
GOOD GOVERNANCE: A PANACEA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

Fatima Abubakar Katcha
Department of Political Science
Faculty of Social sciences
Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai

ABSTRACT

Since the 1999 transition to civil rule in Nigeria has been on the search for sustainable democracy which appears to elude the country because of series of undemocratic behaviours mainly perpetuated by the leadership. Part of the major reasons for these undemocratic behaviours has been traceable to lack of good governance which has become a common practice even during the military regimes. But what appears interesting in the country's democratic government is that core values of democracy can only be fully realised if not pursued under the foundation of principles of good governance. This paper, therefore, examines the relevance of Good Governance in the sustainability of Democracy in Nigeria. To this end, data were collected through secondary sources and was content analysed. It is the position of the paper that good governance and democracy are interwoven and that the sustainability of democracy can be achieved through the application of good governance principles as the basis for sustainable democracy in Nigeria. The paper found out that failure of leadership is the bane of good governance and suggested among others for leadership to cultivate the right attitude to governance by adopting the principles of good governance and core democratic values for sustainable democracy.

Key Words: Good Governance, Democracy, Leadership, Government

Background of the Study

Nigeria adopted democracy as a form of government at independence but was disrupted 1966 by the military interventions in the country's politics. To many, the system of government adopted at independent may have laid the foundation for the political and socio-economic crises witnessed in Nigeria (Orokpo, 2014). While others argued that the Nigerian democratic experience has remained a chequered one as the first attempt to conduct an election in 1965 resulted in crises in some parts of the country and account as one of the reasons for military intervention in politics (Elaigwu, 2001). However, a major character of military intervention in politics has been the suspension of the constitution immediately they took over governance. This implies that democratic institutions ceased to exist and the country is governed by decrees and edits, which allows the military the latitude to interfere in the operations of those government institutions. It is on the basis of this military character that the operational capacity of the institutions to perform effectively are compromised leading to the weakness of democratic institutions.

Nevertheless, the 1999 transition from military to democratic rule in Nigeria marked a turning point in the history of the country journey to the democratic government after twenty-nine years of military rule. It is a period that rekindled high hopes and aspirations for citizens who longed for good governance that would entrench an era of prosperity and abundance. But, little did Nigerians know that the country's leadership were incapable of providing the much-expected good governance that could drive democracy and revive the citizens' state of despair. The argument that military regimes, which are associated with bad governance, are responsible for the dearth of development in Nigeria seems to lose credence because, even with about twenty years of democratic rule, much is yet to be achieved development-wise. Much of the similarity in both regimes are not in the type of government they operated but in the character of the leadership who manipulates the democratic institutions for selfish reasons. The issue appears even daunting considering the fact that leaders from the first republic (1960-1966) through the second republic (1979-1983) to the present dispensation (1999- date) have been largely parochial and self-centred. Most of the time they engage in vices such as nepotism, ethnicity, political intolerance, electoral fraud, corruption among others that negates democratic values and good governance principles (Galadima, 2000).

Consequently, there is a high level of poverty, unemployment, crime, and other forms of insecurity leading to issue such as insurgency, agitation, banditry and ultimately loss of lives and property as well as underdevelopment. There appears to be a rift between the people and the institutions of governance as standards are highly compromised making these institutions extremely inoperative and leadership appears mostly culpable. The defectiveness of these institutions has raised doubts about the ability of the leadership to enthrone good governance principles for sustainable democracy in Nigeria.

The UN indicators of good governance include Participation, Accountability, Transparency, Rule of law, Equity and inclusiveness, and Effectiveness and efficiency (Global Strategy for Good Governance, 2017). The 2010 Mo Ibrahim Index of African governance measures the performance of each country in

Africa against such indicators as Safety and rule of law; Participation and human rights; Sustainable economic opportunity; and Human development which consists of all the components of principles of good governance. However, in all the observed sub-category, category, and overall index score for each country, Nigeria was not ranked among the top ten countries in Africa. At best, she was ranked 37th position out of the 53 countries assessed in Africa (Mo Ibrahim, 2010).

It is against this backdrop, and also in response to the UN observation that good governance would guarantee individual human rights and civil liberties that the application of good governance for the sustenance of democracy becomes relevant..

