ISSUES IN DEMOCRACY AND SUSTAINABLE TRANSFORMATION

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ABSTRACT

Democracy as a system of governance is supposed to allow meaningful and extensive competition, representation, participation and inclusiveness of as many people, individuals, organized groups and views as possible. This is to feed into the functioning of a fair and just society on one hand, and serve to check unaccountable power and manipulation by the few at the expense of the many on the other hand. However, there are issues, pressures, criticisms and challenges that threaten various democratic foundations, pillars and key aspects of a functioning and true democracy. Nationally, there are issues of blatant violations of democratic principles that involve all the organs of government/administrative, economic, political and social apparatuses - the Legislature, the executive and the Judiciary. Nigeria's so-called democratic system (democratism?) is going berserk. Internal democracy, a paramount and an indispensable requirement of democratic governance is lacking. There are lots of political alienations and assassinations as well as the political utility and manipulation of religion, ethnicity, tribalism, religionalism, sectionalism, gangsterism and brigandage. As the quality and standard of elections for peoples' representations have plummeted, so have the number of election petitions risen astronomically. Even, in established democracies, there are issues yet to be resolved. At the international level, the United Nations Organization (UNO] for example, is not totally democratic. In the same vein, sustainable transformation is faced with myriad of problematic issues that need coordination, mobilization and collective action to achieve profound and fundamental changes for inclusive societal development in all ramifications -political, economic, agricultural, cultural, medical, sociological, psychological, educational, and environmental and communication — to mention just a few among a host of others. What are the local, national, continental and global issues in democracy and sustainable transformation? What suggestions and policy options can be recommended to address such issues? This paper attempts to provide some answers within the limitations to which the writer is exposed.

INTRODUCTION

We must not leap to the conclusion that there is a "true democracy" which is a natural amalgam of good government as representative government, political justice, equality, liberty and human rights. For such volatile ingredients can at times be unstable unless in carefully measured and monitored combinations. Is "good government" or "social justice" unequivocally democratic, even in the nicest liberal senses? Probably not. Tocqueville wrote in the 1830s of the inevitability of democracy, but warned against "the dangers of a tyranny of the majority". Well, perhaps he cared less for democracy than he did for liberty. But even Thomas Jefferson remarked in the old age that "an elective despositism was not what we fought for,"… John Stuart Mill whose Essay on "Liberty and Considerations on

<u>Representative Government</u> are two of the great books of the modern world, came to believe that <u>every</u> adult (yes, women too) should have the vote, but only after compulsory secondary education had been instituted and had time to take effect.

(Crick, 2002)

Fundamentally, democracy is seen as a form of governance by the people for the people. This is often implemented through elected representatives, which therefore, requires free, transparent, and fair elections, in order to achieve legitimacy. (Shah, 2012).

The ideals of democracy are so appealing to citizens around the globe, that many have sacrificed their livelihood, even their lives, to fight for it. However, lip service to democracy is almost universal, even while it is being misunderstood and often betrayed in practice. Arguably, a democratic system's expected openness may allow it to attract those with vested interests to use democratic process as a means to attain power and influence, even if they do not hold democratic principles clear in their minds, political behaviours and regime/governmental administrations. In point of fact, different people refer to, and think of democracy in different ways. Most countries claim themselves to be democratic; even some despots have called themselves democratic! (Olayiwola, 2013, 2012, 2011, 1996, 1991).

The issues in democracy and sustainable transformation discussed in this paper show clearly and unequivocally that the degree to which countries are democratic varies from one country to another. Surveys of political and human rights developments, internal democracy of political parties, security issues, political participation of the citizens, the question of citizenship itself, social security and general welfare of the people, the systems of education, accommodation/housing, medication/health care, transportation, local governance to mention just a few, indicate that many countries in Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America suffer from democratic poor representation, election anomalies, corruption, "pseudo democracy," lack of accountability, transparency, violation of the rule of law, problem of civilian control over the military, absence of freedom of the press/mass media, low voter turnouts, minority issues, short-termism, the haves versus have-nots, media manipulation and ownership, as well as administrative/systemic inefficiency of democracy. These issues in democracy and sustainable transformation for inclusive societal development constitute the focus of this paper.

Statement of the Problem

Democracy ('rule by the people' when translated from its Greek meaning) is seen as one of the ultimate ideals that modern civilizations strive to create, or preserve. The United States of America (USA), Britain (United Kingdom (U.K.), France, among a host of other countries in the world, are devoted to the dimly perceived principles of 'democracy' and would fight for them again – as they have fought in the past – even without being clear as to what they were fighting for in specific terms. Indeed, our era of "civilization" is characterized as much by war and conflict as it is by peace and democracy. The twentieth century alone has often been called "the century of war." (Shah, 2012).

