DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND THE ROLES OF TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF GOMBE STATE.

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ABSTRACT
The adoption of Western Democracy after independence has come with a lot of changes to the hitherto roles and powers of traditional political institutions of building peace and security generally inNorthern Nigeria and Gombe in particular. Until this time, the Northern Nigerian political traditional institution was no doubt the most powerful and important political institutions that were at the centre of maintaining peace and security of their people. With the advent of democratic rule in Nigeria, the powers and control of traditional political institutions began to dry up and seem to have only opportunity of stakeholders in the state with advisory position because of the systematic enforcement of political leaders who at some time lack the knowledge of their societies and are coming into power by chance which make them to represent their personal interest using democracy as a tool, rather than making their society's interest a priority. This paper will examine the roles of traditional political institution in promoting peace and security in Northern Nigeria and look at the impact of democratic principles on traditional political institution of Northern Nigeria and Gombe State in particular. The study will use both primary and secondary sources of data. The structural functional theory will be employed to explain the topic under discussion. The findings of this study will help in shedding more light upon role of Traditional Political Institutions in Promoting Peace and Security and how the coming of Democracy undermine their power in Gombe States as well as recommend how can this institution be position for effective performance in peace building.

Introduction

Prior to the advent of colonial rule in Nigeria, The Traditional Political Institutions were at the center of governance in Nigeria. This institution provided a system of administration from which law and order. In those days, the institution formed the nucleus of governance and justice. For centuries before the advent of British rule, governance in different parts of present-day Nigeria was synonymous with traditional institutions and their rulers. Local administration generally centered on the traditional ruler who was considered the repository of religious, legislative, executive and judicial functions, with a few exceptions, for example, in the southeastern Nigeria amongst Ibo communities (Afigbo, 2002). Indeed, the Traditional institution had a organized and well established systems of administration where public order was provided and maintained, laws were made and implemented, inter-communal and inter-tribal conflicts were settled. In essence, Traditional Political Institutions have been a significant feature of the people and commanded a large degree of loyalty and respect among them.

However, with the coming of Colonial powers, things began to change especially with the introduction of western democracy. The hitherto powerful institution that was at the center of bringing peace by resolving conflicts between individuals, tribes and communities became powerless. Nigeria since independence in 1960 has witnessed various political crisis that brought about insecurity, destruction of lives and properties as well as disruption of socio-economic life of the people. However, the crisis assumed a different dimension, becoming more sophisticated, more deadly; more militarized with wider international terrorist's connections. The development progressed from activism to agitators that adopted civil disobedience as a means to press for their demands to militancy, with sophisticated military weapons and now on the level of terrorism with weapons of mass destruction.

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As a result of the inability of the political leaders and the elites to tackle the problem of insecurity in Nigeria, there is the need to turn to the traditional rulers for a possible solution to this monster, insecurity. The traditional rulers are traditionally, the head of their ethnic group, clan or community. They hold the highest executive authority in such communities and has been appointed to the position in accordance with the people's culture, custom and tradition. Their office and power has been recognized by the government through the presentation of "staff of office", which is an instrument of power. The traditional rulers having been recognized by the government as the leaders of their people, has been playing a great role in the management of the people and their affairs. Therefore, their role in conflict management, resolution and prevention cannot be over emphasized as they manage people in

their domain and resolve conflicts in the society in order to ensure that, there is peace and stability.

Statement of the Problem

There is no gainsaying the fact Nigeria as a country is facing numerous security challenges that are threatening her development and even survival as an independent sovereign country. The political elites over the years have been finding ways to ensure peace and security but still the security situation is demanding a lot to be done so as to ensure peace in the country.

It is against this that, this research intends to examine the role of Traditional Political Institutions in bringing peace in Nigeria with reference to some selected Traditional Institutions in Gombe State.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

The research seeks to achieve the following objectives

1. To examine the role been played by Traditional Political Institutions in ensuring peaceful coexistence in Gombe State
2. To find out how has the coming of Western Democracy diminished the powers of Traditional Political Institution in peace building in Gombe State.
3. To find out ways to strengthen Traditional Political Institutions to be effective under the current Democratic setting.

