



THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA AND THE RELEVANCE OF J.S MILL'S REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Harry Iwegbu Onyekpe

Department of Philosophy, University of Delta, Agbor, Nigeria
harry.onyekpe@unidel.edu.ng

Abstract

The emergence of Nigerian indigenous leaders signaled the beginning of her social and political problems. These social and political problems of selfish leadership, injustice, corruption, poor representation, problem of common good, neglect of rule of law and others have ravaged the nation's socio-polity. The socio-polity has been a theatre of uncertainties devoid of social stability and freedom. The major perennial problems confronting Nigeria today are derivatives of her leaders' failure to comprehend their responsibilities to society and its individual and corporate constituents. This work is an attempt to answer the question: What political theory is best for Nigeria? The answer to this question is informed by the research into varied social and political problems that have bedeviled the Nigerian nation. As answer to these multi-pronged problems, J.S. Mill's political theory of representative government has been put forward as possible pivot on which stable and enduring social and political structures could be established. This paper is a critical exposure of Nigeria's social and political problems since independence. To achieve this, the researcher adopts the methods of exposition, description, and evaluation of available literature on J.S. Mill's representative government and on Nigeria's social and political problems. It finally points out the implication of J.S. Mill's political theory of representative government for Nigeria's search for democracy.

Keywords: Representative government, Democracy, Political injustice, Corruption, Common good

Introduction

The post independence Nigeria has been so problematic because her social and political environments have been so chequered and characterized by social disorder and political impasse of varied categories and their attendant effects. It is instructive that the emergence of Nigerian indigenous leaders marked the beginning of social and political problems of selfish leadership, injustice, denial of human rights, corruption, assault on the rule of law, poor representation, among others in her socio-polity. These problems have ravaged the Nigeria's socio-polity.

The broad theme of this paper is divided into five sub headings as follows:

- i. Absence of public spirited leadership.
- ii. Absence of Justice
- iii. Nigeria's experience in Democracy
- iv. A case for Representative Government, and
- v. J.S. Mill's Thoughts on Representative Government and their Relevance for Nigeria



Absence of Public-Spirited Leadership

One of the major problems confronting Nigeria today is the failure of the leaders to comprehend their responsibilities to the society and its individuals and corporate constituents. Since independence, Nigeria has been faced with leadership problems because her leaders have not lived up to expectation. This has culminated in socio- political and economic uncertainties of varied categories. The failure of leadership stems principally from the unwillingness or inabilities of leaders to rise to the responsibilities and challenge of leadership and nation building (Achebe, 1983, p.1).

Obviously, all the past and present Nigerian leaders have failed Nigerians. They have repeatedly substituted personal gains and at times tribal and sectional interest for truly national collective interests. The Nigeria's social and political situation may remain the shadow of a beheaded cock unless the leaders accept and build trust in nation-building. The role of "Trust" in nation-building is parallel to that of the "Economy." Trust is a "conditio-sine-quanon" for nation-building. Trust is a major element for the state. The misfortune of Nigeria has been the absence of trust between and among the people, and between the leaders and the led.

Instructively, the absence of trust is felt in the high spate of corruption in Nigeria. Every aspect of life in Nigeria is morally weak and this moral weakness manifests in bribery and corruption. Corruption is a vice that has ravaged the fabric of Nigeria's social system. Corruption involves "the embezzlement of public treasury where the official uses his position to swindle his employers fund (Momoh, 1991, p, 15), and requesting something before he does anything. The United States legal Incorporated (2015) as cited by (Gbadamosi & Ajogbeje, 2018, p.71) defines political corruption as the abuse of political power by government leaders to extract and accommodate for private enrichment and to use political influence as means in maintaining their hold to power. The political landscape of Nigeria is so wrecked and inflicted with corruption that it is now a national neurosis. In the opinion of (Yagboyaju, 2011, p. 173),

“Corruption entails ethnic and personal misuse of office for accumulation of wealth, unauthorized sale of government property, illegal hoarding of essential and critical commodities, favouritism, nepotism, purchase of loyalty by an illegitimate or outright illegal regime through inducement for supporters and victimization of opponents and critics, election rigging, falsification of election results and examination malpractice among others”.