Democracy as a form of government should be made up of the people, organized by the people and administered in the interest of the people. In a democracy, people should be able to exercise their governing powers either directly or through their representatives who are

periodically elected by them. But there are issues in democracy and sustainable transformation that make the major features of Democracy an uphill/herculean task to realize. The features being referred to here are:

(1) Availability of more than one political party which are legally allowed to contest elections.
(2) Free, fair and credible periodic elections;
(3) Fundamental Human Rights entrenched in the Constitution;
(4) Applicability of the Rule of Law in the society.
(5) Ability and capability of Groups and Associations to operate freely;
(6) Existence of the principle of separation of powers: checks and balances between the various arms of government – the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary.
(7) Existence of an Independent Judicial System/Judiciary;
(8) Freedom of the Press/Mass Media;
(9) Supremacy of the Constitution/Constitutionalism.
(10) Freedom of political participants/citizens to vote and be voted for; among a host of other features.
(Olayiwola, 1974, 1981, 1984 , 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013.

In the same vein, any government in a democracy should be able to do the following:
(1) **Defence and Security**: This is the preservation of lives and property of the citizens and the defence of the nation against foreign attack; internal and external defence for the citizens.
(2) **Maintenance of law and order**: Maintain law and order in the state for the benefits of the citizens;
(3) **Maintenance of unity**: Unite all ethnic groups, all sections, and all people of different religious beliefs into a stable, harmonious and peaceful community.
(4) **Settlement of disputes:** Settle disputes between individuals, groups and government.
(5) **Provision of infrastructure and social welfare**: Construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, education, electricity, communication system, pipe-borne water, hospitals, and a host of other social amenities for the citizens;
(6) **Economic function**: Ensure economic growth, boosts industrialization and agricultural development, regulate and control the economy for societal development in general;
(7) **Political functions**: Establish machinery for smooth and peaceful change of government through the conduct of regular, free and fair elections.
(8) **Foreign relations**: The promotion of friendly inter-state relations and co-operation, international trade and maintenance of world peace.
(9) **Raising of Public Revenue**: Imposition of taxes, fines, fees, earnings etc. in order to get funds for its services.
(10) **Provision of Jobs**: Provide job opportunities for citizens in a state, formulation and implementation of policies and the Protection of Fundamental Human Rights.

The issues in democracy and sustainable transformation discussed in this paper also make the problem of achieving the characteristics of good governance in a democracy seemingly intractable. Some of the characteristics of Good Governance are:

1. Policies that bring about happiness and the good life for the citizenry.
2. Accountability of government officials.

3.   Transparency in Governmental procedures.
4.   Predictability in government behaviour.
5.   Openness in government transaction and free flow of information, including respect for and freedom of the Press.
6.   Decentralization of power structure and decision making. (Olayiwola, 2013, Onuoha, 2005).

The problem, however, is that issues in democracy and sustainable transformation signal weaknesses in the way some democracies are set up. Some nations are made up of many diverse, multi-ethnic, multi-faith, multi-tribal, multi-religious and multi-linguistic groups and find themselves <u>forced</u> to live together. As a major example, most African countries, whose artificial borders resulted from the 1885 Berlin Conference where European colonial and imperial powers, (not Africans) carved up Africa (for the colonial ruler's own benefit, not for Africans). In this imperial subjugation, there existed and still exists, asymmetric/unequal relationship between the Centre of the Centre Nations and the Centre of the Periphery Nations. The types of imperialism perpetrated – political, economic, cultural, communication and military – compound problematic issues in democracy and sustainable transformation for such countries. Another equally germane but important problem of democracy in such countries is that sometimes what the majority votes for or prefers, may not necessarily be good for everyone. A common example plaguing many of such countries which have diversity in race and religion is the tragedy of the dichotomy between some sections of the countries and other sections. A dominant group in one section may prefer policies that undermine other sections. Nigeria is a good typical example (Olayiwola, 1996).

In point of fact, rather than provide the milieu for popular participation and accountability, Nigeria's democracy has become a liability – the source of instability, decay, thuggery, brigandage, unmediated and unrestrained violence. Olayiwola, (2012), argues that Nigeria's democracy has gun berserk. In discussing issues in democracy and sustainable transformation, forces that propel positive change to democracy capable of contributing in no small measure to an inclusive societal development are highlighted; while forces that constrain such a change are exposed and policy options recommended to tackle them.

The issues discussed are not peculiar to developing countries. In Britain, for example, unresolved issues in democracy and sustainable transformation hunted the Labour Party governments under the priministership of alleged war criminal, Tony Blair and later Gordon Brown. In the end, the Labour Party lost out in the 2010 general elections and the year witnessed a very political revolution. This is because as a result of Parliamentary Arithmetic, the Liberal Democrat and Conservative/Tory Political Parties had to enter a coalition government for a fixed term of five years, the first time in the political history of Britain. (Olayiwola, 2010).

Also, it is a common concern in many democratic countries that those with sufficient funds, or fund-raising capability are the ones who will become the final candidates that voters choose from. Some criticize candidates for "selling out" to mega donors, who then expect favours in return.

Others, who may be more democratic, but are either poor, or lack the finances of the leading contenders, or will not likely support policies that influential mega donors support, will often lose out.

Again, Newspapers and other media outlets are often less than impartial in election campaigns. The high concentrated ownership of major media outlets does not always bode well for democracies as it puts a lot of influence into a handful of owners. These and other issues are clearly analysed in this paper, but first, a review of literature is pertinent.

