

An assessment of dividends of democracy in Kankara local government area of Katsina State (1999-2020). A discourse using utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill

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Abstract



Adopting a utilitarian perspective helps to evaluate the good or bad consequences of public governance and management in Nigeria. In addition, is to proffering ways public governance and management can be improved, which is for the main reason of improving citizens' wellbeing. Despite the spread of democracy globally, it faces challenges. Thus with the democratic rule in (Nigeria) from 1999 to date, will the Kankara indigenes testify to meaningful change that has brought about any positive change in their lives? Have they reaped any meaningful dividends of democracy? Is there will at the polls true reflection of their leaders and representation? The study explores the linkage between the utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill and the dividends of democracy. Substantially relying on Primary and secondary source of data collection in our quest to adequately reflect the issues involved in this study. Oral interview, questionnaire and focus group discussion with stakeholders were used in generating data for this study. Basically, we argued that the failure of democratic consolidation in Nigeria is, in large measure, due to the failure of the Nigerian state to effectively promote the common good of the greatest number of Nigerians. That is, the failure of the ruling elite to adopt the basic tenets of utilitarianism in the business of governance in Nigeria. In addition, the joint account syndrome has eroded dividends of democracy Kankara L.G.A. It then recommends that democracy, as a people-oriented majoritarian form of government can be enthroned and equally consolidated in Nigeria only if the general good and collective welfare of the greatest number of Nigerians are guaranteed and subsequently promoted by the Nigerian state in accordance with the time honored principles of utilitarianism and

a constitutional amendment to allow for local government autonomy and the abolition of the joint account system

Keywords: Utilitarianism, Kankara, Democracy, Development, Dividends.

Introduction

It is said that necessity is the mother of invention. Adversity generates ideas. The collapse of the Greek city-states and Alexandrian empires in ancient times and its attendant depressing social environment arising from the breakdown of social order led to the formulations of philosophies like Cynicism, Stoicism, Epicureanism, Hedonism, and Skepticism etc.¹ Nicola Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Locke were inspired to profound their political theories because of the socio-political climate of their time marked by insecurity, devastation and anarchy.²

Philosophers from ancient times have offered their concepts on how humans ought to conduct themselves, and more generally, defined theories which they deemed as platforms, upon which ethical principles should be established. It is this attempt to recommended moral principles that led to different moral theories, and subsequently to utilitarianism as an ethical principle.³

Utilitarianism is often discussed as an ethical approach or theory in moral philosophy, because of its ideological influence on evaluating actions, laws, policies, governments, and institutions. The main proponents of utilitarianism as an ethical doctrine are Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill. Utilitarianism rose in mediaeval England as an attack on the existing legal

¹ Uduigwomen, A. (2006). Introducing Ethics: Trends, Problems and Perspectives. Calabar: Campus Life Arts. p 35

² Nisbet, R. (1989). The Social Philosophers. New York; Washington Square Press. P 24.

³ Ajom, S. B. (2006). Political thought: a comparative analysis from the ancient Greek city states, the nation states of Europe and modern states of Africa. Jamel Publishers.

Chinonye, B. (2007). Political Theory .Premum Publishers. Bariga, Lagos.

system. Therefore, a utilitarian approach to the study of governance and management primarily aims at evaluating and criticizing.

As Katarzyna and Peter put it despite the differences in the views of the utilitarians, there is something important that they all share.⁴ Bentham's idea, which Mill endorses, that everybody is to count for one and nobody for more than one; Sidgwick's (1874) requirement that we regard the good of any one individual as equivalent to the good of any other; Harsanyi's choice in a position of ignorance that forces us to be impartial between all members of the group for which we are choosing; Smart's sentiment of 'generalized benevolence'; and Hare's analysis of moral language as requiring us to put ourselves in the position of all of those affected by our actions.⁵ All of these philosophers can be seen as presenting utilitarianism as the best understanding and application of the insight that underlies the Golden Rule. Nor is it an accident, we believe, that something akin to the Golden Rule lies at the core of the ethics of many different cultures and civilizations, from the Jewish and Christian traditions to those of India and China. That utilitarianism can plausibly be seen as an implication of the same insight is a further argument in its favour.⁶

Mill fights against a utilitarian conception centred on the maximization of individual pleasures, while refusing a moral perspective sacrificing the sensible inclinations. The idea is to orient the individual desire toward the care of others so that the search for personal happiness and the quest for the other are good merges. The same perspective can be found among contemporary thinkers, trying to make the most of the modern claim for autonomy and personal flourishing, for instance

⁴ Richard, P. (1758). A Review of the Principle Questions in Morals, London: T. Cadell in the Strand, 1787

⁵ Sedgwick, H.(1874).Shahakian, Systems of Ethics and Values Theory. New Jersey: Littlefied Adam and Company.The Methods of Ethics. London: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

⁶ Sedgwick, H.(1874).Shahakian, Systems of Ethics and Values Theory. New Jersey: Littlefied Adam and Company.The Methods of Ethics. London: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Scneedwind defends a paradoxical thesis in the context of what he considers as society's gradual slipping into a narcissistic cult of the self: self-love, rightly understood, implies concern for the other.⁷ Despite the spread of democracy globally, it faces challenges. Some researchers have observed that "it is not universally accepted and practiced,"⁸ given the contradictions surrounding it. According to Richards "there still exist difficulties in adopting and translating its holistic values into the framework of sustainable development in most parts of the world."⁹ He attributes factors hindering the proper translation of the values of democracy to poor development of democratic institutions, ideological confusion and misconceptions.¹⁰

