

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SUSTENANCE OF DEMOCRATIC
ORDER IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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Abstract

The Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999 amongst other things was expected to provide a veritable opportunity for Nigeria to be in the league of states that practice the only game in town and hoping to enjoy good governance and improved socio-economic wellbeing status. Hence, the new democratic order was welcomed with enthusiasm believing that it will put an end to constraints to development and ensure the guarantee of citizens' inalienable rights. The questions therefore are, what are the challenges to good governance and a democratic order in Nigeria? What should be done to ensure the actualization of good governance and sustain democracy in the country, thereby keeping military rule in perpetual abeyance? These questions form the nucleus of what this paper intends to distill. It is opined that good governance and democratic order are two sides of a coin and court each other in order to attain a prosperous, tranquil and enduring socio-political order. It was observed that internal security challenges, amongst other factors are responsible for myriad of problems confronting the nation. Accountability, probity and observance of the rule of law are recommended and should be held sacrosanct so that the ideals of good governance and democracy can be actualized. The paper relies heavily on secondary sources and adopted content analysis method.

Keywords: Democracy, Good Governance, Democratic Order

Introduction

Democracy as a form of government has been able to garner appreciable support from the people because of the twin beliefs that, it is the only form of governance that can guarantee self-preservation and actualization of general needs. A state under democratic rule protects and safeguards individual inalienable rights and ensure the realization of collective aspiration with the belief that democracy will translate to tranquility, justice, equity, fair play, and above all, an improve socio-economic well-being for the citizenry. One can say that democratic governance provides a habitable ground for good governance to strive. Fukuyama was quoted to have stated that democracy can be adjudged as the best form of government. According to Omotoso (2016) democracy "is adjudged the best form of government because of its defining attributes, particularly for guaranteeing individual freedom in the political system and for allowing popular participation in governance" (p. 1). In the words of (Linz and Stepan, 1996, p. 15), it is "the only game in town". The enthusiasm of the people as regards the enormous values derivable from

this system of government has been coined to 'dividends of democracy' (in the Nigerian parlance). The idea of dividends of democracy goes with freedom of association, of religion, conscience, rule of law, accountability and probity, employment opportunities, protection of lives and property, and above all, an improved standard of living. One would not be surprised with someone who felt the state has faltered to say 'that democracy is meaningless if the people cannot enjoy its ideals'.

Governance experience in Nigeria has shown that coups and counter coups made it possible for the military to rule the country for a longer period than their civilian counterparts. The military as a body had ruled for more than 29 years out of the 58 years of Nigeria's independence, as at 1st October, 2018. The Interim National Government (ING) of Chief Ernest Shonekan was in control from 27th of August 1993 to 17th November, 1993). While the period has been described as "the Praetorian Trap" by Leo Dare (Ojo, 2006b, p. 359).

Based on Nwabueze's categorization, governance in Nigeria can be viewed from five different phases, viz:

- i. Era of colonial autocracy and absolutism, that is, period of formal colonialism till October 1, 1960, when the country gained 'flag' independence;
 - ii. emergence of constitutional democracy (1960-1966);
 - iii. the return of military autocracy and absolutism (1966-1979);
 - iv. restoration of constitutional democracy (1979-83) and
 - v. the second coming of military autocracy absolutism (1983-1989)
- (Ojo, 2006a, p. 3-4).

The current (4th) republic (1999 to date) being the longest in the history of the country's democratic experience has defied the country's past record of disruptive military interventionism and chronic civilian instability. Several happenings arising from the fourth Republic have nurtured and inspired optimism about Nigeria's democratic promise (Suberu, 2016, p. xvii). This is because the past failed attempt at democratizations constitute an important stock of experimental political capital that has helped to inoculate the current dispensation against some of the mistakes of the past, including peoples misconceived perception as regards the corrective capacities of military rule (p. xvii). Additionally, the relative longevity of the current dispensation had facilitated institutional growth and development of some key agencies of the state; the legislature, the judiciary and national electoral commission (p. xvii). This experience has been succinctly summarized thus:

The national assembly resounding defeat of the proposed third term for some elected officials, the Supreme Court's judicious adjudication of several sensitive inter-governmental (resource control, state creation and anti-corruption acts) and electoral conflicts, national electoral commission's successful umpiring of the historic 2015 presidential elections, are emblematic of the democratic institutional development and resilience (Suberu, 2016, p. xvii).