Literature Review: Theoretical Conceptualization and Conceptual Clarification

As George Orwell noted, the word 'democracy' can often be overloaded": "In the case of a word like DEMOCRACY, not only is there no agreed definition, but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides. It is almost universally felt that when we call a country democratic we are praising it: consequently, the defenders of every kind of regime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using the word if it were tied down to any one meaning. Words of this kind are often used in a consciously dishonest way. That is, the person who uses them has his own private definition, but allows his hearer to think he means quite different" (Orwell, n.d.)

The term democracy is derived from two Greek words *demo/demos* which means 'the people' and *kratein* which means 'rule of,' 'rule by' or 'to rule.' Therefore, democracy can be defined as rule of the people, by the people and for the people. The etymology of democracy is traceable to the Ancient Greek usage in the Greek city state of Athens. Christenson, (1972) opines that 'democracy' is a system in which the people voluntarily consent to, and are major participants in their governance. Schumpeter, (1950) argues that democracy is an "institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote." Democracy is a political system which meets three essential conditions (Dahl, 1971).

(1)   Meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organised groups (especially political parties), either directly or indirectly for the major positions of government power;
(2)   A 'highly inclusive' level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded.; and
(3)   A level of civil and political liberties - freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organisations - sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation. The foundations of democracy are the four elements of popular consent, political equality, majority rule, and popular consultation. (Sullivan, 1980).

Democracy is a government by persons freely chosen by and responsible to the governed. (Benn, 1959).

Democracy, according to Appadorai (1940) refers to a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by themselves. Its constitutional expressions include: the equal rights of all normal adults to vote and be voted for; periodical elections; equal eligibility for executive and judicial office; freedom of speech, publication and association, which provide the opportunities for political participation.

Appadorai recommends certain additional conditions which are necessary to make democracy work successfully, These conditions are:

> The widespread habit of tolerance and compromise among members of a community, a sense of 'give and take,' the provision of adequate opportunities for the individual to develop his personality, proper organisation and leadership.

Sartori (1962) opines that democracy is a principle of legitimacy. He makes a distinction between a 'social democracy' and an 'industrial democracy,' and concludes that:

> in a world-wide perspective, the problem is to minimize arbitrary and tyrannical rule "and to maximize a pattern of civility rooted in respect and justice for each man—in short, . to achieve a humane polity.

The seemingly insurmountable problem of defining democracy as a political concept was also tackled by Olayiwola. In his book Olayiwola (1984) argues that 'democracy is a system of government which is representative of all peoples and interests within a state. It is a government of the people, by the people and for the people, the rule of the majority in which the minority interest is protected. Olayiwola enumerates the provision for regular elections, rule of law, supremacy of the constitution, equality of citizens, civil liberty, ability of political parties to compete freely for political power, and for pressure groups to operate freely to influence government policies, as conditions for the success of any "democratic political system (Olayiwola 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013). Heater, (1964) enumerates five basic elements of democracy:

(1)   Equality; (2) sovereignty of the people; (3) respect for human life; (4) the rule of law; and (5) liberty of the individual. Downs, (1957), lists the following as features of democracy:

(a)   Two or more parties compete in periodic elections for control of the governing apparatus;

(b)   The party (or coalition of parties) winning a majority of votes gains control of the governing apparatus until the next election;

(c)   Losing parties neither attempt to prevent by hook or crook the winners from taking office, nor do winners use the powers of office to vitiate the ability of losers to compete in the next election;

(d)   All sane, law-abiding adults who are governed are citizens, and every citizen has one and only one vote in each election.

Generally, as a concept, 'democracy' is pervasive in modern value systems but elusive in definition. By the same word, different theorists and ideologies mean many different things: notions of freedom and economic equality frequently become confused. Looked at from the point of view of popular understanding, the word 'democracy' therefore, provides a fascinating paradox. Few terms .are so widely used by the people of the so-called free world and at the same time mean so many different things to them. Even communist and other dictatorships use it widely and boastfully as a 'sop' to the people, e.g. the so-called 'democracies' in Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as United States of America, Britain and France, among others. Beetham (1993) argues:

> Disputes about the meaning of democracy which purport to be conceptual disagreements are really disputes about how much

democracy is either desirable or practicable; that is, about where the trade-off should come between democratic and other values, or at what point along the spectrum a given set of institutional arrangements for realizing the principle of control by equal citizens is in practice sustainable. In other words, we should distinguish between the concept of democracy, which in my view is incontestable, and whose point of reference lies at one end of a spectrum of possibilities; and different theories of democracy which involve contestable claims about how it might be realized in a sustainable institutional form. (Beetham, 1993).

Types of Democracy

There are various types of Democracy. They include:
1. Islamic Democracy;
2. Majority Rule Democracy;
3. Polyarchy form of Democracy;
4. Direct or Participatory Democracy;
5. Delegative Democracy;
6. Liberal or Representative Democracy;
7. Social Welfarist Democracy;
8. Marxist Tradition Democracy;
9. Feminist Democracy;
10. Cosmopolitan Democracy;
11. Radical Democracy;
12. Green Democracy;
13. Socialist Democracy;
14. Capitalist Democracy.

Islamic Democracy

As a religion and a complete way of life, Islam encourages the practice of 'democracy' in all its ramifications. There is no doubt that there are some apparent similarities between Islamic and Western conceptualization of 'democracy.' Nevertheless, there are major differences between the two perspectives and in particular the Western approach to 'democracy' contains some un-Islamic elements. (Olayiwola, 1984, 1991, 1996, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013).