With the advent of a civilian administration which came to usher in Nigeria's present civilian dispensation on the 29th of May, 1999, various administrations and government policies and programs have been formulated, implemented and delivered to the people under the guise of the "dividend of democracy". Accordingly, these dividends are the benefits that are supposed to accrue to the individual and the entire citizenry since the adoption of a so called popular form of government that is supposed to have been put into place by the people. A significant part of the problem arises out of the fact that there seems to be lack of proper perception, of the issues in its nature and forms. The basic ingredients which should be used as the criteria for assessing and evaluating the dividends of democracy have largely been mistaken, overlooked and relegated to the background.¹¹ To

⁷ Schneewind, J.B. (1977). *Sidgwick's Ethics and Victorian Moral Philosophy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

⁸ Douglas, L. (1990). "utility' and the 'Utility Principle': Hume, Smith, Bentham, Mill," *Utilitas*, 2:12-39.

⁹ John, G. (1731). *A Dissertation Concerning the Fundamental Principle and Immediate Criterion of Virtue in Frances King's An Essay on the Origin of Evil*, London.

Richard, P. (1758). *A Review of the Principle Questions in Morals*, London: T. Cadell in the Strand, 1787.

¹⁰ Kant, I., (2002). *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*. Trans. Allen W. Wood. London: Yale University Press,

¹¹ Omotola J. (2007). *Democratization, Good Governance and Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience*. *Journal of Sustainable*

establish this article will require a proper explication of the concept of democracy. Understanding this properly, one can then analyze and relate the situation as it is obtainable in Kankara L.G.A. It will then be easier to establish whether or not the citizens are truly enjoying the dividends of democracy as widely publicized.

Kankara. A Hausa word for ice. This uncountable noun is a name that reminds me of youth in two ways: One natural, the other artificial. When we were young, we entered the rain to collect “kankara” and ground them with our teeth. Another way of getting it was through the artificiality of the electric freezer. But instead of representing coldness, kankara early December was hot after the kidnap of 333 boys of Government Science Secondary School, Kamkara, in Katsina State. The home state of our president.¹² It heat seared through the nation’s abnormal atmosphere of crime infestation and dominated national discourse. It relegated every other crime due to its magnitude and the audacity of its perpetration. It promised to dwarf Chibok and Dapchi put together. With the democratic rule in (Kankara) from 1999 to date, will the resident testify to any meaningful change that has brought about any positive change in their lives? Have they reaped any meaningful dividends of democracy? Is there will at the polls true reflection of their leaders and representation? Are their leaders and representatives performance anything to hail up about? And have they held the trust invested on them sincerely?

Research Questions

The following research questions shall serve as guidelines towards the achievement of the objectives of this work:

- What is the state of development in Kankara L.G.A. of Katsina State before Democracy?
- What is the perception of people towards dividends of Democracy in Kankara L.G.A.?

Development in Africa.Vol.9, 2007.Ayetteville State University, Ayetteville .North Carolina.(CBS News, 15 December, 2020).

¹² Carolina, I. (2020). (CBS News, 15 December, 2020).

- What are the challenges of democratic dividends in Kankara L.G.A.?
- What are the possible ways by which dividends of democracy can be equitably distributed so that the masses will enjoy them?

Research Hypothesis

The following assumptions were formulated in the pursuit of the set objectives:

- Dividends of democracy are been enjoy in Kankara L.G.A.
- Dividends of democracy are not been enjoy in Kankara L.G.A.

Definition of Terms

Democracy is a system of government by which political sovereignty is retained by the people and therefore exercised directly by them through their active participation. In continuation of his definition of democracy; William, posits that the original meaning of democracy is the capacity to do things, not majority rule.¹³ This is instructive, within our context of democracy and sustainable national development in Nigeria. This is because; there is this apparent Nigerian orthodoxy that equates democracy to majority rule. However, a basic assumption of democracy is that it should guarantee the welfare of the citizens. In Nigeria however Jega et al have demonstrated that democracy neglects the welfare of the citizens. Hence, any system of government that fails to guarantee the welfare of the citizens will be difficult to market as democracy. It may be more germane to call such a system ceremonial democracy. It does appear, however, as if the underpinnings of Nigeria's brand of democracy, fully shows the tendencies of democratic capitalism, otherwise known as a capitalist democracy.¹⁴

¹³ William, E. (1997) "Democracy" Colliers Encyclopedia, Vol.18; New Field Publication Inc.

Jega, H. Wakili& Ahmad, M. (Eds.) (2002). Democracy and Democratization in Nigeria, 1999-2001, CDRTMambayya House, Kano.

¹⁴ Jega, H. Wakili& Ahmad, M. (Eds.) (2002). Democracy and Democratization in Nigeria, 1999-2001, CDRTMambayya House, Kano.