On the negative side are the persistent challenges surrounding the unresolved national question which successive governments have been unable to provide an acceptable mechanism that will ensure resolving, attaining and sustaining a stable polity. Due to this, various governments the country has had in the past were unable to create an equitable accommodation, inclusion and integration of the diverse elements that make up the Nigerian state (Suberu, 2016, p. xviii). Some of these threatening issues are; the Boko haram insurgency (p. xviii) in some of the states in the northern part, indigene-settler imbroglio in Plateau state, Farmers-herdsmen crises in Benue state and some other states, secessionist agitation in the south east, ethnic revivalist and resource control movements in the Niger delta (p. xviii). Similarly, the expectation of the people in terms of what is derivable from democracy and what they are enjoying under a democratic government is disappointing. So, democracy is needless if the elected and appointed public officials failed to fulfill their campaign promises and deliver the dividends of democracy (p. xviii-xix). Omotoso (2016) concluded that "despite the 'stability' in the system, the nation and its people are

labouring under severe strains and stresses to adequately and efficiently enjoy the benefit derivable from democratic governance” (p. 1-2). Against this background, it is not out place to state that the current democratic political development in Nigeria "remains a work in progress, with major unfinished, onerous and contentious tasks in the realms of state and nation building, the development of the rule of law and the institutionalization of truly accountable transparent and representative governance” (Suberu, 2016, p. xix). It is this conclusion that brought about the questions: what are the challenges to good governance and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. ii. What are required to ensure good governance and sustenance of democratic order so as to ensure perpetual abeyance to military rule in the country? This paper intends to address these two pertinent questions.

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Conceptual Clarity

Good Governance

Good governance, as a concept is problematic and does not agree to a one- way description. In other words, it is prone to multifaceted definitions. The fundamental role of the state in human existence makes governance an important aspect given the need to improve the standard of living of the citizens. It is this essentiality that raised the notion of how governance should be organized and hence the notion of what is meant by good governance. The United Kingdom Department for International Development (DfID), according to CommGAP (2007) defines good governance as “... not just about government. It is also about political parties, parliament, the judiciary, the media, and civil society. It is about how citizens, leaders and public institutions relate to each other in order to make change happen”. It went further to state that, Good governance requires three things. These are (a) State capability; which has to do with the extent to which leaders and government are able to get things done; (b) Responsiveness concerns with whether public policies and institutions respond to the needs of citizens and uphold their rights; and (c) Accountability which focuses on the ability of citizens, civil society and the private sector to scrutinize

public institutions and governments and hold them to account. This also takes into account, the opportunity afforded the citizens to change leaders by democratic means (CommGAP, 2007)).

This tripartite formula by the DfiD can be discerned from the supply side of governance as the mandate of the state is that of getting things done and responsiveness to the needs of the inhabitants of her territory. The other side is in relation to accountability. This implies “the right, but also the obligation on the part of citizens' groups, civil society, and private firms to remain vigilant, engaged, and demand better service, provision and delivery from their leaders” (CommGAP, 2007). This is termed the demand side of governance.

In a similar vein, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) opined that good governance entails eight (8) major characteristics; peoples' participation in governance, adherence to the rule of law, transparency in decision making, responsiveness to all stakeholders, consensus oriented tailoring along mediation of the different interests, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency and accountability (UNESCAP, n.d).

Though, this paper agrees with the definition and the eight characteristics above, it is expedient to state the precinct which formed the basis for this conclusion. Good governance is looked at from the angle of leadership strict adherence to the law and consideration of people's needs for the purpose of serving the greatest number of the people. A constitution is good as long as it is welcomed by the people. This conclusion is based on the following reasons. A benevolent dictator is not welcomed under a democratic setting. In addition, the caveat about democracy is that the law of the state must be adhered to. So any leadership in a democratic setting is obliged to observe the law as dictated by the constitution. We cannot talk about accountable leadership in the absence of a democratic arrangement. Election is expected to serve as a means of ensuring that there exist good leadership. The justification for this is that election at regular intervals is to be used for measurement of performance. Though, this may not be true in Nigeria, because of some past experiences. Finally, building a strong leadership succession requires a democratic order with a strong and resilient institutions that can withstand the stress and surmount pressure that may be threatening the system.

In a nutshell, good governance is seeing from a normative perspective as it is expected that those at the helm of affairs are to steer the ship of the state in accordance with the defined rules and procedures with a view to serve the interest of the vast majority of the people (Mohammed, 2011, p. 202).

Democratic Order

Democracy has become the most fashionable form of governance in all societies of the world today. The discussion is not about which political system is appropriate but rather when will a society become democratized or fully democratic. The democratization project has become a must task every society should strive to attain believing that it is the most recognized moral and legitimate way through which a society can be administered (Ogundiya, 2010, p. 204). In a similar vein, scholars and international financial institutions have established an intrinsic linkage between democracy and good governance (Ogundiya, 2010, p. 204).

Democratic order is viewed as the same as democratic rule/governance. Hence, the paper opined that all institutions, groups, organization, bodies and individuals recognized by law must act within the dictates of the law and as such the constitution must be used to check their excesses. For instance, the fundamental human rights which recognize the existence of individuals also placed some limits on those rights. Leveraging on this, the paper observes that a political system with a dictum of democratic order should be a system where and only where the law is abided with and the law is also applied to deal with

any perceived infraction/contravention. So, democratic order is taken from the purview of "... the capacity of the polity to nurture and sustain democratic values" (Ojo, 2006a, p. 8) in such a way that democratic ideals become the norms, customs and traditional way of life of the people (both government officials and citizens)

In view of the above, it is expected that the principles of a democratic order, in the minimum, should include:

- (i) Pluralism and multipartyism (sic), including free and fair competitive politics... and relatively autonomous civil society.
- (ii) Popular participation in the political process... provided those elected remain accountable and can be voted out if they no longer enjoy the people's support.
- (iii) Rule of law, respect for human rights and equality of access to all citizens and groups to the state power and resources (which does not, however exclude policies designed to enhance the access of members of disadvantaged and marginalized groups); and
- (iv) Constitutionalism or respect for the "rules of the game", which includes civil control of the military and the efficacy of representative, judicial and oversight institutions (Osaghae, 1999, p. 7).