Islam enjoins the society to function democratically. In private domestic affairs, as between a husband and a wife, or other responsible partners or parties interested, in state affairs, as between rulers and ruled, or as between different departments of administration among a host of others, Islam expects the application of democratic principles.

As a matter of fact, there are Qur'anic *ayahs* referring to spiritual democracy, social democracy and economic democracy, For example, Islam establishes spiritual democracy by abolishing priesthood and 'spiritual feudalism' completely and by making the acquisition of knowledge the prerogative and the obligation of everyone, including the women-folk, tearing into shreds the very notion of privileged families, special classes and castes. In the same vein, Islam established social democracy by abolishing all criteria of tribal, racial and colour distinctions, affirming only piety and the superiority of good character. The basic principles

and laws that wealth should not be permitted to circulate among the wealthy only is part of economic democracy in Islam.

Islam is a democratic religion for it has no special place for princes, kings and the nobility. Allah says:

> O mankind! We created you from a single (pair of a male) and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other, (not that ye may despise each other). Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well-acquainted (with all things), (al-Qur'an, 49: 13).

Islam enjoins Muslims to practice democratic consultation (*al Shūrā*) al-Qur'an, 42: 38), whether they are involved in the running of a small community group, the management of a school, or a business corporation, or the governance of the affairs of states. This principle allows any Muslim community to choose the best means to suit its requirements according to the circumstances of time and place. For instance, one community may decide to choose its leaders by direct election while another group may prefer indirect elections by nominated representatives. However, no decision should be taken until everybody, directly or, indirectly, has had the chance to express his/her opinion and. cite relevant evidence if the need arises.

Islamic democracy promotes unity and striving for unified goals in a society. It is also an indispensable condition for enhancing the common good, ensuring a sense of responsibility, participation, consultation, and commitment of members of a society. The practice of Islamic democracy serves to prevent the emergence of despotic, dictatorial/ authoritarian and arbitrary" styles of leadership in a community. It also serves to prevent alienation, dissension, discord, the growth of factions and conflict in a society. (al-Qur'an 49: Passim).

Viewed from a historical perspective, "democracy" as conceived in the modern West is infinitely nearer to the Islamic Democracy than to the ancient Greek concept of liberty; for Islam maintains that all human beings are socially equal and must, therefore, be given the same opportunities for development and self-expression. On the other hand, Islam makes it incumbent upon Muslims to subordinate their decisions to the guidance of the Divine Law revealed in the Qur'an and exemplified by Prophet Muhammad (P.B.O.H): an obligation which imposes definite limits on the community's right to legislate and denies to the "will of the people" that attribute of sovereignty which forms so integral a part of the Western concept of democracy. A tendency superficially similar to that of Islam can be discerned in the concept of "ideological" democracy prevalent in the USSR and other Communist states. There, as in Islam, an ideology is placed over and above the people's freedom to legislate for themselves; only within the framework of that ideology can the majority vote become effective. However, as just mentioned, this similarity is only superficial: first, because Islam bases all its ideological concepts on a Divine Law which, to the believer, is ethically binding in an absolute, immutable sense, whereas the ideology of communism is admittedly the product of a human doctrine and is therefore subject to the most far-reaching amendments; and, second, because Islam makes the comprehension and interpretation of its Law dependent on the individual's knowledge and conscience alone and does not force him to accept interpretations by any other individual or organized body as morally binding. (Notwithstanding the frequent violations of this principle in the course of Muslim history, the teachings of Islam are unequivocal on this subject.)

From the foregoing it is evident that even in the West the terms "democracy" and "democratic liberties" can be and are being used in widely divergent connotations. Their application—either in an affirmative or in a negative sense—to the political ideology of Islamic Democracy necessarily produces an atmosphere of vagueness and, with it, a tendency to juggle with words. (Asad, 1980).

(2)   Majority Rule Democracy

This is a form of government where conflicts and disputes are settled, "by a majority of citizens or voters – either directly in public assembly or in a referendum, or indirectly through elected representatives. (Dahl, 1972). Minority rights ought to be protected under this system.

(3)   Polyarchy Form of Democracy

This is a system of government that recognizes the importance of consent and political equality as processes requiring "that every citizen has unimpaired opportunities to formulate and indicate his/her preferences and has them weighted equally in the conduct of government. Its attributes include: elected officials; free and fair election; inclusive suffrage; right to run for office; freedom of expression; alternative information; and associational autonomy (Dahl, 1972).

(4)   Direct or Participatory Democracy

This is a system where the citizens are directly involved in the process of governance as in Ancient Athens.

(5)   Delegative Democracy

This is a system in which representatives have to follow more closely the wishes of the people who elect them rather than being autonomous. In a delegative democracy, delegates are selected and expected to act on the wishes of the constituency. The constituency may recall the delegate at any time. Representatives are expected only to transmit the decisions of electors, advance their views, and if they fail to do so, they are subject to immediate representative recall with only minimal process. (Kurki, 2008).