Dividends; can simply be called the gains or profits realized from democracy. It is an obvious fact that the military government operates by decrees while in an ideal democratic government, law operates. Rule of law is what is unique to democracy. It includes supremacy of the law, equality before the law and fundamental human rights. It is only in a democracy that rule of law can be obtained. Therefore, rule of law can be said to be part of the dividends of democracy. Many policies, programs and plans have been termed “dividends of democracy” by politicians and people since the beginning of the fourth republic till date.

Fourth republic: this is the period that began from the time the Abubakar regime disengage from office and hand -over to an elected civilian government that is, from May 29th 1999.

Biography of John Stuart Mill (1806 – 1973)

John Stuart Mill was born in London on May 20, 1806. His father, James Mill, was a journalist and an official of the East India Company. Two years after John Stuart Mill's birth, his father met the philosopher and reformer Jeremy Bentham; for the remainder of his life, he was Bentham's devoted friend, disciple, spokesman and an effective popularizer of his ideas, while his precocious child was soon seen as Bentham's intellectual heir. His commitment to the utilitarian creed involved his son, whom James Mill chose to educate at home in order to cultivate the perfect utilitarian individual.¹⁵

The young Mill never went to school, instead being intensively tutored by his father at home. Like Bentham, he learned a remarkable amount at a very early age, for he tells us in his Autobiography that he could read ancient Greek at 3, and Latin at 8. By 15, he had read most of the classics in their original language, knew French, read widely in history, and mastered a considerable body of thought in mathematics, logic, the sciences, and economics. Only then was he introduced to Bentham's work. On reading Bentham he became, as he later wrote, ‘a different

¹⁵ Ajom, S. B. (2006). Political thought: a comparative analysis from the ancient Greek city states, the nation states of Europe and modern states of Africa. Jamel Publishers.

Chinonye, B. (2007). Political Theory. Premum Publishers. Bariga, Lagos.

being. The feeling rushed upon me, that all previous moralists were superseded, and that here indeed was the commencement of a new era in thought.'

During Mill's childhood, his father earned only a very modest income from writing reviews and articles, while devoting much of his time to working on the first history of British rule in India. The publication of that work in 1817, to wide acclaim, transformed the family's fortunes. Though James Mill was critical of much that the British had done in India, he was offered a position with the East India Company, the effective ruler of British India. In 1823 he was able to arrange for his son, then aged 17, to be employed by the company as well. Fortunately for posterity, the work was not so demanding as to impede the younger Mill's learning and writing.¹⁶

When Mill was 24, he met Harriet Taylor, who was to have a profound influence on his thinking. She was two years younger, but whereas he was single, she was married with children. They became close, so close that some of Mill's friends warned him that he was risking a scandal. He ignored their warnings. Twenty years later, in 1851, two years after the death of Harriet's husband, they married. Harriet died in 1858, and Mill felt the loss deeply. The following year he published his most celebrated work, *On Liberty*, and dedicated it to her, writing that, along with everything that he had written for many years, 'it belongs as much to her as to me'. After Harriet's death and his retirement, Mill wrote extensively, bringing to fruition many projects that he had begun during the eight years of their marriage. Among these were the considerations on Representative Government, published in 1861, and the *Subjection of Women*, his revolutionary defense of women's capacity for self-development, which was written in 1861 but appeared only in 1869.¹⁷

In October, November and December of 1861 Mill published three essays in a prominent intellectual monthly, Fraser's

¹⁶ Mill J.S., (1991). *The Collection Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. John M. Robson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London.

¹⁷Chinonye, B. (2007). *Political Theory*.Premum Publishers.Bariga, Lagos.

Magazine. It was his attempt to appeal to an educated lay audience about some fundamental matters concerning morality, religion, reason, pleasure, and duty. These essays, reworked into five chapters and published in book form as *Utilitarianism* in 1863, are an act of radical reform, an effort to defend the integrity of a benevolent, rational moral view that was humane and that would encourage positive change. The book was also an attack on Kant and intuitionist moral theorists and on Bentham, whose conception of the goal of utility was too narrow and intellectualistic for Mill. It remains to this day a classic formulation of instrumentalist moral theory.¹⁸

Two years later Mill was elected to parliament from Westminster, serving three years until 1868. From then until his death on May 8, 1873, he wrote and avoided those who sought him. Tended in these last years by his stepdaughter Helen, Mill died quietly and was buried in Avignon, alongside his beloved Harriet.¹⁹

John Stuart Mill's Notion of Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism originated from the Latin word 'utilis'; which stands for utility, usefulness, helpfulness, convenience, or benefit. Utilitarianism as a doctrine from a historical thinking perspective has an intellectual pedigree that goes back to the hedonic and eudaimonic schools of thought, which are represented respectively by Epicurus and Aristotle who are classical Greek philosophers. While hedonism is the doctrine of pleasure, eudaimonism is the doctrine of happiness and wellbeing. The good life according to Epicurus is the life devoted to pleasure, while the good life according to Aristotle is a life devoted to happiness and wellbeing. It is rational to say that utilitarianism is the reappearance and marriage of the principles of hedonism and eudaimonism.²⁰

¹⁸ Ogan, T.V. (2018). John Stuart Mill's Utilitarianism: A Critique. *International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies (IJPCS)*, Vol. 5, No 1, June/July, 2018. ISSN: 2346-7258 (P) ISSN: 2354-1598 (E)

¹⁹ Osifo, C., (2015). *Evaluating Governance and Management in Africa: A utilitarian Perspective*. Vaasanyliopisto University of Vaasa Publisher.