Theoretical Framework

It has become a tradition in the social science research to carryout investigation under the auspices of a particular framework. This is so because theoretical framework helps to "narrow the range of facts to be studied" (Abegunde, 2010, p. 175). Its importance is also relevant since "social science research is theory based and its operation are guided by relevant principles of human behavior" (p. 175). In view of the above, this paper is anchored on the Systems analysis thought. The Systems analysis revolves around the interconnectivity in behavior and history among a group of people in a given society. A system, according to Rapoport (1996) must satisfy the following conditions:

- i. One can identify a set of identifiable elements.
- ii. Among at least some of the elements, one can specify identifiable relations.
- iii. Certain relations imply others.
- iv. A certain complex of relations at a given time implies a certain complex (or one of several possible complexes) at a later time. (as cited in Fisher, 2010, p. 71)

The "social systems, including economics and politics" (Fisher, 2010, p. 71), satisfied these conditions. Thus, a social system is usually composed of "a class of entities (individuals, families, institutions) with relations among them (communication channels, influence, obligations)" (p. 71). Within the scope of this work, the Nigerian society belongs to both the social and political systems. Hence the relationships that exist between the ruler and the ruled is expected to produce an outcome which determines whether there is stability or strains in the system. More so, the state, within the ambit of the social contract school of thought, is expected to provide certain essential services that will make life meaningful to the people. On the other hand, the subjects/citizens are thereafter obliged to comply and obey rules governing the state. The latter, in Easton's analysis belongs to the 'Demands and Support' (inputs side), while the former falls into the 'Decisions' (outputs) side. Therein lies, the argument as to whether the Nigerian state satisfied the basic needs of the people in terms of safety and security, employment opportunities and an improved living status amongst others. Thus, the task of building a virile society or ensuring sustainable development in the society requires harmonious relationships between the ruler and the rule, between and among the structures put in place for the maintenance and sustenance of the system. This implies that there should be a synergy between and among all the stakeholders in the quest to building a virile, prosperous and an enduring country

Challenges to Good Governance and Democratic Order

The ideals of good governance can be synopsis into the essence for the establishment of the state as the state is duty bound to improve the socio-economic and political wellbeing of the people. The above is relatively comparable with the ideals of democracy because apart from ensuring free ventilation of opinions, democracy is also expected to usher in a better living condition (in Nigerian parlance, 'dividends of democracy') for the citizenry. But experiences since the inception of this current republic have been a mix of accolades and tribulations. Though, the people have relatively enjoyed (when compared with the military regime) some level of freedoms; freedom of association and assembly, expression and enforcement of their fundamental rights, the same cannot be said in relation to peoples standard of living. The question is, what could be responsible for this unwholesome situation?

The Economy

One can rightly conclude that efficient and proper management of the economy is an essential ingredient for a stable political environment. This thus requires an efficient and responsive leadership. Simply put, the quality of leadership determines the state of the economy. In addition, the economy determines other variables that make life meaningful for citizens of any country. More so, the economy is the major determinant of the Human Development Index (HDI) of any state. Going by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) criteria for measuring whether a country is developed, developing or underdeveloped are based on the income level, the literacy level and life expectancy rate. In other words, the income, education and the health status are the three major indices used to determine the Human Capital Development (HCD) of any state. Most Nigerians live below poverty level (earn less than \$2 (US) dollars per day). Added this are the deteriorating health facilities, infrastructural deficit which when combined with other factors make life miserable for most of the populace. People have reasoned that the resultant effects are petty thief, armed robbery, kidnapping, unemployment, poverty, squalor and all sorts of other social vices.

A recent report by the Brookings Institution showed that as at May, 2018, about 87 million Nigerians were living in extreme poverty (Punch, 2018). This made Nigeria, the country with the highest number of people living in extreme poverty. The African Development Bank had in February, 2018 stated that 152 million Nigerians, representing almost 80 per cent of the country's estimated 193.3 million people, earned less than \$ 2 per day. Prior to this, the National Bureau of Statistics, had in 2004, put the nation's poverty rate at 54. 4 per cent. It rose to 69 per cent in 2010 (Punch, 2018). In addition, the increase in the rate of unemployed Nigerians has been attributed to the country's fragile economy by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). Its (NBS) report has it that:

The labour force for population increased from 83.9 million in Q2 2017 to 85.1 million in Q3 2017. The total number of people in fulltime employment (at least 40 hours a week) declined from 52.7 million in Q2 2017 to 51.1 million in Q3 2017. (Channelstv)

In relative terms, this unpalatable status of the Nigerian economy presents a gloomy picture and unfavourable democratic prospect for the country. What useful purpose would democracy serve if people do not have a decent living accommodation, qualitative health service delivery, potable water, motorable roads, stable electricity supply, and the required meals per day. This assumption is given credence by Larry Diamond (1995), who was quoted by Ojo (2006a, p. 11) posits that:

... many new democracies in Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa will probably break down in the long run unless they can reduce their appalling levels of poverty, inequality, and social injustice, and through market oriented reforms lay the basis for sustainable growth

Similar fear was also expressed by Przeworski, who noted that:

The durability of the new democracies will depend, however, not only on their institutional structure and the ideology of the major political forces, but also to a large extent on their economic performance. Profound economic reforms must be undertaken if there is to be any hope that the deterioration in living conditions experienced by many nascent democratic countries will ever cease. (as cited by Abiola and Olaopa, 2006, p. 28-29).