All these aspects of corruption manifest in high scale in Nigeria. Nigeria leaders have long history of corruption; they have always been interested only in enriching themselves. In Nigeria, corruption is viewed as a carryover of the traditional gift giving practice (Akpotor, 1998 , p.147). Another brand of corruption that has eaten deep into the civil society is the politics of clientelism or probendalism (Akpotor, 1998, p.147). In this brand of corruption, when public officer is corrupt, his people (kinsmen/tribal group) see nothing wrong in that practice and they mount all manners



of defense against all pressures and attacks against him. This is a critical part of the challenge of all fights and crusades against corruption in Nigeria.

It has been noted that “no single leader in Nigeria has really made any genuine and strenuous effort to fight corruption” (Momoh, 1991, p.201). All the anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria such as: The Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) have failed. The major issue has been that the heads of the two anti-corruption agencies often end up being corrupt, hence, the monster has not easily be defeated. The chain of corruption connects the elite and the people at the grass-root. Corruption of course, is essentially the product of man’s greed for earthly grandeur, power and authority (Unah, 1995, p. 124). The greatest challenge of this societal vice is that it is mostly perpetuated by those at the highest echelons of public office.

Absence of Justice

The socio- philosophical concept of justice which implies giving each his due is a popular principle that has been largely ignored in Nigeria by its leaders. The failure to apply the principle of justice in the governance of Nigeria has had a far-reaching and multiplier effects on the socio - polity. In *The Republic*, Plato advises that the state can only progress smoothly when the individuals in it concentrate on the separate functions which their natural abilities and training have mapped out for them (Akinyele; 1999, p.303). This postulation advocates for natural division of labour which enhances specialization and increased proficiency in all ramifications.

While emphasizing the necessity of justice in the governance of man and the state, Plato divided the needs of man into three classes alongside the three categories of citizens in the state” (Omoregbe, 1990, p.101 He distinguished the three classes of people that constitute a community arising in this manner. The Artisans are the producers of sustenance to supply the physical needs of the populace. The warriors have the duty of protecting the artisans maintaining peace and ensuring a sufficient territory for the purpose of the State. Finally, “The Guardians are the counsellors and magistrates who regulate the general welfare of the State” (Idike, 2011, p.53).

Plato postulated that member of each class should not cross the frontiers of the traditional roles allocated to them. But in Nigeria today, this principle is violated. People function in places that they are not naturally fit for. This is practically experienced in the employment and or appointment and allocation of portfolios into federal and State ministries, departments, establishments and agencies.

Thomas Aquinas notion of justice as" the fixed and perfect will, to give everyone his right" (Idike, 2001,p.74) is in consonance with Aristotle's emphasis that the fundamental principle of justice is equality. His justice implies distributive and corrective justice. In Nigeria, the principle and practice of wrong and selfish philosophy of winner takes all have negated the theory of social justice advocated by natural rights' theorists cum selfless and communitarian socio-political thinkers. When there is no justice in the distribution of rights and privileges, amenities (benefits)



and responsibilities (burdens), “there could be “suspicion, animosities and conflicts. (Babawale, 2003, p.67).

The question of common good is a major challenge confronting Nigeria’s path towards attaining enduring social progress and political stability. Common good is what is communally procured by society for individual members or groups in the quest for a good life” (Eneh and Okoro, 1998, p.49). But it is misconceived in Nigeria through the negative attitudes towards its control. Man is naturally selfish and believes in the survival of the fittest. The individual naturally seeks their own private good as experience shows today (Eneh & Okolo, 1998, p.49). The pursuit of scientific or evolutionary theory of survival of the fittest that characterizes the natural man against communalistic doctrine of collectivism is the rule in Nigeria. Nigerians love to acquire private property instead of participating in the creation, acquisition, and organization of public property.

Nigeria’s Experience in Democracy

Thomas Hobbes believes that men are by nature self centred and that they need iron hand to discipline them and keep them from anarchy (Idike, 2001,p.49). Even though man tends to associate with his fellowmen, his gregarious nature does not undermine his egocentrism. The zeal for the pursuit and preservation of common good is lacking in Nigeria. Emphasis on individualism is high in Nigeria and has not shifted to emphasis on society or community which is termed communitarianism. Consequently, Nigeria is witnessing the catastrophic results of looting and wastage of the nation's resources, care free attitudes towards public property, destruction of public property and facilities during protest, to mention but a few. The problem of common good in Nigeria has devastating effects on the progress of its socio-polity, economic growth and advancement. This is a major issue inimical to the realization of the essence of the governance of man.