²⁰ Osifo, C., (2015). *Evaluating Governance and Management in Africa: A utilitarian Perspective*. Vaasanyliopisto University of Vaasa Publisher.

In his work on Utilitarianism, the claim that “happiness is the sole end of human action, and the promotion of it the test by which to judge all human conduct” stands at the center of Mill’s practical philosophy, determining how individuals should act, individually and collectively.²¹ In line with Mill’s claim, Omoregbe in his work *Metaphysics without Tears* highlights that:

In the moral sphere, being remains the foundation goodness of actions are judged morally good or bad in terms of their relations to the being of other people. Actions that enhance the being of other people are good while those that adversely affect the being of other people are evil actions. It is therefore with reference to being that is, the being of other people that actions are judged as good or evil, for being is the foundation of goodness. Mill claims that the happiness which forms the utilitarian standard of what is right in conduct is not the Agent's own happiness but that of all concerned.²²

By showing that happiness is desirable, that nothing other than happiness is desirable, and that every person’s happiness is equally desirable, Mill holds that the principles of utility is proved. Of course, it is not a proof in the traditional sense of being a logical deduction of the principle of utility. For Mill acknowledges that in a strict sense, ultimate ends are amenable to proof. Being based on critical examination of how we do reason, claims about how we ought to reason-whether practically or theoretically-must remain provisional and open for Mill, presents considerations capable of determining the intellect. As such, the principle is shown to have rational grounds.²³

²¹ Mill J.S., (1991). *The Collection Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. John M. Robson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London, X:237

²² Mill J.S., (1991). *The Collection Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. John M. Robson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London, X:234.

²³ *Ibid.*, XI: 61

Mill introduced into utilitarianism that pleasure differs in quality and not simply in terms of quantity. For him some pleasures are superior to others and are desirable than others:

If I am asked, what I mean by difference of quality in pleasures, or what makes one pleasure more valuable than other, merely as a pleasure, except its being greater in amount, there is but one possible answer. Of two pleasures, if there be one to which all or almost all who have experience of both give a decided preference [...] that is the more desirable pleasure.²⁴

Mill claims that utilitarianism identifies that pleasure differs in quality as well as quantity; in the judgment of those who have experience of different pleasures, some are preferable to others. He then moves from preferable to higher, thus surreptitiously introducing a moral classification among pleasures.

Higher and Lower Pleasures

A difference in the quality of pleasure is determined, Mill claims, by the preference of those who distinguish among pleasures irrespective of their quality. To determine what sorts of pleasures are of higher quality than others. Mill holds that pleasures “of the intellect, of the feelings and imagination, and of the moral sentiments” are amongst the higher pleasures.²⁵

Mill’s view of the sense of dignity and intellect as consisting of the higher pleasures is well summarized by Mahajan who notes that Mill acknowledges the capacity of those who are acquainted with the lower and higher pleasures,²⁶ who exercise his intelligence and maintains his sense of dignity, give a most

²⁴ Ibid., X: 211

²⁵ Ibid., X: 211

²⁶ Mahajan, V. D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company Ltd.

marked preference to the manner of existence which employs their higher faculties.²⁷

His doctrine however, needs not to be read as restrictively intellectual. As well as pleasures of the mind, he holds that pleasure gained in activity are of a higher quality than those gained passively.²⁸ Some suspect that in distinguishing qualities of pleasure, Mill depart from hedonism. For Mill's anti-hedonist interpreters, his claim that "a small amount" of pleasure can be more valuable than a "high amount" suggests placing value on something apart from the pleasurable experience itself. As Nussbaum in his article Mill between Aristotle and Bentham holds that those who doubt Mill's hedonism have in general claimed that Mill moves towards a eudemonistic or perfectionist account of happiness.²⁹

Theoretical Framework

In choosing a suitable theoretical framework for this analysis, "the Marxist theory of democracy" was adopted which argues that under the spell of the bourgeois ideology and influence, the masses are made to believe that they are governed with their consent. They are being compelled to follow the dictates of the bourgeois class against their own interest. According to Lenin (1917), in capitalist societies, democracy has always been defined by the narrow limits set by capitalist exploitation and consequently always remains a democracy only for the propertied classes as the workers are crushed by want and poverty.

The majority of the population is debarred from participation in public and political life. The essence of the capitalist democracy is that the oppressed citizens are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class

²⁷ Ogan, T.V. (2018). John Stuart Mill's Utilitarianism: A Critique. International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies (IJPCS), Vol. 5, No 1, June/July, 2018. ISSN: 2346-7258 (P) ISSN: 2354-1598 (E)

²⁸ Mill J.S., (1991). The Collection Works of John Stuart Mill, ed. John M. Robson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London, XVIII: 262

²⁹ Ogan, T.V. (2018). John Stuart Mill's Utilitarianism: A Critique. International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies (IJPCS), Vol. 5, No 1, June/July, 2018. ISSN: 2346-7258 (P) ISSN: 2354-1598 (E)

shall represent and repress them in the executive and parliament. The basis of the bourgeois democracy is the capitalist economic system in which the means of production are owned by the capitalist class. The society is divided into two classes, the capitalist and the workers, the exploiters and the exploited.