Civil Society

The civil society is expected, in an ideal setting, to be a body for safeguarding, protecting and promoting certain specific interest group either as a way of calling for action, social justice, discourage marginalization, discrimination, annihilation etc. Atword (n.d) identified seven (7) roles of civil society to include (i) checking corruption and abuse of power (whistle blowing). (ii) Stimulating and leading debates on prevailing issue. (iii) Free flow of information through mass media. (iv) Collaboration in diagnosis of social problem and feedback. (v) Design and implementation of programmes, distinctive in style, symbolic in intent and complementary intent objective. (vi) Monitoring of government project and programme. (vii) Strategic alliance with the legislature to ensure constituency feedback and information sharing.

But experiences on some occasions in this current democratic dispensation have shown that some of these societies (groups) by their activities have shown destructive roles. A perusal of their activities show that many at times, they project, promote and defend sectional or primordial interest rather than national interest. It is either the Afenifere castigating the Northern Elders Forum, or the Northern Youths Forum cascading MASSOB or IPOB of wanting to make the state ungovernable for a northerner who is the country's President. Sometimes, the Niger-Delta Force or Ijaw Youths Congress accused the other parts of marginalizing the Niger delta area. Similarly, the role of the "unnamed or unidentified" civil society groups in the crisis in Benue, Taraba, Kaduna, Plateau, and other skirmish cases in Ekiti, Ondo, Enugu, Anambra state, cannot be underplayed. It may not be incorrect to conclude that these unwholesome activities, apart from causing dislocation of priorities and distort the economy, could also provide a veritable ground for civil unrest, long-life acrimony and above all disintegration. This opinion has been corroborated by some writers. According to Lawal (2003), "ethnicity and religious identity have plagued all efforts at national cohesion and maintenance of political stability" (p. 133). Whereas, Oshewolo (2016), concludes that these unwholesome activities "have produced a number of fatal consequences" (p, 291). Abegunde (2016), description is that "the effects of which have been felt in every facet of the society. ... It has also led to "destruction of lives and property as expression of political grievances ..." (p. 355)

Security

Linked to the above is the perilous situation of Nigeria's security status. Without gainsaying, the security of any nation would be under threat when the economy is not properly managed. On the other hand, the insecurity of any country is a big threat to the economy of that society. This can be so if we believe, that unemployment, underdevelopment and high rate of poverty are some of the consequences of a poor or weak economy. In the class of security challenge are the activities of the civil society group (be it ethnic, religious) who for some selfish reasons leverage on their privileged positions to unleash terror in the name of promoting their group(s) interests. We should not forget in a hurry, the threat by a group of youth organization in the North calling on Igbos living in the north to go back to their states when IPOB (a body propagating and promoting Igbos interest) promised to declare a Biafran state by 1st October, 2016. All these threats, actions and counter threats are inimical to peaceful and stable social coexistence.

Ethno-Religious violence which has become a recurring feature in the country coupled with the fear of marginalization by the minorities, communal clashes, political assassination and election related violence are sources of tension and security breaches in the country. One may not far from the truth to say that insecurity is demeaning to socio-economic well-being, political, social and psychological development of individual and groups and, that of corporate existence of a state. This opinion is corroborated by Iregbenu and Uzonwanne (2015, p. 173)

Some of the consequences of these are; loss of lives, wanton destruction of private and public properties, loss of revenue, paralysis of economic activities (Usman and Mathew, 2014, p. 11-13), perpetual incapacitation of many, increase in the number of orphans, psychological trauma, life time acrimony between and among groups, and paralysis of social activities. All these combined hampers good governance and democratic order. This paper does not intend to give the reasons for these ugly incidences but focused on their negative consequences to good governance and sustenance of democratic order in Nigeria. Some of these security challenges are: Boko-Haram insurgency in the north east, kidnapping, Farmers-Herdsmen crises in Benue, Tiv-Jukun crises in Taraba, Indigene-Settler conflicts in Plateau, armed robbery, religious crisis, inter and intra-tribal crisis, secessionist agitations, banditry in Kebbi, skirmishes of breach of peace in some parts of Kaduna state among others. All these have therefore transformed into political violence given the dimensions it has taken.

Political violence, according to Hibbs (1973, p. 7), is expected to satisfy three conditions; (a) it should be anti-system (b) it should be politically significant by being actual and not a mere threat to the status quo and (c) it should involve mass political action concerning rebellion, revolution, internal war, terrorism et cetera (Azeez, 2004, p. 162). In a plain, clear and concise description, insecurity impedes governance and democratic order.