Significance of the Research

This research will fill the existing gaps and contribute to knowledge, it will serve as a guide to policy makers for subsequent policies on security related matters and the system of traditional political institutions, the world of academics etc.

Literature Review

Democracy

To start with, the main idea of democracy is widely accepted to have originated from Athens in the 5th century BC. Accordingly, the word 'democracy' is a term that comes from Greek and it is made up with two other words 'Demos' mean people and 'kratien' means to govern, to rule. Democracy can be translated by the following terms: Government of the people or Government of the majority. However, it is difficult to reach a consensus on the definition of democracy, as it happens in many concepts in social sciences. Democracy is commonly defined by Abraham Lincoln as "Government of the people by the people and for the people "If we can put that way, then we can say, the government in Democracy is formed by the people and exercise by the people and for the benefits of the people. The Webster New Encyclopedic Dictionary (1995) defines democracy as a government in which supreme power is invested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through representation.

In a lecture titled "What is Democracy"? Larry Diamond (2004) gave an overview of what in his opinion is democracy. He describes democracy as a system of government with four key elements:

i. A system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections;

ii. Active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life;

iii. Protection of the human rights of all citizens; and

iv. A rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

Popper as cited in Javie (2006) defines democracy in contrast to dictatorship or tyranny. He places emphasis on the availability of opportunities for the people to control their leaders and to them without recourse to a revolution. In this view, then we can say, in Democracy people are enjoying the full opportunity to actively participate in the decision making process of their countries. Dahl, Shapiro, Cheibib (2003) state that in a representative democracy, every vote has equal weight, no unreasonable restrictions can apply to anyone seeking to become a representative, and the freedom of its eligible citizens is secured by legitimized rights and liberties which are typically protected by a constitution. Based on this, citizens in democratic countries must have an absolute freedom and equal rights to

vote and to be voted for. In furtherance of this, Kelsen (1955) and Barak (2006), assert that representative democracy which allows freedom of political expression, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are considered to be the essential rights that allow eligible citizens to be adequately informed and able to vote according to their own interests. Considering the above, one can conclude that the basic feature of democracy as opined by Nassbaum (2000) is the capacity of all voters to participate freely and fully in the life of their society, and that democracy is a form of government in which all eligible citizens have an equal say in lawmaking (Diamond, 2006).

Traditional Rulers

Ola and Tonwe (2009) defines a traditional ruler as 'the traditional head of an ethnic group or clan who is the holder of the highest primary executive authority in an indigenous polity, or who has been appointed to the position in accordance with the people's culture, customs and tradition of the area concerned by instrument or order of the state government, and whose title is recognized as a traditional ruler title by the Government of the State'. Similarly, Egwurube (1988) describes traditional rulers as individuals or groups of individuals who occupy communal political leadership positions by immorality and are through the consent of community members granted authority and legitimacy to direct the affairs of particular ethno-cultural or linguistic groups in an ordered manner. Also, their office and power has been recognized by the government through the presentation of "staff of office", which is an instrument of power. Having been recognized by the government as the leader of their people, they play a great role in the management of the people and their affairs.

Peace

The concept of peace is traceable to the Latin word pax meaning "freedom from civil disorder". (Oxford Dictionary; retrieved from http;//www.modernghana.com/print/380264/1/1towards-a-natioanl-socialconsciousness).
Peace could also be taken as meaning justice, good health, safety, wellbeing, prosperity, equity, good fortune and friendliness (Wikipedia-free encyclopedia). Oftentimes, peace is often seen as the absence of war, and by logical extension, war is the lack of peace. This view of peace is faulty because it really does not tell us anything about the meaning of peace as reflected above. However, Ibeanu (2005) has explicated peace in sociological terms as a condition of social peace (George, 2013), in which there are no social antagonisms. In other words, "peace is a situation in which there are no social conflicts and individuals and groups are able to meet their needs, aspirations and expectations. Peace in this sense can be explained from the perspective of structural functionalism" (George-Genyi, 2013).