(6)   Liberal or Representative Democracy

The system consists of a cluster of rules such as:

(1)   Elected government;
(2)   Free and fair elections in which every citizen's vote has an equal weight;
(3)   A suffrage which embraces all citizens irrespective of distinctions of race, religion, class, sex etc;
(4)   Freedom of conscience, information and expression on all public matters broadly defined.
(5)   The right of all adults to oppose their government and stand for office;
(6)   Associational Autonomy – the right to form independent associations, including social movements; interest groups and political parties.

(7)   **Social Welfarist Democracy**

This system is concerned primarily with the well-being of the people. it takes care of the elderly, the aged, the disabled or physically challenged, the unemployed, the sick, the infirm, the lowly-paid etc by introducing various types of social security benefits. Such benefits include, income support, family credit, job seekers allowance, housing benefits, incapacity benefit, to mention just a few.

(8)   **Marxist Tradition Democracy**

This system aims at extending "equality of all citizens from the political to the social and economic spheres of life. At the economic level, this is achieved by allowing equality in the ownership of the means of production through the nationalisation of major enterprises. At the social level, equality is achieved through the institutionalization of rights to education, pension, medical services, insurance, employment, mother and child care, and in the employment of leisure (Held, 1993).

(9)   **Feminist Democracy**

This is concerned with breaking down the unequal power relations between men and women. It emphasizes gender equality, women's rights and positive action to ensure that women are in positions of power and offices in all the organs of government – the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary.

(10)   **Cosmopolitan Democracy**

This is aimed at spreading democratic values globally through legal and constitutional norms. It challenges lack of democracy in the United Nations Organisation (UNO) where only five (5) permanent members of the Security Council have veto powers. These are Britain, France, United States of America, China and Russia. To achieve true democracy within the organisation, all member states must have equal rights and equal powers including countries from Africa to mention just a few.

(11)   **Radical Democracy**

This is concerned with promoting social and economic equality especially by transforming property relations. It frowns at the asymmetric/unequal symbiotic relationships between the Centre and the Periphery Nations of the world.

(12)   **Green Democracy**

This is concerned with the ecological health of the planet. It emphasizes environmental sustainability that people are encouraged to be environmentally friendly and that governments should embark on programmes that make society better, safer, cleaner, and greener to live, work, study, trade and enjoy. It also encourages environmental security.

(13)   **Socialist Democracy**

This is a system practised in non-capitalist states such as Tanzania under former President Julius Nyerere. Such a system is identified by four variables represented by economic

tendency, government's emphasis, social emphasis, and property ownership. The economic tendency tends to favour cooperation, while government's emphasis is on planning; social emphasis aims for egalitarianism and property ownership under a socialist Democracy favours public ownership of means of production and distribution.

(14)   **Capitalist Democracy**

This is a system that exists in capitalist states such as the United States of America (USA). Under this system, the economic tendency favours competition; government's emphasis places emphasis on economic imbalance; social emphasis favours liberalism/laisse faire and property ownership favours private ownership of means of production and distribution (Ologbenla, 2004).

Przeworski (2000) has also made distinctions/dichotomies between democratic ideals, democratic institutions and democratic practices. Democratic ideals are the normative and constitutive values of the polity. They include such principles as (1) freedom of expression (2) uncensored participation of the people in the determination of their destiny, (3) equitable distribution of power (4) public accountability of elected representatives, etc

Democratic institutions are those supportive structures that are needed to provide the framework for democratic practice towards achieving the goal of democratic ideals. They include (1) constitutionally safeguarded rights (2) an independent and effective judiciary (3) independent media, (4) efficient electoral and party systems (5) an effective parliament, and (6) participatory local governance, all prerequisites for democracy.

Democratic practices are the actual exercises of the principles of democracy. The effective practice of democracy is contingent on (1) political participation (2) public awareness (3) robust opposition (4) an active civil society, and (5) the nature of political parties.

It is pertinent to mention that typologies of Democracy have been criticised by some scholars. Simbine, (2000) argues that:

> It is a truism that democracy is the result of centuries-long processes mostly in countries in the global northwest, but it is not exactly true that there are many forms of democracy even though no two countries have the same shade of democracy as variations abound among countries. No matter the variations, they share basic elements of an underlying liberal democratic model. In these societies, democracy is generally embodied in an institutional package: a set of rules and instructions (many of which are complex organisations) that are explicitly formalised in constitutions and auxiliary legislation. For non-western societies, it is opined that democracy which in the layman's language is rule of the people, by the people and for the people, can be practised within any culture or tradition with any type of fine-tuning to meet its specific requirements. In essence, democracy autochthonous to every culture in terms of particular features can be developed and practiced. In fact, while not precluding positive outside influence, democratization will have to be worked out in each country by its people.

Issues in Democracy and Sustainable Transformation: Some Recapitulations

We have, so far, discussed our contention in the abstract to this paper, introduced the subject-matter of the manuscript, analysed the statement of the problem, reviewed the extant literature on the concept of democracy and examined in detail, the various types of democracy with some critique and pros and cons of the scholarly contributions.