Political Parties

Political parties are composed of people who shared similar ideology and have the same intent to apply the manifestoes of their respective political organizations to improve the lots of the people when eventually elected into power. In Nigeria for instance, parties are seen in the political arena “each time the military restored democracy” (Fashagba and Oye, 2014, p. 49). For this reason, no one can talk about good governance during democratic rule in Nigeria without reference to the roles played by political parties. Indeed, under estimating the roles of political parties will be at “the peril of the state, especially in a nascent democracy like Nigeria” (Fashagba and Oye, 2014, p. 50). Experience had shown that the relaxation of the conditions for party registration, led to the formation of mushroom political parties. Presently, there are more than 70 registered political parties in Nigeria. It was observed that parties were been formed for no other reason than being able to access the subventions given to parties by INEC (Fashagba and Oye 2014, p. 58). Simply put, Party formation provides the 'undue' formal access to public funds. Consequently, this situation brought about non-competitive political parties and invariably negates the cardinal principle upon which democratic ideals is built; opportunity for choice of candidate for the electorates, vibrant opposition (which can help to check ruling party's excesses) among others.

A political party ideology is expected to provide direction for them (the parties) and serve as the mirror for measuring the performance of any party who had the mandate of the electorates and could also provide an alternative for the citizens in the choice of part(y)ties or candidates. The idea of campaign promises around providing good roads, potable water, stable electricity, provision of employments and what is usually termed “dividends of democracy” is unacceptable. Membership of a political party becomes a necessity as a means to getting patronage. Hence, cross-carpeting has continued to be a solace for any aggrieved politician. Internal democracy is lacking in all the major political parties or in a state or

area where a particular political party is popular. Thence, imposition of candidates, manipulation of party primaries, selection of candidates and other undemocratic methods are applied to select parties' flag bearers for any election. The case of Imo, Zamfara and Rivers state governorship flag bearers of the All Progressive Congress is still unsettled (even after INEC deadline for the submission of names of party's candidates for the 2019 general elections). Thanks to the Supreme Court who finally ruled on Rivers case. While that of Zamfara is presently at Supreme Court with just few days to 29th May, handover date. Added to this was the erosion of internal democracy, which does not only portend danger to democratic order but also hinders the attainment of good governance. Political parties, out of desperation, try to rig elections and cause mayhem. All these are inimical to good governance and democratic ideals. In the words of Williams (2003), "the Politics of spoils undermined state resources and intensify the competition for state offices and resources". The opposition parties also failed to provide what could be described as credible alternatives, except the vibrant opposition given to the PDP by the APC after its formation prior to the 2015 general elections (Omotoso, 201, p. 5).

The character and form, the parties portray since 1999 has been described by Omotoso (2016, p. 3), thus:

... the formation of political parties has not been based on any known political ideology. Apart from this, political parties are lacking in principle. They are nothing more than just instruments of transferring power from the military to civilians, because the political parties lack the necessary ingredients for nurturing and sustaining democracy.

Corruption

Corruption related issues have become a recurring decimal in the Nigerian state since independence. It was one of the reasons for the First Military coup and other subsequent coups in the country. So, it was not a new factor in the country's 4th democratic experience. One may not be far from the truth to say that politicians see politics as an investment and not a call to service. The vision of successive administrations in Nigeria since 1999 has consistently been to take the country to the 'Promised Land'. That is, bring about quantum development in the country. But the realization of these lofty idea and intention has continued to be a mirage. The inhibition is nothing other than, corruption. As it has been noted by Ibiloye (2014), corruption, has appeared "at the centre of our failed attempt in development and our emerging status as a failing state" (p. 184). Ruzin Elaine (1997), has captured succinctly the negative effects of corruption with specific reference to Africa:

Corruption has led to bad roads, and decaying infrastructures, inadequate medical services, poor schools, falling education standards, and the disappearance of foreign aid and foreign loans and of entire projects without trace (or they are delayed completion, leading to higher costs). Corruption has meant ... national assets are round down and ruined, production capacity in industry, agriculture, and services has been reduced, and repair of buildings, equipment, vehicle, and physical and social infrastructure have been paid for repeatedly but never performed. Corruption disturbs the economy through the waste and misallocation of resources. (as quoted by Tella, 2004, p. 217).

The endemic nature and vulnerabilities of corruption in Nigeria, has been described as a weapon of mass destruction by Olatunji, Fagbamila and Lawal (2014, p. 195-196). The consequential effects of corruption on the country are multifaceted. It includes, "high level of poverty, high profile of youth violence, general insecurity, loss of lives and properties, social unrest, social mistrust and general underdevelopment" (Olatunji, et al., 2014, p. 196). It is a menace to governance, ills to democracy, oils public mistrust to public managers or responsible for decline of trust in public managers by the citizens, responsible for lack of or insufficiency in the provision of basic activities and above all, responsible for low integrity profile of Nigerians among Nigerians.