Nature endows man with inalienable rights. These rights are rights to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, association, expression, etc (Ranney; 1958, p.109). These rights are referred to as natural rights. According to Hobbes, natural rights is the freedom to use any means within one’s power to preserve one's life (Omoregbe, 1991, p.44). In this modern era, these natural rights are christened fundamental human rights. Consequently, the constitution has provided for the legal existence and limitations of these rights.

In an ideal and modern political society, these rights are strictly adhered to; and, the “Rule of law” is said to be in practice. The rule of law entails the supremacy of the law; and acting accordance within the provision of the constitution. The principle of rule of law is preserved in an ideal society. But in Nigeria, the rights of the citizens are frequently violated and infringed on. There is a slap on the rule of law by leaders and the agencies of the government. The powers and authorities of the leaders and government are unconstitutionally absolute and decisions are made on the whims and caprices of the public officers of the moment. The denial of human rights has affected the entire socio-polity of Nigeria. The judiciary that is known as the hope of the common man is a



mockery in Nigeria. This has garnered a satirical expression of “if you are not satisfied, go to court”.

Democracy as it is practised in Nigeria over the post independence period has been devoid of its basic features. Ideally, democracy is the best form government, and its worst quality is better than the best military government. This informs the greater need to improve its qualities for the good of the citizens. A true democracy ought to be responsive and responsible. A democratic government should respond to the demand of the public and considers the public very much part of it, and ensures that its executive arm is elected and accountable to the parliament selected also by the people.

In Nigeria today, the people are not properly represented. This has occasioned many political issues and would continue as long as bad governance prevails. When the people are not properly represented in government, the system will be pressured especially in multi-ethnic and multi religious societies. Most of the recorded crises in Nigeria- the Nigerian Civil War (1967), Ijaw and Itsekiri (1997-1999), Ife-Modakeke (1996), Aguleri -Umeleri(1999) were propelled by bad governance, and unnecessary marginalization and internal colonialism. Some of these conflicts were consequences of state actions and policies (Babawale, 2003, p.69).

Religious factor also plays crucial role in politics and governance. There is relationship that exists between political and religious institutions. In his book *The Prince*, Nicollo Machiavelli demonstrates that religion can unify a prince and his people. It can also serve to undo them. Machiavelli advocates that politics and religion should be separated -politics in man's sphere and religion in God's sphere.

It must be noted that the role of religion in Nigeria has been more negative than positive. Hardly could any candidate for any national political or leadership position do without religious affinity. There is onslaught attack on any candidate vying for an elective position if they are of the same religious faith with their running mates.

We often hear attacks on and opposition of Muslim/ Muslim or Christian/Christian tickets. This religionisation of politics and politicisation of religion in Nigeria is inimical to the political development in Nigeria because large member of the citizen are either Muslims or Christians. This has negative effect on proper representation as other citizenry that are not accommodated within Christian and Muslim religious faiths are neglected and marginalized. Voters now consider religion as cardinal for voting hence, politics has become issue of representation of religious faith. But the pains are borne by citizens, who do not belong to any of the two dominant religions in Nigeria.

Instructively, these social and political problems such selfish leaders, corruption, social injustice, the problem of common good, neglect for rule of law, poor representation and the negative factor of religion are some of the propelling causes of social and political uncertainties in Nigeria.



Now, given the above social and political problems that have bedeviled Nigeria which can be summed up that the challenges of Nigeria's social and political development is the problem of proper democratisation and bad governance, the tag is "Can J.S. Mill's theory of representative government abate these problems or serve as a panacea to the problems? If so, what is the possibility?"

A Case for Representative Government

The pursuit of stable and enduring social and political structures in the governance of man has been one of the perennial concerns of man from the time dating to antiquity. The Hobbesian state of nature describes a period in time where there was "no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society, and worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short (Hobbes, 1946,p.32).

The conditions that characterized the Hobbesian state of nature culminated in dissatisfaction in men because it was an era of insecurity and fear. Being dissatisfied with these conditions men reached an agreement to create an agency of government. They came together and made a social contract, a political society and empowered the sovereignty to decide what is right and what is wrong (Omoregbe, 1991, p.44). This affirms the idea that social contract which gave rise to civil society was formed when men in the state of nature decided to give up their rights and constitute a political authority that would preserve their lives, property and liberty. As Locke puts it:

"when any number of men so unite into one society as to quit everyone of his executive power of the laws of nature, to resign it to the public, there, and there only, is a political society"(Locke, 1952, p. 123.).