Theoretical underpinnings

Theory of Good Governance: In an attempt to relate and also assist developing countries of the world by the World Bank, a set of principles and policies were introduced that led to development of good governance theory. The focus of good governance is about how the public sector in third world countries can be developed. This is against the backdrop that a modern form of government is not just only about efficiency, that governing is also about accountability between the state and its citizens (Bjork and Johansson, 2001 cited in Ekundayo 2017). Good governance theory, sets some basic principles according to which a good government, whatever its form, must be run. Such principles include accountability, control, responsiveness, transparency, public participation, economy, efficiency inclusiveness, equity. It is however important to note that other international agencies lend their support in the idea of good governance so as to stamp out corruption and entrench efficiency and accountability in the public sector. (IMF 2012). The here is to ultimately achieve enhanced good governance.

The adoption of this theory in this study is important because the principles will be a standard of assessment of governance and democracy. This is so because a cursory look at these principles of good governance suggests they propagate the same message as democratic principles and appear to rest on the same pedestal democratic ethos. While good governance theory focus on efficiency and accountability predictable economic growth democratic theory seeks political freedom, equal rights and justice for the people.

This study therefore adopted descriptive approach and relied on secondary source of data collection. Library materials such as texts books, journals and internet materials were utilised and were content analysed. The availability of materials on the study area makes it possible to distil sufficient data for analysis and to reach a healthy conclusion and recommendations. However, most of the literature on good governance indicators were rooted basically to follow western pattern of governance and democracy and as such are bias against others form of government and its process and achievements.

Conceptual Clarification

Good Governance: Historically, Plato the Greek Philosopher was reputed to be the first person to have used the word governance. But in a metaphorical sense to depict the control of men or the control of people. Mostly the concept is assumed indispensable to sustainable development in the democracy and development literature as well as in conversations around governance issues. However, governance, as defined by IMF, is the process by which public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources for the good of all (UNDP 2007). This is rather a simplistic definition of the concept of governance as it appears to emphasise less of those values such as human rights, justice, and responsible leadership which are the core value of the concept of governance because what is 'good for all' is relatively contextual. According to the World Bank report of 1993 entitled 'Governance and Development', good governance is conceived as 'the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development' (IFAD, 1999). In a similar view, good governance is perceived as the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic activities and also it is at the centre of determining the distributive benefits as well as the nature of the relationship between the ruler and ruled (OECD 1995: 14). This definition by the OECD hinges the understanding of the concept of 'distributive benefits' and 'the relationship between the ruler and the ruled' which is very germane to governance concept. Governance is not attributed only to government, corporate organisations, institutions, regional and international organisations also require governance for effective management of their various organisations and institutions (Adegami and Adepoju, 2017). In addition, the World Bank (1993) describes governance as a system through which power is exercised in the management of a country's political, economic and social resources for development.

In recent time, the prefix 'good' has been attached to the concept of governance to underscore the fact that not all forms of governance have the required attributes that can necessitate sustainable development. However, an attempt to draw a line of separation between governance and good

governance, Gisselquist (2012) noted that much discussion on what differentiates governance from 'good governance' is centred on what makes institutions and rules more effective and efficient, so that equity, transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability, and rule of law is achieved. The notion of what is 'good' is thus defined by the desired outcome, which is highly determined and sustained by environmental considerations. This pattern of argument is largely influenced by the notion of western liberal ideology which espouses democracy over other forms of ideology.

Alongside Chibba (2009) we identify two key overlapping dimensions of governance. The first refers to all aspects of the way a nation is governed, including its institutions, policies, laws, regulations, processes and oversight mechanisms while the second-dimension perceived governance as shaped by democracy and the rule of law which includes values, culture, tradition and ideology. From the above, governance is seen as the process of steering state and society towards the realisation of collective goals. In other words, good governance is a normative concept by which society seeks to provide guide and direction through standards and norms entrenched in the practice of governance.