The important features of the bourgeois democracy are elections, mostly on a multi-party basis. On a critical examination, it can be said that the elections are mere shams so far as the working class is concerned. Money plays a very important role in elections and the working class which consists of poor people cannot capture political power through elections. After winning elections, the policies of the government serve the interest of the rich and the poor are appeased merely with slogans and speeches.³⁰

This kind of democracy creates ideological misconceptions by setting representative institutions which though pretending to work for all are actually working for the dominant class. The poorly educated masses are susceptible to distorted facts and capitalist propaganda through the government-controlled press. It pays lip-service to the sovereignty of the people to make itself legitimate thus maintaining and serving the bourgeois social order; but since every one regards such order as natural and proper and thus accepts their place within it, everyone then sees the state, in working this way as representing the people and acting on their behalf. Moreover, public choices are meant to serve the interest of the elites. The elites being rational and self-interested use the resources of the state at their disposal to maintain order in the society by managing a consensus that represents their interest which is aimed at maintaining the status quo. The elites in government try to structure the debate to quash any problem that would threaten their hold on power.³¹ This they achieve through elite repression of forced indoctrination in "political correctness", limitations on dissent, speech and assembly in the name of law and order; and the

³⁰ Mahajan, V. D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company Ltd. P 829

³¹ Jordan, I. (1978). Nigeria and the Political Elites. Jos: Aha Publishing House. Justice Belgore Committee Report, 2010.

subversion of democratic values in a paradoxical effort to preserve the system.³²

Methodology

This section of the paper presents an overview of methodological procedure used in order to obtain and analyze the data for the study. It comprises subsection covering the population, sample and sampling methods, and strategies for data collection and analysis.

The complexity of the problem under investigation entailed the used of variety of data collection and evaluation techniques. Hence, interview schedule, questionnaire and review of existing documents had been used to obtain the data. The strategy for data analysis involved combining qualitative evaluation with quantitative methods of analysis. The former involved detailed and descriptive form of data evaluation in which description must adhere strictly to the facts and cultural environment must guide the discussion and analysis, while the latter involved the use of frequency counts and percentages.

It adopts the multidisciplinary approach and argues that the conscious return to, and applications of utilitarianism as the foundation of life will enhance the rectification of the development problem. The questionnaires were supplemented by the interview but much emphasis was placed on the questionnaires. In a nutshell, the researcher uses primary and secondary data.

A total number of 80 questionnaires were administered randomly by the researcher himself to the youth in Kankara L.G.A. of Katsina State. The questionnaires were supplemented by the interview but much emphasis was placed on the questionnaires. In a nutshell, the researcher uses primary and secondary data.

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULT

³² James, R. & Roger, M. (1996).The Theory of Decision Making" in James C. (Eds.).Contemporary Political Analysis.New York Free Press.

In carrying out the research, a total of eighty 80 questionnaires were sent out to the respondents, The Eighty (80) questionnaires that were answered are found useful and relevant in the study and this constitutes 100% return of the entire questionnaires presented.

After a thorough and carefully reading, doing a computerized statistical analysis of my finding, the following was revealed, it is shown in a frequency table for the reader to understand also in line with this study therefore, data gathered and collected during the study shall be analyzed and interpreted using tabular form and percentages and frequencies. Hence the various questions asked and their respective responses are itemized below:

Respondents' Sex:

Table 4.1 Respondents' Sex

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	42	52.5
Female	38	47.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The table above and the information gathered shows that male respondents 42 (52.5%) were more than the female respondents 38 (47.5%)

Respondents' Age Group:

Table 4.2: Ages of the Respondents

Age group	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 20	0	-
20-29	25	31.25
30- 39	28	35
40-59	17	21.25
60+	10	12.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

According to the table 4.2 above, it shows that most of the respondents 28 (35%) fell within age of 30-39, follow by age-

group 20-29 with 25 (31.25%). The age-group 40-59 were 17 (21.25%) while those above 60 years had the lowest with 10 (12.5%).

Respondents' Educational Background

Table 4.3: Educational Backgrounds

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Tertiary	43	53.75
Secondary	24	30
Basic	10	12.5
Others	3	3.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

From the above table one can see that 10 or 12.5% of the respondents only attended primary school. Those that attended secondary school are only 24 or 30% while those with a degree from university or HND holders are 43 or 53.75% and they constitute the highest number. However, others are only 3 or 3.75% which most of them claim they have attended an Arabic school.

On the Respondents by Occupation

Table 4.4: Occupation of the Respondents

Civil Servants	16	20
Traders	15	18.75
Farmers	10	12.5
Artisans	4	5
Students	20	25
Others	15	18.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020

From the table 4.4 above 16 (20%) of the respondents were civil servants, traders were 15 (18.75%) of the respondents. Most of the respondents 10 (12.5) of the respondents were farmers and artisans were 4 (5%). 20 (25%) were students while 15 (18.75%) were engaged in other occupational activities.

Table 4.5: What are the Sources of Awareness about Dividends of Democracy by Respondents.