The enlightenment Philosophers provided the enabling background for social, political and economic changes and their attendant rights to liberty and freedom. This gave rise to the birth liberal democracy. The enlightenment philosophers paved the way for the establishment of democratic nations founded on the principles of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (Locke, 1952, p.5). John Locke, a founding personality among the philosophers of the classic thought was a political thinker who influenced European scholars and Americas of the British colonies. The two works of Locke – *The Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and *The Second Treatise on Government* influenced the growth and development of social sciences and democracy. The rational nature of man channeled him in the direction of civil society. Locke reasons that, "In the state of nature, individuals were endowed by nature with the rights to life, liberty and property, but since they lacked security, they were more likely to submit to civil law based on majority rule "(Resendiz et al, 2022, p .9).

Montesquieu made a historical and comparative analysis of the society in his book, "*The Spirit of the Law*". Among the analysis made therein he described the qualities of a republican government as well as the laws that endorse democracy (Richter, 1990 as cited by Resendiz et al, 2022, p.9). Rousseau significantly noted that thenatural and the social are the two conditions of the individual and that during the state of nature, man strike a balance between wants and resources, yet lacks



security. To ensure security and protect himself, “individuals will voluntarily join into a social contract govern by the General Will of the people or majority rule in order to defend life, freedom, equality and property (Resendiz et al, 2022, p.6). Again, the liberal philosophical thoughts of Mary Wollstonecraft as manifested in her call for gender equality also contributed to the growth of democratic principles. She held that men and women are innately rational beings that could perfect themselves through the accumulation of knowledge (Resendiz et al, 2022, p. 7). The views of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau on the formation of social contract as well as the thoughts of other liberal philosophers provided the theoretical bedrock of democracy as it exists today. In the Ancient Athenian states, the Athenians governed themselves democratically through participation in policy making, discussions and voting. This was made possible by the small size of their populations then. But in applying same principle as it were in ancient Athenian states to a large size of population, as we have it in modern society-Nigeria and elsewhere, it is understandable that democracy may best or be construed through representative government.

As a political theory, representative government argues that since everyone cannot directly or fully participate in the government of larger society, “the ideal government must be representative” (Idike, 2001, p. 102). An ideal government is constituted by a people who relinquish their rights and handing them over to a sovereign authority that demands obedience from them. As a modern version of democracy, representative government implies a system of government where the people elect a body of law-abiding citizens to legislate laws for them. This by implication gives credence to the assertion that in representative government sovereignty is entrusted in the people or the electorate that elected the political actors that are obliged to speak, advocate and act on the behalf, and for their interest in the political arena. Representative democracy has been proven as the best form of democracy practised by self-identified contemporary democratic states. This is attained if all the necessary mechanisms for the operation of the system are in place. However, some of the proponents of democracy like J. J Rousseau and other have faulted its representative type on the premise that representative form of democracy is not the truest form and that the truest form of democracy is direct democracy. It is worthy to note that direct democracy as advocated by Rousseau is not adequate in this era of population explosion and political modernization, because it does not encourage electoral turn out. Representative democracy enhances political participation which is the instrument through which free and fair election is achieved. This is informed by the understanding that,” engaging citizens in decision making process through deliberative and participative forms of democracy can complement representative democracy and enhance the quality and ownership of decision making (ECPP,2023).

According to (Dovi; 2014), Pitkin identifies at least four different theories of representation: Formalistic representation, descriptive representation, symbolic representation, and substantive representation. But, whichever form(s) of representation, the goal is to allow popular participation through the instrumentalities of constitutional and electoral processes. The constitution provides for the rights to vote which the electoral process is the machinery through which the people exercise their political rights.



The above analysis supports the conception of representative government as a political activity of making the voices, opinions, views, aspirations and perspectives of the people present or accommodated in the policy making and implementation process. Hence, an ideally government is responsive and responsible.