This aptly describes the form and consequences of corruption in Nigeria. No nation with an endemic corruption would boast of any meaningful development. This has been the case with Nigeria. It is not incorrect to conclude that corruption has been responsible for dashed hope, militating against good governance (though, the Leadership and some privileged few benefits) and negates democratic virtues. Put differently, corruption threatens the essence of state existence and negates the ideals of democracy. There are series of examples of corruption allegation against many State governors, members of the National Assembly (Fashagba 2011, p. 16 and Ibiloye, 2014, p. 191-192), public officials at the National Assembly and Judiciary (Olatunji, Fagbamila and Lawal, 2014, p. 199-200), Federal Agencies, Ministries, Departments and Agencies (Hassan and Lamidi, 2014, p. 246-247). For details on the effects of corruption (see Olatunji, Fagbamila and Lawal, 2014, p. 202-205).

Executive and legislative Relations

The role of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary either as an institution for the promotion of good leadership and the sustenance of democratic order cannot be over emphasized. They symbolize the state and hence become the vehicle for the realization of state objectives in terms of provision of basic necessities for a prosperous living and guarantee of security and protection of private, corporate and public properties. Simply put, these formal structures of the state, "are believed to be the most important components for the functioning of the state machinery" (Fashagba and Oye, 2014, p. 49). They are therefore not expected to work at cross-purpose in the interest of the state (Jude and Ika, 2013, p. 35).

According to Aiyede (2005, p. 75), legislative-executive bickering in Nigeria's fourth republic has exhibited three forms of conflict; namely: i. struggle for prestige and influence, ii. opposing perception of powers and roles in relation to Separation of powers and, iii. disagreement over issue of policy and the need to enforce each arm's preference. It started during president Obasanjo's regime and continued under president Buhari. Some of the issues that generated animosity were; furniture and accommodation allowance for the members of the National Assembly, Constituency Projects, the NDDC and ICPC acts (Aiyede, 2005, p. 76-80; Bassey, 2014, p.: 36), passage of electoral act 2001, scrapping of PTF under Obasanjo, removal of subsidy in 2012, recall of the suspended Director General of the Security and Exchange Commission (Oni, 2014). Some other issues were impeachment of house leaders, impeachment notice against the president, delay in the passage of budget, accusation of the executive by the legislature in respect of interference in legislative process and leadership selection, demand for gratification before ministerial nominees are cleared and budgetary bill is passed and so on. It is the same bad story from 2015 to date, as the Executive and legislature are usually on each other's throat with accusations and counter-accusations.

The constant bickering between the executive and legislature is \counter-productive to the social, political and economic well-being of the state. This sentiment is shared by Jude and Ika (2013, p. 30), who aver that the quest for good governance in Nigeria has been hindered by the unending conflicts between the legislature and executive who were constantly battling for supremacy and control of the policy making and implementation process. (see, p. 38-39, for more on the negative impact of unhealthy rivalry between the executive and the legislature). Slow down governance reform and heated the polity (Aiyede, 2005, p. 65). It can sometimes degenerate into personality and ego wars given the fragile and plural social configuration of the Nigerian state and as such, "the consequences for the stability of system could be incalculable" and "... fatal to the process of democratic consolidation" (Bassey, 2014, p. 37)

Isumonah (2002, p. 1), in his summation of the executive-legislature conflict concludes that:

Democratic consolidation can only occur in a context where political institutions, especially those that embody the democratic process, are functional and interact in way that reinforces confidence in the

government and the process which the offices of these government institutions are filled (as cited by Fashagba, 2011, p. 7).

The Way Forward

This section deals with some of the essential factors which would help to ensure and promote good governance and sustain Nigeria's democratic governance so as to keep military rule in perpetual abeyance.

Security of Lives and Property

Without mincing words, security matters should not be politicized otherwise the entire fabric of the Nigerian society would be jeopardized. The consequences of insecurity are no respecter of religion, ethnic, ideological or political inclination. Governments that cannot guarantee safety, protect lives and property, is a failed government and such government, in any democratic order, is by implication calling for authoritarian government. A secured environment promotes harmonious social, political, economic, individual and corporate interaction. The existence of a friendly, profitable and prosperous relationship is a stepping stone towards the realization of other essentials goals of the state. This is what Nigeria needs in this critical moment of her existence. Manipulation of diversity for sectional or personal interests should be jettisoned. The issue of marginalization requires adequate attention as this will help to address some security challenges confronting the country. Some of which are minority agitations, ethnic, religious and communal crises.

Alabi (2014, p. 85) sums it up, that economic marginalization of minorities by the dominant ethnic groups is tantamount to internal imperialism and calls for increased access in the political space for these (minorities) groups.

Provision of Basic Infrastructures

Provision of infrastructural facilities such as potable water, constant electricity supply, good road network, accessible, affordable and efficient health care delivery and other essential services are synonymous with good governance and equally serve as antidote to mass revolt or uprising. Majority of Nigerians live below poverty line, the supply of electricity epileptic, dilapidated state of infrastructure, increased crime rate, there is high rate illiteracy and epidemic of diseases amongst others make life generally tough for the masses (Aderonmu and Aliu, 2011, p. 103-104).