George-Genyi expatiating, and broadening the definition of peace by Galtung (1990), identified two aspects of peace; namely: the negative peace, as "the lack of direct violence, war and fear of the person,country, region and indeed at the international levels"; and," the positive peace as the absence of unjust structures, unequal relationships, justice and inner peace of the person". To George-Genyi peace in sum is, "the lack of fear, conflict, anxiety, exclusion, deprivation or suffering and violence. It is primarily concerned with creating and maintaining a just order in society" (2012: 58).

Security

Security is seen as "the condition of feeling safe from harm or danger, the defense, protection and preservation of values, and the lack of threats to acquire values" (George-Genyi, 2013). For Terriff (1991), Security is about survival and the conditions of human existence. In this study, the concept is adopted to extend beyond the military or the usual conventional dimensions. Therefore, security is broadly seen "as freedom from danger or threats to an individual" or a country (George-Genyi, 2013). It is the ability to protect and defend oneself, be it as an individual or a country, its cherished values and legitimate interests, and the enhancement of their well being (Imobighe, 1990; Mijah, 2007). To be specific, such security values include work, property, territory, franchise and not the least shelter and food.McNamara (1968) and Mijah (2007) both viewed security as being equal to development. Development here suggests the substantive quantitative and qualitative improvements in peoples' standard of living over time to such an extent that the levels of inequality, unemployment and poverty are tremendously reduced. Indeed, "Security is not just about the presence of a military force, although this is encompassed. There can be no development without security". The non-

conventional conception of security lays emphasis on social security. For Fayeye (2011), this suggests the maturation of the structures and processes that can engender and guarantee political space and sufficient conditions for the realization of among other things, personal, group or national aspirations (George, 2013).It is not only useful to point out that "security means much more than the absence of war" (Mamam, 2012) but also, that lasting peace, an inherent ingredient of security that will encompass areas such as education, health, democracy, human rights the protection against environmental degradation and the proliferation of deadly weapons (See Definition of Human Security, retrieved from http://humansecurityinitiative.org/human-security). Indeed, there can hardly be "security amidst starvation, peace building without poverty alleviation and no true freedom built on the foundation of injustice' (Fayeye, 2012, retrieved from http://www.maxwellsci.com/print/crisis/v4190-195 pdf).

Theoretical Explanation

Structural functional Theory

Structural Functionalist Theory views society as a system, it views the society as asset of inter connected parts which together form a whole various parts in the society according to the paradigm are understood in terms of their relationship a to the whole social institution which are analyzed as part of the social system rather than as related unit. (Haralambos, 1980). Functionalism argues that all societies share the same norms and values. These norms and values are embodied in the law and that the social order comprises of the internalization of these norms and values through the roles performed by traditional rulers in their communities. The evolution of the theory, owes much to the wore of Auguste Conte (1798-1857) who in the period or tumultuous change sought to promote social integration while Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) argued that society is like a human body with parts and each contributing to the survival of the entire organism. However, the third pioneer, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) developed his work more on how the structures that formed society can hang together. Talcott parson (1902-1979) is seen as the father of the functionalist school of thought due to his immerse contribution which will apply to thus study according to parson (1964) for any social system which the community is part to survive, there are four basic functional prerequisites which include: adaptation, goal attainment, integration, pattern maintenance. They can be seen as problems that communities must solve if they are to survive and progress.

Adaptation: This refers to the relationship between the traditional rulers and their communities. In order to survive, traditional institution must have some degree of control over the community.

Goal attainment: This refers to the need for all communities to set goals towards which socio-economic activities are directed procedures for establishing goals and deciding on printers between goals are institutionalized.