We now focus further on the issues in democracy and sustainable transformation, some of which had been mentioned passim and tangentially during the course of this discourse. Democracy can facilitate sustainable transformation and development. Democracy has potential to accelerate the pace of development by promoting popular participation and ensuring accountability in governance. However, the issues in democracy need to be resolved if people's concerns and aspirations are to be incorporated into sustainable transformation and development plans with a view to ascertaining that their commitments are better assured. Also, if such issues in democracy are taken care of, democracy will be able to recognize diversity and plurality within the society as well as equality of citizens and will undoubtedly seek to build consensus through debates, persuasion and compromise. With the issues tackled, the full realization of the tenets of democracy will be achieved.

Olufemi, (2000) argues that scholars, policy makers, the Bretton Woods Institutions and other multilateral agencies have accepted that there is a positive relationship between democracy, sustainable transformation and economic development. Przeworski (1991) concurs:

> The durability of the new democracies will depend, however, not only on their institutional structure and the ideology of the major political forces, but also to a large extent on their economic performance. Profound economic reforms must be undertaken if there is to be any hope that the deterioration in living conditions experienced by many nascent democratic countries will ever cease.

Diamond, (1997), also opines that:

> It is a truism that the better performance of a democratic regime in producing and broadly distributing improvements in living standards, the more likely is to endure.

Commenting on the issues in democracy, Cerny (2009) says:

> It is too easy to forget that democracy is a very new phenomenon in historical terms. Although its roots go back to ancient Athens, only three major countries before the First World War had relatively democratic systems - Britain, France and the United States. Even those countries were not fully democratic in the way we think about it today. All three had experienced a rocky road to democracy in the 19th century, including a range of restrictions on the franchise, limits on associational activity, revolutions (France), civil war and slavery (the United States), class struggle (Britain), deep inequalities and power struggles over the fruits of capitalist

industrialisation. Indeed, between the two world wars in the first half of the 20th century democracy was not expanding but retreating in the world, under profound threat from fascism, Soviet Communism and both old and new anti-democratic social hierarchies.

Cerny further points out that even in spite of the spread of democracy, which some conceptualise as 'Waves' (Huntington, 1991), there are still a number of contending issues associated with democracy. According to him, among these issues, are:

(1)   How to interpret the complex historical trajectories of existing democratic states, not to mention failed democracies;
(2)   How to achieve 'stable democracy', especially in terms of the mix of democratic and non-democratic dimensions of ostensibly democratic political systems;
(3)   Whether different interpretations of the philosophical and political "substance of 'democracy' can be reconciled, or whether we are condemned to pursuing only the lowest common denominator;
(4)   Who democratises, that is, what kind of actors will be pushing for democratisation, and what are the constraints and opportunities they face? and
(5)   How a range of inherent problems of democratic institutionalisation might be tackled, given the underlying structural tensions between 'internationalisation' and 'globalisation.'

In addition, Cerny noted that there is the inherent pitfall of democracy, which he labels "Plural Democratism; in this case, he maintains that there are differences between the historical participatory democracy and the current representative democracy. Cerny further explains:

> The differences - even incompatibilities - between fundamental conceptions of democracy have been with us since the Greek philosophers invented the term, especially between participatory democracy and representative democracy, between the rule of the 'mob' and the role of elites, between institutions and processes, between equality and inequality, and between all of these and the outcomes of political processes. Is a procedurally democratic system that entrenches the rule of elites and dominant classes truly democratic if it creates classes of 'losers' in the process? What is the relationship between procedure and substance? (Cerny, 2009)

In our view, the following are the issues in democracy and sustainable transformation:

(1)   Internal Democracy;
(2)   Legislative, Executive and Judicial behaviours;
(3)   Media Manipulation and Ownership.
(4)   The quality and standard of elections;
(5)   Low Voter Turnouts;
(6)   Shot-termism;
(7)   Fundamental Human Rights;

(8)   The Political Utility and Manipulation of Religion, Ethnicity, Sectionalism, Tribalism, Regionalism, Gangsterism and Brigandage;

(9)   Security and Insecurity Issues;

(10)   Corruption, Governance, Leadership and Rule of Law.

(11)   Political Parties and Pressure Groups;

(12)   Supremacy of the Constitution and Constitutionalism ;

(13)   Independence of the Judiciary;

(14)   Accountability and Transparency;

(15)   Minority Issues;

(16)   General issues of stability in politics, economy, medical care, education, communication, agriculture, rural development and environment;

(17)   Issues of Local, Regional, State, National, Global and International Dimensions;

(18)   Political Participation of Citizens;

(19)   Citizenship;

(20)   Civilian control of the military to mention just a few among a host of others.

Internal Democracy

One paramount issue in democracy and sustainable transformation is the issue of lack of internal democracy within the competing political parties for elective offices in a democracy. In some of the parties, internal discipline is weak; internecine battles are common; nominations, party-primaries and selections of candidates for various elections are stage-managed, thus leading to acrimonies, conflicts, deep schisms, internal party crises, fractionalisations, disorders, alignments and re-alignments. For political parties to serve as effective instruments of democratic consolidation, they must exhibit characteristics of internal democracy in their operations. We argue that political parties bereft of internal democracy will find it difficult, if not impossible, to deliver and consolidate a democratic process. Internal democracy requires many instrumental elements including:

(1)   Organising free, fair and regular credible elections of internal positions, as well as candidates for representative bodies; and

(2)   An open participation of all members and member groups in such a way that interests are more or less equally represented.