Without mincing words, no responsible government will rest on her oars when these basic necessities of life are lacking or inadequate. People would say, 'No be democracy we go chop'. People needed and wanted to enjoy the dividends of democracy. Though, the rehabilitation and construction of roads are ongoing, construction of light railways lines is also ongoing, increase of electricity megawatts and other efforts are commendable, they are always at a slow pace. Expansion of the country's economy will go in a long way to increase the revenue potentials of the state in terms of the capacities to increase the provision of basic amenities which are in short supply. Government needs to gear up in this direction

Rule of law

The observance of the rule of law should be sacrosanct in any democratic system. For this, no attempt, for whatsoever reason, be made to subvert, subjugate, eliminate or circumspect adherence to constitutional stipulations. The rule of law is anchored on three principles, namely; impartiality, equality and the supremacy of the law. The supremacy of the law should be applied to settle the constant bickering between the legislature and the executive since the law is no respecter of any individual or institution. It is opined that, a corrupt government would always justify every attempt at breaching the law. The leadership (the legislative and the executive members) should be reminded at all times that what

oils and guarantees their stay in office is the constitution and must always strive to defend it. In other words, it is the constitution that makes the existence of the legislative and the executive arms attractive and safeguarded. It serves the state no good for the executive to choose which court ruling or judgment should be obeyed. It is nothing other than arbitrary selection which in the long run results in loss of trust and confidence in governance. Consequently, people would resolve to adapt to self-defence.

Guarantee and Safeguard of Human Rights

The fundamental human right can be treated as the same as democracy, because, without it, the idea or notion of franchise is defeated, freedom of speech (Ojo, 2004, p. 98) and association which ensures the assemblage of people of like-minds into a political party becomes a thought, freedom of movement and ability to develop one's potential (material wise) can be jeopardized most especially when the government sees certain actions or movements as inimical to its ideological preference. In view of the above, a good leadership, with a visionary idea of good governance and democratic values will always guide against infringement on peoples' inalienable rights. No two ways to it. Peoples' rights must be recognized, guaranteed, protected and promoted at all times. It is recommended that any limitation to be placed on peoples' rights should be in accordance with what the law provides. Doing this, gives the impression of good governance and admittance of the need to guarantee continued democratic order.

Talking along the time of rule of law is that politicians should follow the rules in election matters. Doing this will help to check-mate pre-election, election and post-election conflicts/crises. Thence, all contestants either for party primaries and /or general elections should be aware that complying with electoral laws serve us all (including the electorate) an inestimable good.

Accountability and Probity

Accountability, transparency and probity are intrinsically linked and in so doing they define good leaders and also constitute indispensable ingredients for democratic sustenance cum good governance. The passage of the Freedom of Information (FOI) and Due Process Bills is a right step towards achieving accountability, transparency and probity but it has not yielded appreciable successes. The efforts of Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP), is commended as it has consistently calling for probes and investigations of some public officials. As it has been right asserted by Omotoso (2016), "accountable leadership is a sine qua-non of good governance, because democracy and good governance succeed and thrive in societies where the political leaders (elected or appointed) are accountable to the people in their actions and inactions" (p. 7). The situation in Nigeria depicts an aberration from the essential requirement of good leadership and democratic ethos as the current crop of Nigerian leaders is inaccessible. Consequently, accountability has become a ruse and transparency a mirage as the supposedly servants of the people, are now the masters (Omotoso, 2016, p. 7)). Since governance is about exercise of power over the people, those who have been entrusted with the mandate are expected to be fair, just and prudent in the management of the country's economic and social resources towards achieving national development (Tella, 2004, p. 213). What is evident is that the Nigerian political leadership is being "mired in the pursuit of selfish and personal goals at the expense of broader national interest" (Ogbeidi, 2012, p. 3).

It is expedient to conclude that public officials; selected and appointed must be answerable to the people for the exercise of the state power and resources. The presentation of the annual budget to the legislature by the executives can be taken as a measure towards transparency, probity and openness. More so, investigation into public expenditure, as oversight function, should be replicated at the state level. In summary, a good government should be accountable, transparent, open, be ready to observe the rule of law (Tella, 2004, p. 218) and be responsive to peoples' needs.

Corruption

Corruption is an enigma which must be fought from all angles. We need to remind ourselves about what is most crucial now in our attempt to bring this cankerworm to a tolerable proportion. What we need now is not fighting corruption but preventing / minimizing corruption. There is a need to improve on the preventive and detective mechanisms. This will help to reduce the rate of corruption rather than wasting money and time on corruption cases which sometimes exonerate culprits after a long judicial process. If the statement credited to an official of the EFCC that the investigation of corruption cases take time is anything to go by, it then means, our efforts at fighting corruption would amount to waiting to see the camel passing through the eye of a needle. Added to the investigation time are the lengthy period of judicial process before conviction is secured, EFCC amendments and re-amendments of charges while the case has been instigated in Court (is tantamount to waste of time, resources and a needless exercise). People will lose faith in those who govern them and democracy as a whole, if this continued unabated.