Democracy: The origin of democracy is traceable to the ancient Greek city-state of Athens and the two words that form the concept has been translated to mean 'rule by the people' which originally means the poor people. While this definition centres on how people rule their societies, it appears to neglect the other essential aspect of its practice. Democracy requires that people participate freely in the political governance of their respective communities for the purpose of protection and promotion of their rights, interest, and welfare. According to Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (2011), democracy connotes 'a form of government in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all adult citizens, directly or indirectly through their freely elected representatives'. It is a concept that is woven around normative values which implies that democracy is entrenched on a set of values, attitudes, and practices which may take different forms and expressions on a basis of differences in cultures and societies around the world. According to UN (2005), 'democracy based on rule of law is ultimately a means of achieving international peace and security, economic, social progress and development, and respect for human rights and universal peace'. This is in line with the three pillars of the United Nations Mission as contained in the UN Charter. However, it is instructive to add that democratic principles are woven throughout the normative fabrics of the United Nations. The Charter recognised the people as the basis of the human society and thus begin with the phrase 'We the people' and also other important democratic underpinnings such as 'human rights', 'fundamental freedoms', 'the equal rights of women and men', 'life in larger freedom', 'self-determination', as well as the removal of distinctions on the basis of 'race, sex, religion or language'. It also dwells on the election which is an important aspect of democracy that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government and that this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage. The right of people to partake in the government of their country either directly or indirectly was, however, highlighted in the Charter. In the resolution of the 2005 World Summit by Heads of governments of counties of the world held in New York from 14-16 September 2005 reaffirmed that 'democracy is a universal value based on the freely expressed will of the people to determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspect of their lives'. The Assembly recognises the fact that while democracies share common feature there is no single model of democracy. While the above view may be true of atypical reflection of the differences in culture and societies which tends to shape the nature of democracy around the world, the overall concept of modern democracy has three principal parts: 'democracy', 'constitutionalism', and 'liberalism' and it is considered a precondition for a political system to be regarded as a genuine democracy.

Democracy tends to foster human development, which is measured in terms of education, health, personal income and other indicators than other forms of government will guarantee. Countries with democratic governments tend to be prosperous than countries with the nondemocratic government as espoused by democratic values. But the recent case of Asian countries under the nondemocratic government and were able to record massive economic growth has put to question the idea of 'one-size-fits-it-all' notion of democratic assumption.

In any way, the sustainability of democracy suggests conscious domestication of the core values of democracy through strong democratic institutions that support people's right to participation in policy formulation and designing of the framework as well as government respect for the people's rights to decision-making processes. Although the core values of democracy shares similarities with those of principles of good governance both concepts have its basis on the normative values as espoused by ancient Greek philosophers like Plato (428-347 BC) and Aristotle (384-322 BC). These ethical and moral standards are the cornerstone of both the concept of good governance and democracy in Western liberal democracy literature, it forms the basis for the least standard required of leadership in democratic

governments. World Bank definition of the concept of good governance points to the fact that good governance attributes are what sustains democracy (ICPS, 2018). However, it appears the concepts are inextricably intertwined, one gives rise to the other and both serve as a precondition for the sustainability of the other

Good Governance Indicators and its Relevance to Democratic Sustenance in Nigeria

Good governance was measured with eight specified indicators which tend to determine the level of that country's adherence and also the extent to which the principles of good governance is applied in their respective democratic governments. Since the aim of this paper is to examine how good governance can help to sustain democracy in Nigeria, therefore, it is also important that the impact of the leadership manipulation of the institutions of the government are examined. In view of the above, Participation, Rule of law, Transparency, Consensus oriented, Equity, Inclusiveness, Effectiveness, Efficiency, and Accountability What could have been responsible for this abysmal performance of the democratic government in the sustenance of democracy since its inception in 1999? To provide answers to this question above, the paper will attempt to examine Nigeria's performance in relation to the indicators of good governance for sustainable democracy.

Participation: The United Nations Charter on good governance contends that all groups, particularly those most vulnerable have direct or representative access to the systems of government. As a matter of fact, participation manifests as civil society and citizens freedom of association and expression. Instead of recognition of peoples' right to vote candidates of their choice, candidates are rather imposed on the people through various antidemocratic means and other forms of electoral malpractices such as vote selling and buying as well as political intimidation of political opponents. This trend has been aptly captured in the report of the Human Rights Watch on the 2007 election in Nigeria. According to the report, most Nigeria public officials and government institutions are keenly deep in corruption and what we have in Nigeria is more of criminal activity than democratic governance. They argued that most political office-holders obtained their positions through deceitful razzmatazz, empty promises at electioneering campaigns, corrupt practices and vote buying elections which culminate into denying a great part of the population the right to vote a candidate of their choice. The report recognised the free and fair election as the foundation of democracy because it espouses the right of individuals to vote and be voted for in a democratic setting. The implication, therefore, is that free and fair election ensures sustainable democracy in the country and the absence of it can be of great threat to democratic sustenance.