(3)   Internal democracy in political parties, also known as intra-party democracy, refers to the level and methods of including party members in the decision making and deliberation within the party structure.

Intra-party democracy is usually known to nurture citizens' political competencies and/or producing more capable representatives which in turn ensures that the party produces better policies and political programmes for inclusive societal development. Internal democracy in political parties, also known as intra-party democracy refers to the level and methods of including party members in the decision making and deliberations within the party structure.

Section 228 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended) provides for legislative powers of the country's National Assembly including the making of guidelines and rules to ensure internal democracy within political parties, including making laws for the conduct of party primaries, party congress and party conventions.

Legislative, Executive and Judicial Behaviours as Pillars of a Functioning Democracy

In a democratic government key principles include free and open elections, the rule of law, and a separation of powers, typically into the following:

- Legislature (Law-making)
- Executive (actually governing within those laws)
- Judiciary (system of courts to administer justice)

These three (3) arms of government are very important and their functions universal in all political institutions in the world today. No democratic institution worth its salt can perform any function in any state without the presence of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary in the polity. This is because the essence of the society is closely connected to the fundamental principles of the laws which are made, interpreted and protected by those organs of government.

In point of fact, rule-making, rule application and rule-adjudication are output functions in all political systems. However, the issues of democracy in this regard are that these organs do not perform their expected functions for the benefit of society and good governance. Laws being made especially in developing countries do not address the concerns and interests of the people; the executive actions are selfish and undemocratic and in some cases, illegal and unconstitutional; while the judiciary, which is expected to be the last hope of the common man is influenced by politics, money, ethnicity, religion and corruption. All these adversely affect the so-called independence of the judiciary.

Media Manipulation and Ownership

A free and impartial media is important for a functioning democracy. However, a lot of mainstream media suffers from concentrated ownership by a handful of companies and individuals that usually results in less diversity of views being aired as those owning companies and individuals have their own interests to protect and promote. They are always ready and quick to do whatever they think would bring them more readers, more viewers, more listeners and more revenues. All these adversely affect democracy.

We argue that in addition to formal aspects of a functioning democracy and to achieve openness that transparency and accountability give, there is an important need for free press and mass media. This is to allow people make informed choices and decisions thereby contributing to political debate, productively.

Low Voter Turnout

Another important issue in democracy is the issue of low voter turnout. People seem indifferent, non-challant and uninterested in voting because of the undemocratic and selfish behaviours of political leaders. Even, postal voting introduced in some democracies has not helped to improve the situation.

There have been numerous cases where democracies have seen leaders elected on low voter turnouts. Good examples are Nigeria and Britain. Such a low voter turnout is an issue in democracy and it represents a concern for a genuine democracy as a sufficient percentage of the electorate has either chosen not to vote, or not being able to vote. To solve this issue,

countries mandate voting into Law, for example, Belgium, among a host of other countries. There are numerous reasons for low voter turnout, including:

- Voter apathy;
- Disenfranchisement;
- Parties not representing people;
- Voter intimidation.

Short-termism

Many democracies have rules that elections must be held regularly, say every 4 or 5 years. The short life span of government is there for an important reason, it prevents a party becoming entrenched, dictatorial, stagnant or less caring of the population over time.

Also, competition in elections encourages people to stay on their toes; governments knowing they must deliver, and potential candidates/parties knowing they can participate with a chance. However, short-termism has its own short-comings. An example is where there is a stalement in the result of elections and a coalition of government has to be installed. This happened in Britain in 2010 when none of the major political parties was able to win outright majority seats in the Parliament. As a result, the Tories (the Conservative Party) and the Liberal Democrat Party had to form a coalition government. This was seen as a political revolution in the political history of Britain. The reasons adduced for this include the following:

(1)   The outcome of the 2010 general election produced a coalition. Government of Conservative and Liberal Democrat Parties for a fixed term of five (5) years.
(2)   It was an era of "new politics" taking Britain in an "historic new "direction." British government has always been for 4 years after which an election takes place for a new government to be formed.
(3)   Five cabinet jobs were handed to the Lib-Dem including .2 key economic portfolios, and a plan to give Mr. Clegg, Lib-Dem leader, a minister in every Department.
(4)   British national interest was being put above party interest and a vow was being made to put co-operation above confrontation.
(5)   The image of the pair setting up a vast tent in the centre ground of British politics posed a serious question for the Labour Party. The British Political system was being re-made.
(6)   The Lib-Con political arrangement re-writes the Westminster rule book and meant the previously unimaginable becoming common place. Mr. Clegg would stand in for Prime Minister Cameron at Prime Minister's Questions if he was away, and a Tory Chief Whip would demand discipline from Lib-Dem MPs.
(7)   55% of the MPs votes would be needed for a vote of no-confidence in the government whereas before the coalition it used to be 50% + 1 of the MPS.
(8)   Collective cabinet responsibility has had to be suspended over some intractable policy disagreements. e.g.

    (a)   Lib-Dems would be allowed to abstain from votes on Tory tax breaks for married couples and higher tuition fees.
    (b)   A Lib-Dem spokesman could speak out against plans for a new generation of nuclear power stations.

(c)   The parties would contest Westminster by-election as usual, even though their candidates would be defending the same government record.

(d)   There were eleven (11) other examples.