J.S.Mill's Thoughts on Representative Government and their Relevance for Nigeria's Democracy

John Stuart Mill was a British philosopher of the utilitarian tradition. He was born in London in 1806. He was greatly influenced by the philosophical radicalism of Jeremy Bentham other utilitarian group of thinkers (Idike, 2001, p.94). J.S Mill was the leader of the British liberal philosophers of his era. Like every other utilitarian, Mill was a democrat. The original utilitarians were democrats in that they believed that social policies ought to work for the good of all persons, not just the upper class (Barbara, 1998, p.33). The utilitarian and democratic orientation of Mill was highly articulated in his work on Representative government. Mill believes that the best form of government is that in which popular sovereignty is guaranteed through their involvement in the decision-making process. But putting the size of population of modern societies, social progress and political modernization, every member of community cannot directly participate. (Mill, 1861, p. 181) declares: "The ideal type of a perfect government must be representative." In analyzing his advocacy for representative government, Mill opined:

"The only government, which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is the one in which the whole people participate; that any participation, even in the smallest public function, is useful; that the participation should everywhere be as great as general degree of improvement of the community will allow; and that nothing less can be ultimately desirable than the admission of all to a share in the sovereign power of the State. But since all cannot, in a community of exceeding a single small town, participate personally in any but some very minor portions the public business, it follows that the ideal type of perfect government must be representative (Mill, 1861, p.67).

Mill's conception that the ideally best form of government is representative government makes case for public participation as opposed to unilateral decision making process or pseudo-democracy. The public participation decision making, advocacy of the theory implies a system where each body that compose legislature, executive and judicial officials are chosen by votes of the people.

Mill's theory of representative government has a certain feature among other. The main feature of Mill's representative government is authoritative public participation. The involvement of the people in decision making process which ensures authoritative public participation through representative government is better than unilateral decision making. He holds that representative government promotes utility as attendant effect of authoritative public participation which allows the people to choose their representatives who most likely reflect their Interests and aspirations.



Mill also points out that representative government provides the social and political avenue for the public to perform civic duties in the form of jury duty and rotating positions of authority (Mills, 1861, p. 217).

In Mill's view, representative government fosters separation of power, periodic elections, checks and balance. All these features of representative government are built on justice, equity and liberty which are the major constituents of representative government

Many theorists of representative government who are of the collectivistic school of thought are mainly concerned with the welfare of the community as a whole; while the individualistic school of thought theorists of representative government lays emphasis on the equality and liberty of men. J. S. Mill belongs to the latter school of thought.

In accepting the desirability of equal participation of everybody on the affairs of government, J.S. Mill claims that it cannot be realized. Rather, he argues that representative government is the perfect form of government (Mill, 1861, 73-74). Representative government implies the involvement of the people or public participation in choosing the representation in the legislative, executive and judicial arms of government. In Nigeria, representatives are only elected into the legislative arms; the executive arm is partly elected while majority is appointed into the judicial arm. This is merely quasi.

In J.S. Mill's view, for representative government to be democratic, it must be accompanied by universal adult suffrage, free election, short term of office and individual liberty. Given all these indices as measures to access how democratic a nation is, can we say that Nigeria is practising representative government in Mill's view when Nigerian leaders either directly or indirectly seek long term in office?

In Nigeria, the constitution provides for two terms of four years each for elected executive position but does not have limited term for elected legislative position. This has provided an awful scenario where a Nigerian senator occupies that position for twenty years. A Nigerian member of House Representatives representing Bomadi /Patani Federal constituency has been a member of the National Assembly since May 1999 till now (2025). How short term of office is this?

In order to ensure that democracy is placed in a proper perspective, as a mechanism for enhancing the equal and active participation of the people in their political, economic, social, cultural; and religious activities, and or programmes their rights to participate in the decision-making process must be guaranteed. Therefore, it implies that J.S. Mill representative government could be the best political order for Nigerian's quest to establish stable and enduring socio-polity and true democracy as against the currently existing democracy which does not have effective representation.