Rule of Law: Of utmost importance in good governance is the rule of law exemplified by impartial legal systems that protect the human rights and civil liberties of all citizens particularly the minorities. Succinctly, the rule of law as a major component of good governance is indicated by an independent judiciary and a corrupt free police force. Both judiciary and the Nigerian police force are constantly enmeshed in corruption and gross human rights abuse. Sometimes, judiciary pronouncements on elections matters and other national sensitive issues have been a source of threat to democratic sustenance in Nigeria leading to suggestions that the institution should be independent of external interference. Orokpo (2017) argues that anti-democratic activities have ensured the subversion of true democracy and that the political elites have a duty of institutionalizing the democratic process and institutions. This is because political leaders hardly observe the principles of rule of law, and as such democracy is mocked adding that the bane of Nigeria's democracy is the restriction of freedom of expression. This restriction is evidenced in the government's use of security agents to intimidate, harass and disperse its citizens whenever they embark on a peaceful protest to demonstrate their grievances. Unfortunately, these political leaders' approach to governance has a negative impact on the psyche of the citizens to the extent that if those politicians who corner the public fund give out a pittance to the people, they are seen as messiahs for doing the work they are elected to do.

Another issue in democracy and the rule of law is the unprofessional manner of the Nigerian Police force. Bakare (2012) asserts that what obtains in Nigeria is democratic governance with a military mindset. Owing to the perverse nature of corruption in Nigeria, professionalism in the force is seriously compromised through all manner of unlawful activities and actions of the Nigerian police force. Intimidation of citizens, extra-judicial killings, bribery, aiding and abetting of crimes, human rights abuse are among the crimes police are accused of committing. Situations such as the one above have created a bad image of the Nigerian police force leading to distrust of the law enforcement institution by the people. There is also the issue of flagrant disobedience of court orders, closure of media houses, the arrest of journalists and culture of impunity, which has a serious impact on the institution of good governance in Nigeria (Etim & Ukpere, 2012). This implies that democracy without trust in the institution of the police by the people is a likely recipe for disorder and crime.

Transparency: This is another factor of good governance, which implies that the citizens understand and know of the decisions made especially if they are directly affected by such decisions. Notably, Adegbam and Uche (2016) argued that political leaders are largely responsible for the difficulty associated with sustainable democracy in Nigeria. Politics to them, according to the authors, is regarded as business ventures that should yield profit for them rather than service to the people. Ake (1996) describes politicians as the wealthiest people in Nigeria and that this wealth is acquired through corruption and inflation of contract among other illegal means of wealth acquisition. However, he observed that greed and insatiable desire to acquire wealth is largely hindered sustainability of democracy and by extension, responsible for the level of underdevelopment in the country.

Responsiveness: This factor implies that government institutions have to respond to the yearning and aspiration of the people. The World Bank (1993) sees governance as the use of power 'to control the political and economic resources of a nation'. The control of resources suggests the most efficient and effective way to distribute these resources as a means to empower the people and ultimately reduce poverty. Annan (2004), noted that good governance is the single important factor in eliminating poverty and promoting development. But the lack of it, he contends, is responsible for hunger and underdevelopment. The above view is a contradiction of the enormous natural endowment in human and natural resources in the country yet a great number of the population is poor. Nigeria has the world highest number of extremely poor people according to a report by Brookings Institute (Adekunle, 2018). This is evidence to the fact that the leadership could do little or nothing to harness and distribute the resource in a manner that would ensure equity and justice in resource allocation. It would help to stimulate economic growth, empower the people and also reduce the level of poverty in the country. Assumedly, through good governance, the impact of governmental activities can be felt especially in the area of economic growth and development. Good governance appears to be a necessary condition for economic growth and development and invariably democracy. Again, Grindle (2004) noted that there is a relationship between the development of a country and the reduction of poverty. Implying that, good governance is aimed at implementing policies that have a great impact on alleviating poverty and stimulating development. While Kauffman (2002) finds a correlation between good governance and the Gross Domestic Products (GDP) per capita in the long run. In other words, he argues that good governance makes development possible.