Integration: Thus has to do with primary adjustment of conflict in the community. It is concerned with the co-ordination and mutual adjustment of the community members' legal norms define and standardize relations between individual and institutions and so reduce potential for conflict does not lead to the disintegration of the community and its development in general. According to the functionalist perspective, traditional rulers are part of the society who have some functions to perform and contribute to the maintenance of the society (i.e. their communities) such function include the contribution of their quote in the maintenance of the internal peace and security in their domain which is the only way development can take place in the community. They help in revenue generation and community tax assessment, determination of religious matters and settlement of conflict ensuing thereof; they also contribute in community development efforts of their respective communities like building of health centers, town halls, market shop, post office, electricity reconstruction of road network bridges and culverts etc. The functionalist perspective has to be subjected to considerable criticism critics argued that the type of explanation states that the parts of the system exists because of the beneficial consequences for the system as a while. The man objection to this types of reasoning is that it tress an effect as a cause. Therefore, the assertion those traditional rulers embark on development projects in their domain is an attestation of consensus value and institution is a misplace one.

Finally, despite the widespread criticism of functionalism is should not be rejected out of hand, the assumption that society should be seen as an integral whole, that its par fare interdependent, that social institution exists and the social structure directs human behavior. However, these approaches to community development are considered relevant in evaluating the role of traditional rulers in promoting peace and security in Nigeria generally and Gombe State in particular.

In other words, it present traditional rulers as a structure within a given system which has functions to perform in the transformation and development process within local government environment as well as in large society.

Research Methodology

Description of the Study Area

The study area of this research is Gombe State. Gombe State located in North Eastern Nigeria, shared borders to the north and northeast by the states of Borno and Yobe, to the south by Taraba State, to the southeast by Adamawa State, and to the west by Bauchi State. The State was formed from a part of Bauchi State on 1st October 1996 by the then military Head of State General Sani Abacha. The state is among heterogeneous states in Nigeria. Of the 36 states of Nigeria, Gombe is the 21st largest in area covering about 18,768 km2 (7,246 sq mi) and 32nd most populous with an estimated population of about 3.25 million as of 2016 (www.wikipedia.org) and the 2022 projection is about 3,960,122 (NPC, 2020). However, the state has three senatorial zones of Gombe North, Gombe South and Gombe Central which together comprised of eleven Local Government Areas of Akko, Balanga, Billiri, Dukku, Funakaye, Gombe, Kwami, Kaltungo, Nafada, Shomgom, and YamaltuDeba local governments areas. The state is situated in Nigeria's Guinea savannah and Sudan savannah belts. Undulating hills, sandy rocks, and a few volcanic rocks make up the landscape. (www.wikipedia.org.)

Research Design

Descriptive survey research design is the method to be used for this study. Because of its excellent general ability to represent the sizeable population that this study focused on, this research design was chosen. Uniqueness, probability sampling, standardization of measurement, and analysis need are characteristics of survey research designs. Moreover, this research design helps the researcher to study a group of people or items collectively and to analyze data from their representatives in order to obtain an empirical knowledge of contemporary nature. This methodology will involve the use of questionnaires to elicit needed data from respondents on the research topic.

Population of the Study

The target population of this study are eleven (11) first class emirates council of Gombe State which drawn from the three (3) Senatorial zones namely; Gombe North, Gombe Central and Gombe South. These three senatorial zones are made up of eleven (11) Local Government Areas of Gombe State which include: Akko, Balanga, Billiri, Dukku, Funakaye, Gombe, Kaltungo, Kwami, Nafada, Shomgom and Yamaltu-Deba local government areas.

However, the populations to be selected for this study are three (3) emirate council from three Local Government Areas in three senatorial districts respectively that will represent the whole population. The Local Government Areas to be selected include Gombe Local Government representing Gombe North, Akko representing Gombe Central and Billiri Representing Gombe South. The total population of the local governments selected according to the 2022 NPC projection is 1,351,200.

Table 1: Population Distribution of Selected Local Governments Areas

S/No	L.G.A	Population
1.	Gombe	446,800
2.	Akko	565,000
3.	Billiri	339,400
	Total	**1,351,200**

Source: *field survey*

Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

For the purpose of this study, Multistage is employed. First, cluster sampling technique was used to divide Gombe State in three (3) Senatorial districts namely: Gombe North, Gombe Central and Gombe South and one local government area from each of senatorial district has been selected to represent the whole population. Gombe LGA, Akko and Billiri are selected by virtue of their size, population, proximity and border. Thereafter, simple random sampling technique is employed to identify respondents where every member of the population has equal chance of being selected. Interview was granted to some title holders in the selected emirates councils.