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Media	44	55
Politicians	29	36.25
Religious leader	6	7.5
All of the above	1	1.25
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.5 above shows that, 29 (36.25%) of the respondents opted for politician as the *sources of awareness about dividends of Democracy* 44(55%) choose Media, another 6 (7.5%) went for the other category while 1 (1.25%) did not choose any.

We can therefore conclude that politicians and media houses talk of dividends of democracy more than religious leaders. Similarly, during the in-depth interviews conducted, all key informants said that though religious leaders talk about dividends of democracy, politicians and media houses are more conversant with dividends of democracy. A youth leader said: Politicians and media houses are the major sources of awareness about dividends of democracy most especially during election campaigns. Though religious leaders do talk about dividends of, democracy, it is not like that of politicians and media houses. Similarly, all the key informants opined that dividends of democracy stand for the gains and benefits of democracy. According to them: When we talk of dividends of democracy, it means what we gain from democracy that cannot be gotten from another system of government, let's say in the military. Example of dividends of democracy is enjoyment of rule of law, where there is respect for fundamental human rights, equality before the law and supremacy of the law. Other things like access to free education, health care facilities are additions.

Table 4.6: In your opinion what are the most important problems facing Kankara L.G.A that should be address?

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Wages, income and salaries	11	13.75%
Management of the	4	5

economy		
Social infrastructure i.e water supply	18	22.5
Corruption	21	26.25
Poverty and unemployment	26	32.5
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey 2020

The result in table 4.6 shows what the most important problems are facing Kankara L.G.A that should be addressed according to how important the respondents see each. It can be observed 26 representing 32.5% of the respondents ranked poverty and unemployment as the most important problems, followed by 21 representing 26.25% choosing corruption, social amenities especially water was 18 representing 22.55%, wages, income and salaries ranked 4 representing with 11 (13.75%) and management of the economy ranked 5 representing 5%.

Table 4.7 During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views (A member of state/ National Assembly, an Official of a Government Agency, Traditional leaders and Religious leaders)?

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Never	66	82.5
Only once	10	12.5
A few times	4	5
Often	0	0
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

From the above Table 4.7 shows that 66 (82.5%) of the respondents During the past year, never contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them their views (A member of state/ National Assembly, An Official of a Government Agency, Traditional leaders and Religious leaders, 10 (12.5%) answered only once and a few times 4 (5%) while none representing 0(0%) went for often.

Table 4.8.How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters (Managing the economy, Poverty and unemployment, Social amenities and Salaries)?

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Very Badly	24	30
Fairly Badly	17	21.25
Fairly	32	40
Well	7	8.75
Very Well	0	0
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The table above shows that 24 (30%) of the respondents believe that the current government is handling the following matters (Managing the economy, Poverty and unemployment, Social amenities and Salaries) very badly, 17 (21.25%) opted for fairly badly, 32 (40%) went fairly while 7 (8.75%) opted for well and none representing 0 (0%) went for very well.

Table 4.9: How would you rate access to basic social amenities in Kankara L.G.A?

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
High	14	17.5
Very high	9	11.25
Low	20	25
Very Low	34	42.5
I don't know	3	3.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

In response to the question on how they rate access to basic social amenities in Kankara L.G.A., 14 (17.5%) of the respondents said that it was high, 9 (11.25%) said very high and 20 (25%) of the respondents said it was low. Also, 34 (42.5%) of them said it was very low and the rest of the respondents 3(3.75%) opted for I don't know.

From the informants, a religious leader sums their views as follows: Though there is provision of electricity and free education. The people's enjoyment is to a low extent. The free education provided is not standard. This reflects in the parents' preference of private school for their children. The electricity provided is not equally enjoyed by all communities in the local government. On the contrary, one out of the 5 informants, a traditional community is of the view that dividends of democracy are enjoyed to a moderate extent. According to him. There is provision of basic amenities especially electricity. Our children can go to school on the bill of the government. As to the extent at which these dividends are enjoyed, I will say that it is to a moderate extent.

Table 4.10. Do you think the political leaders are well equipped to carry out their function effectively?

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	22	27.5
No	47	8.75
I don't know	11	13.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

It could be observed from the table above that the people who think the political leaders are well equipped to carry out their function effectively 47 (8.75%) answered in the negative and the rest of the respondents 22 (27.5%) went for the 'I don't know' option.

Table 4.11 Do you agree that the political leaders Kankara L.G.A. are trustworthy and dedicated to the needs of their people?

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	10	12.5
Agree	17	21.25
Strongly Disagree	32	40
Disagree	21	26.25
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The table 4.11 shows that 32(40%) of the respondents strongly disagreed that the political leaders in Kankara L.G.A. are trustworthy and dedicated to the needs of their people, 21 (26.25%) disagree to this, 10 (12.5%) strongly agree and 17 (21.25%) of the respondents agreed.

To the question that would confront the utilitarian, “why am I bound to promote the general happiness?” Shahakian in Systems of Ethics and Value Theory (126) notes that the utilitarian standard is not the agent's own greatest happiness, but the greatest amount of happiness altogether. For Mill, there are external and internal sanctions based on the principle of utility. The external sanction is provided by the approval of both men and God; men generally approve an action that aims at their happiness, and God is ordinarily conceived to be a spirit whose concern is for the general happiness.