Consensus-Oriented: This indicates that the political leaders should be guided by an agenda that seeks to mediate between the many different needs, perspective and expectations of the diverse citizenry. The decision should reflect a deep understanding of the historical and social context of the community. Attributively, Nnoli (1995) hinged the inability of Nigerian leaders to make a positive impact on the populace to nepotism, a problem which persisted even with successive administrations adding that merit and efficiency are sacrificed on the altar of ethnicity. The implication is that less qualified people assume strategic positions to serve their ethnic interest. Nigeria is a country with peculiar diversity in - language, ethnicity, religion, and culture; therefore, any leader who fails to recognize these peculiarities and favours nepotism is bound to fail no matter how laudable the policies and programmes of such administration appear. This failure, no doubt will rub-off on the economic, social and political development of the country. For instance, since Nigeria circularity suggests that religions should be used as an instrument to create harmony among the various religious groups but the opposite seems to be the case given the several religious upheavals in the past. A major threat to the corporate existence of Nigeria is the *Boko Haram* insurgency in the northeast in which the group has threatened to carve out an Islamic caliphate for itself. This group has killed about 30 thousand with about 1.7 million Nigerians from the Northeast in Internally Displaced Person (IDPs) camps as a result of the attack of these insurgents (Compbell, 2018). Under this scenario, no sustainable economic policy can be implemented neither can sustainable democracy thrive because of lots of human rights issues associated with insurgency.

Equity and Inclusiveness: Discussion on good governance cannot be complete without emphasizing equity and inclusiveness of a great number of the populace. It ensures that all members of the community are included and empowered to improve or maintain their wellbeing especially the vulnerable members of the society. Another challenge of a sustainable democracy in Nigeria is poverty. Ojo (2008) argued that poverty is a major impediment to sustainable democracy in Nigeria. Ironically, it is hard to believe that in spite of the enormous natural resources in the country, the level of poverty among Nigerians is regrettably high. Specifically, the 2010 report of the National Bureau of Statistics reveals that poverty has been very massive and pervasive in Nigeria. The report further revealed that Nigerians are living in abject poverty with the rate of poverty increased from 60 percent to 90 percent which suggests that about 90 million Nigerians are below the poverty line. Consequently, many have attributed the astronomical rise in criminality among Nigerians to dismal poverty with its attendant result of general insecurity which manifests in the activities of kidnapers, bandits, terrorists, robbers, etc on the rise.

However, the result of the dismal poverty has led to youth unemployment but the motion-without-movement attitude of the government towards developmental policies and programmes appears to sustain the poverty level. A number of factors have been blamed for the increasing rate of poverty in society. These factors include unstable polity, misappropriation of funds, poor policy formulation and implementation, corruption, mono-economy, ethnicity, nepotism among others. The irony of it all is that none of the poverty reduction policies and programme such as Peoples Bank, Better Life for Rural Women, and National Economic Empowerment Programme of successive governments has achieved the desired objectives. Surprisingly, these policies and programmes, no doubt, have worked in other countries where they were introduced but what appears to be wrong in Nigeria's approach to issues of poverty programmes was lack of commitment on the principles of good governance by those entrusted with the implementation of those policies and programmes.

