourt, Paragraphics.
- Held, D. (1987) *Models of Democracy*, Oxford, Polity Press.
- Holmes, S. (1983) Tocqueville and Democracy, in *The Idea of Democracy* David, C. Jean H. John E. L. Eds, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Joseph R (1999) *Democracy and Pre-bendial Politics In Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic*, Ibadan, Spectrum.
- Levin, M (2001) *The Spectre of Democracy: The Rise of Modern Democracy as seen by Modern Critics*, London, Macmillan.
- Luckham, R. et. Al. (1998) *The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict Torn Societies*, in Sunil, B and Luckham,R, *Democratic Institutions and Democratic Politics*, London, ZED Books
- Nwabueze, B.O. (1993), *Democratization*, Ibadan, Spectrum.
- Nwogu, I., et al (2004) *History of Etche*, Owerri, Springfield Publishers
- Obiyan, S.A. (2003) Re-examining the Democracy-Development Debate, A Critical Review and Practice In *Re-thinking Governance and Development In the 21st Century*, Iyioha, F.E. et al (eds) Nigeria Institute for Governance and Development, Ekpoma Ambrose Alli University.
- Pempel, T.J. (1989) Pre requisites for Democracy in Political and Social Institutions In *Democracy in Japan*, Ishida, T and Ellis, S.K. Eds, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Powell, B.J. Jnr. (1992) *Contemporary Democracies, [Participation, Stability and Violence*, Port Harcourt, Sunray, Publications.
- Shepherd A, (1998) *Sustainable Rural Development*, London, Macmillan.