Table 4.12: To what extent does the dividend of democracy enjoyed in Kankara L.G.A.?

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Very high	0	0
High	6	7.5
Very low	24	30
Low	29	36.25
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

From the table 4.12 shows 24 (30%) of them indicated a very low level of the extent dividend of democracy enjoyed in Kankara L.G.A., 29(36.25%) indicated a low level, 6 (7.5%) said it was high and 0(0%) said that the extent was very high.

Majority of respondents said that dividends of democracy are not equitably distributed, while none stated that it was equitably distributed. Similarly, four of the informants said that dividends of democracy are not equitably distributed. According to them, the dividends of democracy are not equitably distributed and that is why the people are not enjoying them. If you do not belong to the ruling party, or the ruling class, you are on your own. You might not even see them with your eyes let alone enjoying them. As for the reasons why dividends of democracy are not enjoyed, findings reveal that 100% (80) of the respondents agreed that it was due to corruption in governance. This implies that

corruption in governance is a major reason why dividends of democracy are not enjoyed by the masses.

From the in depth interview, a youth leader stated that "The major factor militating against the growth and development of Kankara L.G.A. is corruption in governance. It is a major factor behind the non-equitable distribution of the country's resources. It is a major reason why the masses are not enjoying the dividends of democracy. All other factors are secondary. Remove corruption in Kankara, Kankara's L.G.A. problem is 99.9% solved." Furthermore, other factors stated by respondents why dividends of democracy are not enjoyed include godfatherism 94% (111); costliest of Nigeria's democracy 86% (100); electoral malpractices 92% (109) ethnicity and religion 90% (106) and externally triggered democracy 85% (100). The findings correspond with what was gotten from the in depth interview informants.

A women leader argued that "Apart from corruption, other reasons why dividends of democracy are not equitably distributed are ethnicity and religion, god fatherism, and electoral malpractices. It is an obvious fact that getting jobs in Nigeria is not based on your qualifications but on your ethnic group or religion. Elections are violently rigged and that is why we don't have good leaders." Another informant, a religious leader said that: Nigeria's democracy is too costly. The cabinet is too large. Imagine having a Minister of Information and still having a Minister of State of Information whereas all the States have their own Commissioners for information. Also, the allowances that are paid to each senator or honorable are too much. Imagine a senator going home with millions of naira monthly. It is too much."

Reading through Mill's utilitarianism, we see its intention to free man from imputation. Utilitarianism stresses the nature of man and recognizes the sympathetic impulse in man as a natural endowment. It urges the individual to live not for one self but for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It is democratic in its general tendency and aims at setting up a community in which all have equal rights and none enjoys special privileges to the disadvantage of the rest. Having x-rayed all the essential principles of John Stuart Mill, there is no doubt the existence of

happiness and pleasures in human life, hence, from a utilitarian point of view, the systematic approach to ensure happiness is justified by its utility

Table 4.13: Do you think that public accountability issues as being a useful and required content of the media, religious leaders and politician?

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	42	52.5
No	33	41.25
I don't know	5	6.25
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The analysis of the response presented on table 4.13 shows that 62(77.5%) of the respondents believed that public accountability is a useful and required content of the media, religious leader and politician 16(20%) of them did not agree to this and the rest 2 (2.5%) could not say yes or no.

Table 4.14: Would you say that democracy programs reports in Kankara L.G.A. on public accountability and good governance are adequate in terms of frequency and prominence?

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	42	52.5
No	33	41.25
I don't know	5	6.25
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

From the above table we can conclude that 42 (52.5%) of the 80 respondents said yes that democratic reports on public accountability and good governance are adequate in term of frequency and prominence, 33 (41.25%) said no and 5 (6.25%) did not have an opinion on this matter.

Table 4.15: Do you perceive media reports on Nigeria's (Kankara) Dividends Democracy as credible and believable?

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
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Yes	47	58.75
No	22	27.5
I don't know	11	13.75
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

From the above table shows that 47 (58.75%) saw media reports on Nigeria's Democracy as credible and believable, 22 (27.5%) did not see it as credible and believable and 11 (13.75%) could neither say whether it was credible or not credible.

Table 4.16: Do you think that the passage into law of the Freedom of Information Bill will enhance public accountability issues in Nigeria's Democratic Press?

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	69	86.25
No	7	8.75
I don't know	4	5
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Almost all the respondents 69 (86.25%) believed that the passage into law of the Freedom of Information Bill will enhance public accountability issues in Nigeria's Democratic Press, just 7 (8.75%) did not share this sentiment and the rest of the respondents, 4 (5%) said they did not know.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Mills Utilitarianism was developed as a practical criterion of judging the rightness or wrongness of an action, the utilitarian principle of consequences breaks down the exact estimate of the pleasant or unpleasant consequences of various possible courses of action. It would be worthy to contribute that, there are when a person ought to disapprove of conduct that results in the greatest happiness of the greatest in favour of doing that which is just, equitable, and right when it is called for, such as supporting the right of the oppressed and minority group. The specific findings of this study area are as follow:

The result in table 4.6 shows what the most important problems are facing Kankara L.G.A that should be addressed according to

how important the respondents see each. It can be observed 26 representing 32.5% of the respondents ranked poverty and unemployment as the most important problems, followed by 21 representing 26.25% choosing corruption, social amenities especially water was 18 representing 22.55%, wages, income and salaries ranked 4 representing with 11 (13.75%) and management of the economy ranked 5 representing 5%.