Effectiveness and Efficiency: These factors of good governance are developed through sustainable use of resources to meet the needs of society. Therefore, a conscious effort should be made to ensure that social investments are carried out and maintained for the future generation. According to Orokpo (2018), the major reason for the developmental gap experienced in the country is the inability of the government to utilise public resources effectively for the public good. Even the processes and the conduct of elections in Nigeria has been a major case in point of great abuse of public institutions and mismanagement of resources. As observed by Elaigwu (2001), military regimes have caused a lot of harm to good governance and democratic institutions given the fact that the first casualty of military intervention in politics is always the constitution. The constitution contains the sets of basic laws and principles that society or organisation is governed, its suspension, no doubt, have an adverse effect on the operational effectiveness of institutions of the government. Institutions such as the electoral body in Nigeria was seriously manipulated under military regimes and its aftermath is reflected in the recent democratic era gross abuse of electoral rights as relics of military regimes. People's right to determine the candidates of their choice in free and fair elections were stubbornly hindered by leadership through favoured candidates' approach, which sometimes led to legitimacy question and challenge to national security. In most cases, the resentments that follow these flagrant abuses and neglects of electoral rights have resulted in political unrest and in the extreme case, violent conflicts. The history of elections in Nigeria has been characterised by flaws of various dimensions. In his 2007 inauguration speech, Late President Yar'adua was courageous enough to accept the fact that the general elections which brought him in as the president of Nigeria were greatly flawed. Even 2011, as well as the 2019 general elections, were reflections of flawed elections in Nigeria. It is reasonable to suggest, that almost all the security challenges witnessed in Nigeria, to a greater degree, were triggered implicitly or explicitly by electoral processes and election right abuse as an undertone factor. Serious as the case may be, the Nigerian electoral body has always been fingered as one of the major actor responsible for most of the electoral processes and elections rights abuses. This is because the institution appears highly manipulated by the leadership and it has always been the case of 'he who pays the piper calls for the tune' or the unscrupulous corrupt tendency of some of the officials of the electoral body who subvert the law for a selfish reason. This attitude has, for many years, hindered the electoral institution from conducting credible, free and fair elections in Nigeria because of the desperation on the part of the political actors and also government deliberate policies, in terms of funding, which hindered the institution from being independent.

Accountability: This ensures that various agencies of government, civil society groups, and the private sectors are accountable to the people. Adebami and Uche (2016) noted that late President Musa Yar'adua demonstrated an enviable leadership quality when he declared his asset on assumption of office. This action could be regarded as a factor that compelled all other public officers to do the same. It was a measure aimed at reducing corruption among the political class but the sincerity of this policy cannot be ascertained going by the recent development in the country. Recently, issues have been raised about some public officers' manner of assets declaration. A case in point is the event involving the Chief Justice of Nigeria Walter Onoghen who was found guilty of under-declaration of assets on assumption of office by the Code of Conduct Tribunal. Though some believe that the saga has much to do with politics than just under declaration of assets by the chief judge.

Also, in the media industry, government interference has been the bane of reliable and competent media. It has been argued that the media has a huge role to play in making government accountable to the people. Adebami and Adepoju (2017) emphasised the role of the media, the fourth estate of the realm, in facilitating transparency and accountability among the political leadership thus:

A media that is reliable and competent, that can monitor and give an accurate report on government actions and activities. A media that is completely free from government interference and control.

According to Adegbami and Adepoju (2017), an unbiased media can provide the much needed and up to date information for the people and that a free media is the one that is free from undue interference from the government, which function as the watchdog of the government and equally provide information on anti-people policies of the government. In Nigeria, even with the passage of freedom of information law, information about government actions is highly censored. On the part of the Civil Society Organization (C.S.O), they noted the organisation can perform an important role in facilitating transparency and accountability in government. In most countries of the world, the CSOs promote good governance by monitoring the performance of state and the activities of the public office-holders through effective organisation of protests against the anti-people policies of the government. Regrettably, the activities of the CSO in Nigeria have been curtailed by the government using reasons of instigation against the government and national security issues as a justification for their actions against the organisations. This type of action is part of the strategies or methods employed by those in the position of authority to actualise their selfish interest against the tents of democracy. The performance of leaderships is key to good governance and democracy which tend to point at both tangible and intangible in societal transformation. In view of the above observation, Musawa (2014) aptly asserts that good governance revolves around the performance capacity of a government or as it relates to leadership capacity, for the failure of governance implies failure of leadership. In other words, for any country to achieve sustainable democracy, the leadership must put the country above self and continuously put in place machinery that will bring about development in all sectors of the economy.

Findings, Conclusion and Way Forward

Findings

It appears there is a link between good governance and democracy because the two concepts are linked together because without good governance it becomes extremely difficult to sustain democracy. This explains why a lack of good governance in Nigeria could not guarantee the sustainability of democracy.