Conclusion

Stable and enduring socio-polity and true democracy the true essence of governance which representative government offers. Such ideal government requires efficient leadership, sincerity of



with the Yoruba view on the relationship between the individual and the community. However, the point of departure is that for western existentialists, the individual is prior and important while the community prior and matters most in Yoruba existentialist thought.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, we have discussed some existentialist concerns in Yoruba thought. We focused mainly on three themes in existentialism which are essence and existence in relation to freedom, choice and responsibility; death, in connection with immortality and reincarnation; and authenticity, in relation to the individual and the community. We, however, underlined that while western existentialists place much priority on existence and see essence as what is created or produced by human beings in the world, Yoruba existentialist thought places much priority on essence and sees existence as a mere stage to unpack or reveal one's essence. The implication of this is that while existence precedes essence in western existentialism, essence precedes existence in Yoruba existentialist thought. This is as a result of the belief of the Yoruba in predetermination, predestination, destination, and determination. Scholars are, however, of different opinions on this as some of them argue for free will and soft-determinism. Additionally, while existentialists perceive death as the termination of existence, Yoruba existentialist thought views death as a transition to the transcendental world, where the soul continues to exist. Finally, while western existentialists emphasize subjectivism and individualism in the realization of authenticity, Yoruba existentialist thought emphasizes collectivism and communism in the realization of authenticity.

This, as said earlier, rests heavily on the popular saying: "I am because we are, since we are, therefore I am!"

Works Cited

- Achebe, C. (1983). *The Trouble with Nigeria*, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers..
- Akinyele, T. (1999). *Plato's Concept of Justice, Military Rule and Democracy in Nigeria* in Falaiye (ed) *Africa's Political Stability*: Panaf Press Limited.

purpose, social justice, good knowledge and appreciation of common good, the practice of rule of law, good representation and equal rights and or privileges in political participation.

This work has analysed the challenges of democracy in Nigeria and has exposed J.S. Mill's representative government and its implications for Nigeria's search for the development of democracy. The work recommends J.S. Mill's representative government because it is the system that would promote justice, liberty and equal participation of people in decision making and programmes implementation processes.



- Akpotor, S. (1998). Corruption: The Civil Society and Government. In Duckor, M.(ed) Philosophy and politics: Discourse on values and powers in Africa, Lagos: Ogbinaka & Obaroh Publishers.
- Babara, Mackinnon (1998). Ethics: Theories & Contemporary issues (Second Edition) London; Wadsworth Publishing Company: A Division of International Thompson Publishing Inc.
- Babawale, T., Globalization,(2003). Conflicts and the Challenges of Nationhood in Nigeria in Momoh et al (ed) ASUU University of Lagos Branch. Journal of Contemporary Studies (JCI), Vol. 1, No 3 (P. 67, 69).
- Dovi, S. (2006). Political Representation, The Stranford Encyclopedia of philosophy, <http://plato.stanford.edu/web>.
- Eneh, J.O. and C.B. Okolo, (1998), The Common Good and political stability in Duckor (ed), Philosophy and Politics: Discourse on Values and Powers in Africa, Lagos; Ogbinaka and Obaroh Publishers, (P. 49).
- European Presidents of Parliaments: The Challenges of Representative Democracy in Volatile Times.Dublin,28-29 September, 2023.
- Hobbes, T.(1946), Leviathan Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gbadamosi,T.V & O. O. Ajogbeje, Causes and Effects of Political Corruption in Nigeria: Implication for Social Studies Education in Nigerian Journal of SocialStudies, Vol. xxi(1), April 2018. (P. 71).
- Idike, E. (2001), Introduction to social and political philosophy, Nsukka: Goodseed Publishers.
- Locke, J. (1952), Second Treatise of Civil Government. Indiannapolis: Bobbs-Manru,
- Mill, J.S. (1861), Considerations on Representative Government. London: Parker, Sons and Bourn, (P. 181, 67, 217, 73-74).
- Momoh, C.S. (1991), Philosophy of the New Past and Old Future, Auch: African Philosophy Project, Publications.
- Omeregbe, J. I. (1991), Simplified History of western philosophy, vol. 2, western philosophy, Lagos: Joja Educational and Research publishers Ltd..
- Omeregbe, J. I. (1990), Knowing Philosophy. Lagos: Joja Educational Research and publishers.
- Ranney, A. (1958), The Governing of Man: An Introduction to Political Science New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winson Inc.
- Resendiz, R. L., Espinoza, & L. Espinoza, (2022). Classic Liberal Philosophers and their Contributions to Democracy and Justice: Discourse on Freedom, Equality, Reason and Law: in Journal of Ideology, vol.41 Number1. (P. 9, 6, 7)



Unah, J., (1995). Essays in Philosophy. Lagos: Panaf Publishers.

Yagboyaju, D. A. (2011). Political Corruption, Democratisation and the Squandering of Hope in Nigeria; in Journal of African Elections, vol 10 Nso1. (P. 173)