Thus, the formula given by Taro Yamane (1967) is being used to determine the sample size of this research. The formula is $n = \frac{N}{\sum 1+N(e)^2}$

Where n = sample size which is unknown

N = total population is

1= constant number

e= margin of error ±5 = 0.05

Thus:

$$n = \frac{1,351,200}{\sum +1,351,200\left(0.05\times0.05\right)^2} n = \frac{1,351,200}{1+1,351,200\times0.0025} n = \frac{1,351,200}{1+3378} n = \frac{1,351,200}{3379} n = 399$$

Sample Size Distribution

The following formula will be used determine the sample size distribution:

$$formula = \frac{\text{LGA Population}}{\text{Total Population}} \times \text{Total Sample Size}$$

Gombe LGA: 446,800÷1,351,200×399= 132

For percentage= 446,800÷1,351,200×100= 33%

Akko LGA= 565000÷1351200×399= 167

For percentage= 565000÷1351200×100= 42%

Billiri LGA= 339400÷1351200×399= 100

For percentage= 339400÷1351200×100= 25%

Selected Local Government Population, Sample Size and Percentage

S/No	L.G.A	Population	Sample size	Percentage
1.	Gombe	446,800	132	33%
2.	Akko	565,000	167	42%
3.	Billiri	339,400	100	25%
	Total	**1,351,200**	**399**	**100%**

Source: field survey.

Sources of Data

This research will rely on both Primary source and Secondary source of data. The primary data will be the data that the researcher will generate from the field while the secondary data is the published document to be consulted by the researcher.

Method and Instrument of Data Collection

Primary Sources: This is first-hand information that will be gathered using the questionnaires and interview. In other word, the primary data will be collected quantitatively and qualitatively. Oral in depth interview will be granted to some council members and stakeholders in the communities. Close-ended questionnaires will be designed following the research objectives and administered to selected areas.

Secondary sources: This is a second hand information which is already in existence. Secondary sources to be use in data collection for the purpose of this study are published materials such as textbooks, articles, journals, government publications, internet etc.

Method of Data Analysis

The data to be generated via questionnaire will be analyzed by the use of simple percentage with stables while content analysis will be adopted in analyzing the data from the interview

Data Presentation

Demographic Data of Respondents

Table 1: Age of the Respondents

Ages	Frequency	Percentage
30-40	57	14.%
40-50	69	17.%
50-60	122	31%
60+	151	38%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: *Field Study*

From table 1 above, 57 respondents representing 14% are of age 30-40 years, 69 respondents representing 17% are aged 40-50, 122 respondents constituting 31% are aged 50-60 and 151 respondents representing 38% aged 60 and above. From the above table, respondents who are aged 60 and above responded more in the field survey.

Table 2: Qualifications

Level	Frequency	Percentage
SecondaryCert.	150	37%
Tertiary Cert.	206	52%
Informal Cert.	43	11%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

Table 2 shows that 150 respondents representing 37% hold secondary school certificate, 206 respondents representing 52% have tertiary certificates, 43 respondents corresponding to 11% have informal education.

Table 3: Local Government Area

District	Frequency	Percentage
1. Gombe	132	33%
2. Akko	167	42%
3. Billiri	100	25%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

Table 3 above shows that 132 respondents constituting 33% are from Gombe, 167 respondents representing 42% are from Akko while 100 respondents representing 25% are from Billiri. This suggests that Akko local government have the highest respondents.

Table 4: Occupation of the Respondents

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Farmer	149	37%
Civil servant	95	24%
Bussiness	105	26%
Retiree	50	13%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: *Field Study*

Table 4 above shows that, 149 respondents representing 37% are farmers, 95 respondents representing 24% are civil servants, 105 respondents representing 26% hold business, and 50 respondents representing 13% are retiree. This reveals that farmers respondent more than other occupations.