Finally, a responsible government will make all efforts, if not possibly eliminate corruption completely, but minimize its occurrence so as to ensure it delivers on the promises made by its party to the electorates. Hassan and Lamidi (2014) summarize it thus, "for sustainable development to be attained. ... it is imperative that corruption be curtailed in the polity" (p. 239). As it is in Nigeria now, any government that is able to fight corruption or reduce its incidences will be doing good to Nigeria by way of good governance, improve the living condition of the people and increase support for democratic rule in the country. The country needs this now, now, now and not later.

Political parties

The roles of political parties are irreplaceable and indispensable. They, through their interest articulation and aggregation roles (Gunther and Diamond, 2001, p. 3), narrow down opinions, views, values, choice and options and without which there would be chaos of ideas and choices. In a similar vein, they make available to people, alternatives in a concrete and identifiable manner. Despite lacking in ideology, political parties are still relevant in Nigeria's quest for good leadership and sustainable democracy. They are to be (though aware) reminded that adherence to rule even in internal party affairs is a necessity that must not be toiled with. The way and manner political parties' conduct their activities can make or mar good governance and democratic order. Without being economical with the use of words, their existence cum recognition was borne out of the conviction about their invaluable roles towards achieving societal goals. This must be their watchword and must not derail from this noble cause at all times because in any democratic political society, the visibility of parties provides a lot of opportunities for awareness, sensitization and platform for electorates and provides the training ground for future leaders.

Additionally, political parties are expected to serve as agent of stabilization and accountability. This simply means that, they provide the platform for peaceful change of government and are expected to provide a level playing ground for their members so as to entrench internal democracy. Abiding by this will ensure sustainable democracy on one hand, and provide a viable and effective opposition by ensuring that the government in power is accountable to the electorate as this provides a veritable ground for them to serve as an alternative to the electorates in subsequent elections but also thrive to guarantee the success of the party in subsequent elections having taking into cognizance the consequence of bad governance. As the 2015 general elections proved to all and sundry that incumbency may not be a factor for electoral success whereas the performance of the party would serve as the major determinant of a party's election success. As a suggestion to the parties, they should always ensure that good leadership should be their watch word and should be ready to jettison imposition of any incumbent on their

members and the electorates with a view to avert election calamity/ unfavorable election result. This conclusion is based on the fact that an elected official who failed to give purposive leadership is a liability whose candidature will work negatively against the party. When this is done, bringing about good leadership cum good governance and sustaining a democratic order would be assured.

Civil Society Organizations/Groups

The proliferation of these bodies made it impossible for them to expose corruption and check abuse of power. It has also paved way for some people to use these bodies for selfish and profit making reasons. Even, election related groups are only visible when election is about to hold and go into extinction after submitting their election observation reports. So, it was impossible to make government, accountable, responsible and robust in policy formulation and execution.

Civil Society groups are, apart from protecting, propagating and promoting specific interests, could equally serve as an agent for purposeful, efficient, and accountable leadership with a view to guaranteeing and sustaining democratic order. The possibility of attaining these roles requires that these groups should:

1. Eschew bitterness and reject all forms of primordial or pecuniary interests which are inimical to national interest. That is, general interest or what promotes good leadership, accountability, and probity should be accorded priority. This is imperative because of the need to guard against being used for divisive purposes by elements or forces of destruction.
2. Be aware that their activities directly or indirectly impact positively or negatively on Nigerian peoples' political culture.
3. Not see their membership of these groups as an avenue for enrichment, undue privileges or settling scores.
4. See their activities as a national service. Members of SERAP are to be commended for their role in this regard.

The role of CSO during the Occupy Nigeria protests in January 2012 is commendable. Their efforts led to the reduction of the increase in the pump price of petrol in the country. That attempt can be situated within the context of checking arbitrariness on the part of the government. The role of SERAP at checking arbitrariness and abuse of office is commendable. It has consistently called for investigation of some public officials.

Conclusion

This paper opines that what Nigeria needs to sustain her current (4th republic) democratic order is, building a firm and enduring institutions (executive, judicial, legislative, political parties, civil societies, including the media). But the clear signal to derailment is an attempt at building the country around an individual or a clique. How do we build an enduring institution? First and foremost, is strict adherence to the dictates of the letter of the 1999 constitution (as amended). The recommendation of this paper is that there should be synergy in the workings among all the stakeholders (both formal and informal structures of the state including the citizens) in the task of building a virile and prosperous Nigeria. This is because the task of building a nation-state and ensuring sustainable development is onerous and requires collaboration, accommodation, understanding and commitment to the set ideals.

Finally, the paper cannot be said to have exhausted all the variables or factors that can guarantee good governance and democratic sustenance. Although, some of the factors discussed can be said to be vital in the realization of these noble ideals. Some of the factors discussed are: guaranteed security of lives and property, provision of basic infrastructures, adherence to the rule of law, guarantee and safeguard of citizens fundamental rights and roles of Civil Society Organizations. It is opined that this a modest contribution to the debates on the strategies to ensuring an improved and a prosperous wellbeing for

Nigerians. This cannot stop further discussion on the way forward and can allow an elaborate discussion of one factor and see the extent to which it can ensure the realization of sustainable development and make military rule an aberration in Nigeria

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