The majority of respondents in table 4.12 said that dividends of democracy are not equitably distributed, while none stated that it was equitably distributed. Similarly, four of the informants said that dividends of democracy are not equitably distributed. According to them, the dividends of democracy are not equitably distributed and that is why the people are not enjoying them. If you do not belong to the ruling party, or the ruling class, you are on your own. You might not even see them with your eyes let alone enjoying them. As for the reasons why dividends of democracy are not enjoyed, findings reveal that 100% (80) of the respondents agreed that it was due to corruption in governance. This implies that corruption in governance is a major reason why dividends of democracy are not enjoyed by the masses.

The research equally brought to the fore the importance of the Freedom of Information Bill. The research revealed that most information that is crucial to the public and the policy process are forbidden from getting to the public through the media as they are clouded under official secrecy. Public officers and elected leaders of the people are made to swear to or sign secrecy oaths which forbid them from revealing information related to their work-issues of public concern in most cases to conveyers of information and prevents such information from getting to places where they may be important to the accountability process.

The hypotheses tested (hypothesis 1), further buttresses the fact that dividends of democracy provided by the government for the masses are enjoyed at a low extent. They are also not equitably distributed. The major reason for the non-equitable distribution of dividends of democracy is corruption in governance. Hence, there is a significant relationship between corruption in governance and non- equitable distribution of dividends of democracy. Equally observed from the hypotheses (two) is that

the citizens see are godfatherism, the costliness of Nigeria's democracy, electoral malpractices, and externally triggered democracy as another factor.

Mill's utilitarianism has positive implications for contemporary society. Utilitarianism as a principle deserves some recommendations for admitting and making explicit, the fact that the hidden quest of man is pleasure. Man consequently abhors pain. The denial of this would be a psychological impossibility. Virtually everybody seeks pleasure and avoids pain. Hence, the following arguments are in favour of Mill's utilitarianism. Elevation of the Intellect and Virtues Upgrading on the pleasure principle of Bentham, which some critics labelled "pig philosophy", Mill gave the "pleasure Principle" for the greatest number of more moral foundation by ascribing as pleasurable quality over quantity. By establishing that pleasures that is from the intellect is higher, and that pleasures coming from activity higher than passive pleasures, Mill abstains from reducing morality to mere sensations and feelings. Altruistic Way of Living Mill's utilitarianism is an expression of the life most of us live. It recognizes man as a social being, thus, Mill's principle is a great stimulus to social improvement. It takes man's egoistic tendencies and harnesses them to social needs. Since each individual sees his own happiness integrated in that of the group. Promotion of the Common Good Those charged with public welfare can hardly use any other principle, since they must seek the common good and at the same time protect individual rights. Mill's principle gives each person(Ogan, 2018).

Conclusion

The dividends of democracy provided by the government for the masses are enjoyed at a low extent in Kankara North L.G.A. They are also not equitably distributed. The major reason for the non-equitable distribution of dividends of democracy is corruption in governance. Hence, there is a significant relationship between corruption in governance and non- equitable distribution of dividends of democracy. Other reasons for the non-equitable distribution of democracy are godfatherism, costliness of Nigeria's democracy, electoral malpractices, ethnicity and religion and externally triggered democracy. Various measures have to be put in place for the dividends of democracy to be

equitably distributed. The equal distribution will enable the masses to enjoy the dividends of democracy. In achieving this, government and individuals have role to play. This work examines the dividends of democracy programs using the lens of Mills Utilitarianism. Findings from the field research show that Kankara L.G.A. state of underdevelopment is as a result of lack of credible and committed leadership, corruption, inequality, selfishness, and lack of unified and participatory development agenda. The vibrant group of the society such as youths and women are often marginalized or underrepresented in decision-making that relates to development. When they are included in decision-making, their opinions do not make any change to what has already been concluded by those in authority.

Recommendation

It is worrisome that many Nigerians are very hardworking, full of initiatives and resourcefulness. Therefore, efforts should be made in supporting grassroots women, men, and youths, as well as in promoting income generation for them. Entrepreneurial education seems to be the major key policy to promote entrepreneurship development. Therefore, entrepreneurship education should be inculcated into school curriculum at all levels.

Furthermore, efforts should be made to prevent electoral malpractices in whatever its manifestations. Culprits found guilty of electoral offences should be punished accordingly and where an incumbent rises to power through established cases of electoral misconduct, the relevant legal statutes should be invoked to address the anomaly. Also, there is a need for political leadership and public officials to be exposed to continuous training which will enhance their efficiency.

Sound anti-corruption policies that will be devoid of rhetoric should be enforcing. There should be transparency and accountability in the policies adopted. There should also be popular participation. People should be carried along in decision-making processes without ethnic or religious bias. When every member of the society is carried along irrespective of his/her class, status, religious or ethnic background, there will be development which will deliver dividends of democracy. The

government should ensure that cost of governance is reduced to the barest minimum.