Table 5: Existence of Traditional Political Institutions

Response	Frequency	Percentage
1. Yes	399	100%
2. No	0	0%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

In table 5 above, 399 respondents representing 100% positively responded that they are aware of the existence of traditional political institutions where none of the respondents claimed to have not known.

Table 6: In which ways do these Institutions are ensuring peaceful coexistence in Gombe State.

Mode	Frequency	Percentage
a. Sensitizing Citizens	120	30%
b. Resolving Disputes	107	27%
c. Using Religious Leaders	168	42%
d. Others	4	1%

Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study

Table 6 show that 120 respondents representing 30% believe that sensitizing citizens is the way in which these institutions are ensuring peaceful coexistence in Gombe State, to 107 respondents representing 27% is resolving disputes, 168 respondents representing 42% using religion leaders is the way while 4 respondents representing 1% believe there are other ways beside these ones.

Table 7: Do you think the coming of western Democracy had diminished the powers of these Institutions?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
1. Yes	291	73%
2. No	108	27%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

Table 7 above, 291 respondents representing 73% responded that the coming of western Democracy had diminished the powers of these Institutions where108 respondents representing 27% believe that it has not.

Table 8: How has the coming of Western Democracy diminished their powers

Mode	Frequency	Percentage
a. By reducing their power	122	31%
b. Establishing Institutions like police and others	109	27%
c. Making them under L.GA	168	42%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study

Table 8 show that 122 respondents representing 31% believe that the coming of western democracy diminished the powers of traditional political institutions by reducing their power, to 109 respondents representing 27% establishment of institutions like police and others diminished their powers, 168 respondents representing 42% polled that making them under local government diminished their powers.

Table 9: What do you think can be done to strengthen Traditional Political Institutions

Status	Frequency	Percentage
a. Giving them recognition in the constitution	259	65%
b. Allocating enough funds	119	30%
c. Others specify	21	5%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

In table 9 above, 259 respondents representing 65% recommended that political traditional institution should be giving recognition in the constitution, to 119 respondents representing 30% allocating enough funds to then will strengthen them, and 21 respondents representing 5% hold the opinion that other means beside the identified ones should be adopt in order to strengthen political traditional institution in Gombe State.

Discussion of Findings

Base on the field survey through administration of questionnaire and interview, it is revealed that political traditional institution exists in Gombe State prior to the coming of colonialism and western democracy. This shows that political traditional institutions are well recognized institutions with administrative responsibilities and well-coordinated, and recognize system with accountability and transparency.

It is also revealed from the data gathered in the course of this research that among the ways and roles played by political traditional institution in ensuring peace and security in Gombe state are sensitization of community members, resolving disputes, and using religious means among others. However, the research finds out that using religious means is the most prominent way used by political traditional institutions in ensuring peace and security in their communities.

It is also revealed that the coming of western democracy has diminished the powers of political traditional institution in ensuring peace and security in Gombe State. It also finds out that the powers of political traditional institution were reduced through the enforcement of many policies and democratic principles such as reducing the powers of responsibility, establishing institution like police against the existed traditional police and making them under local government authorities. However, the research finds out that making them under local government is one of the most troubling factor that diminished their powers because even the local government is battling for their autonomy as enshrined in the 1999 constitution.

Finally, among the things to be done in order to strengthen political traditional institutions in Gombe state base on the survey conducted is giving traditional institutions recognition in the constitution. This is expected to give them independence as the institution of the state with recognize powers, roles and responsibilities.

Conclusion

It has been established that traditional political institutions had been in existence for many years and that these institutions played significant role in conflict resolution and peace building. The relative peace experience in the past can be linked to the ability of these

institutions in maintaining peace. However, today, the powers of these institutions have been reduced and this might be the reason why we have been experiencing numerous security challenges in our societies.

Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, the following are thefore recommended:

1. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria be amended to capture traditional political institutions with their recognized power of ensuring peace.

2. Enough Funds be given to traditional political institutions so as to carry on with their functions.

3. Political leaders should stop unnecessary interference in issues related to traditional institutions

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