(9)   Downing street published a seven-page document showing how both sides (the two parties] had knitted their manifestos into a programme for government.

(10) There would be no amnesty for immigration.

LESSONS FOR NIGERIA

- The campaign took 1 month.
- There was no violence
- Voters were not intimidated
- All votes counted, although, some people were not happy that they could not vote after 10.00p.rn
- The incumbent Labour government in power gave up when it was defeated.

However, some people had a contrary view and insisted that it was not a revolution for the following reasons:

(1)   The General Election of Thursday 6th of May 2010 did not produce a Political Party with a majority of 326 MPS to form a government; Tory had 306; Lib-Dem had 57 and Labour 200+.

(2)   The people did not vote for a coalition government.

(3)   There should have been another general election called.

(4)   There should have been a minority government by the Tories.

(5)   Some people prefer a coalition government between Labour Party and lib-Dem.

(6)   There were not many women in the cabinet. Only 4 women were given portfolios.

(7)   People are wondering how long the coalition of the two parties would last.

(8)   How integrated would the two parties be?

(9)   The deal and/or the new politics was an insult to the British voters. e.g.:

    (a)   No voting for a coalition government.

    (b)   The fixed term of five years for government before a new General Election.

    (c)   The   55% MP for a vote of no confidence in government.

    (d)   Lack of adherence to party manifestos and programmes on which the parties based their campaigns and for which the British people voted.

(10) The fixed term would institutionalize unelected Prime Ministers and Deputies whereas Gordon Brown was blamed for being an unelected Labour Prime Minister.

The issue of civilian control over the military is also of paramount importance. Not only must the military be held to account by the government (and, by extension, the people), but the military leadership must fully believe in a democratic system if instability through military coups and dictatorships are to be avoided. This has been problematic in developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The ingredients of a good and acceptable election in a Democracy are:

(a)   Transparency and neutrality;

(b)   High level of integrity;

(c)   Credibility, courage and dedication;

(d)   Respect for the secrecy of the vote;

(e)   Acting in accordance with the law. A vital element of Democracy is that a politician must be prepared to go if that is what people want. Also, an Independent Electoral Commission should be characterized by the following:

(i)   Must be politically neutral and non-partisan;

(ii)   Integrity of the members;

(iii)   Freedom and independence of action;

(iv)   Security of tenure;

(v)   Salary should be charged on a consolidated fund. For an election to be valid, it must comply with any existing Electoral Act as amended. Efficient Transportation of sensitive election materials is of paramount importance and the Electoral Commission should not rely on private transporters/to convey election materials. One disturbing feature of elections in developing countries is the involvement of the electoral referees – INEC, FEDECO, NECOM or by whatever name, the Police and Security Agencies, in gross criminal misconduct on behalf of the party in power either at Federal, State and/or Local Government Levels. These acts include ballot box snatching, arrest and detention of opposition party agents, thumb imprinting of ballot papers in favour of the ruling party etc. Key problems for Democracy in developing countries are: Credible Elections, Corruption, Security, Governance andPolitical Parties. The evolution of tribalism, ethnicity, corruption, electoral malpractice, and the misuse of state authority to perpetuate the hegemony of the countries political elites over the nation state have compounded the problems over the years. The internal democracy is aimed at developing more democratic, transparent and effective political parties. The aim is to identify specific challenges for the internal management and functioning of parties and party systems. Areas of specific focus include candidate selection, leadership selection, policy making, membership relations, gender, minorities, youth and party funding. The relationship of the issues to governance, anti-corruption and service delivery. Issues in Democracy discussed have precipitated serious challenges for sustainable transformation. Many countries have used the so-called grand or global challenges (Poverty, Gender Inequality and other forms of discrimination, Climate Change, Energy, Global Health and healthy aging, Agriculture and Food Security as a means of orienting public investments in science, Technology and Innovation. However, as global challenges, they cannot be adequately addressed by single actors. Coordination and collective action are needed to mobilize the necessary resources. It is argued that with their social, cultural, economic and psychological implications, they represent a shift towards a new era, which concerns all levels of the global community: with important social and environmental problems, markets and mindsets, global cooperation and democracy. In the same vein, many different stakeholders have to be involved as the problems are multidimensional, trans-disciplinary, and systemic. To tackle the problematic issues in Democracy and sustainable transformation requires new ways of thinking which goes beyond traditional frameworks and disciplines and has to lead to a re-thinking of research and innovation policies.

Nevertheless, the broad societal risks and problems represented by the challenges are at the same time also providing opportunities for new activities, goods and services and for moving towards a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy. We submit that the way politics, business and society deal with the grand issues and challenges will strongly affect economy

and society globally in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, the Asian Pacific, Europe and the Americas. We need new policies, new governance models, new innovation solutions and strategies, and new investment models to solve the problems posed by issues in Democracy and sustainable transformation. To address such potential issues of Democracy and sustainable transformation requires more tolerance, understanding, and openness of society, such that people are not insecure due to the presence of others (and so that they do not, as a result, turn to more extreme/fundamental aspects of their own belief(s). This can come through various outlets, including, a diverse mainstream media, institutions such as religious and legal ones, schooling, family upbringing, traditional rulers and the utilization of all the agencies of socialization in all ramifications.

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