The quality of leadership has a significant effect on the sustainability of democracy which is a function pattern of governance. Therefore, the study revealed that the democratic failures in Nigeria could be regarded as a direct consequence of the pattern of governance by the leadership.

Institutions of government that are supposed to be the channel through which the principles of good governance are delivered to the people are too weak because of the manipulative operations of selfish leadership. What would have been the basis for the sustenance of democracy is rather lacking as democratic institutions that are the bedrock of sustainable democracy was not established on the good governance principles.

Also, the lack of inclusion of the people in the affairs of governance is another issue that affects sustainable democracy. People are not part of the policy designs and execution which makes tends to separate people from being part of projects or programmes that to impact on their lives. It creates a sense of exclusion on the people from the government activities that are supposed to benefit the people.

It was also discovered that corruption, which is a major part of the consequences of lack of good governance in the institutions of the government, is pervasive and has greatly affected the operational efficiency of these institutions to deliver on the democratic dividends. Insecurity has also a significant impact on good governance and the sustainability of democracy.

The practice of democracy in Nigeria has led to various reservations by people because of the abuse of democratic institutions by both the people and the political actors. Elections in Nigeria have been flawed to the extent that it has created the issue of legitimacy because of the selection of unpopular candidates against the wish of the electorates.

Conclusion: The sustainability of democracy in Nigeria has been a herculean task because absence of good governance is considered as a major factor responsible for the abysmal democratic performance and the subsequent dearth of development in the country. In Nigeria, the quality of the leadership has been at the centre of the discussions on the good governance question because of their reckless interfering with democratic institutions. These interferences and actions of the leadership on these institutions are contrary to good governance principles and as such has seriously impeded on the operational capacity of the institutions to deliver on the gains of democracy. Thus, the opportunity offered by the 1999 transition to democratic rule for the sustainability of democracy

appears increasingly difficult to attain. Since good governance principles and the core value of democracy are interwoven and inseparable, the two concepts are mutually reinforcing. Therefore, the sustainability of democracy can only be attained through good governance approach by laying the foundation for sustainable democracy on the principles of good governance.

Way Forward

Since the concepts of good governance and democracy are mutually reinforcing. The government should as a matter of urgency fund the various empowerment programmes and explore other means of creating more jobs for the teeming unemployed.

The importance of leadership in the piloting the affairs of the state is inestimable in modern democratic governments. But what appears to be of great concern in Nigeria is the issue of quality of the leadership, which is the bane of good governance and democracy. So, there is a need for leadership to cultivate the right attitude to governance by adopting the principles of good governance and core democratic values for sustainable democracy.

In order to achieve good governance as a panacea for sustainable democracy, all institutions of government should be strengthened especially those charged with fighting corruption. Also, the present rate of unemployment in the country is obviously detrimental to national peace, security and stability as the joblessness of the youth are largely responsible for the increase in crime such as money laundering, drug abuse, trafficking in people, kidnapping, insurgency and terrorism, banditry, etc.

It is expedient for the government to put in place a deliberate policy that would address the issue of exclusion of people from policy design and implementation. When everybody is involved in policy formulation and execution, its people the opportunity to participate in government policies and programmes that would affect their wellbeing and as well generates confidence in the system and the operators of the system. A sense of inclusiveness is manifested in equity, fairness, and transparency in governance.

Also, the government should be more committed to fighting corruption. Many people have lost faith in the capacity of the government to fight corruption as it appears that the fight against corruption seems to be selective. However, the government should intensify effort in fighting insecurity in the country as no meaningful development can take place in a country where bandits, insurgents, militants, kidnappers and robbers kill Nigerians and dispossess them of their belongings.

Elections are a very important aspect of democracy since it allows people to exercise their power in determining who rules. There is a need for leadership to respect such people's right by playing the game according to the rule. This will help to address the violence associated with elections especially when conducted contrary to rule of the game and guarantee legitimacy to the winners of the elections.

References

- Adegbemi, A. & Adepoju, B. M. (2017). Good governance in Nigeria: A catalyst to national peace stability and development. *International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia AFREU* Vol. (4) Serial NO. 48, pg 144-155
- Adegbami, A. & Uche, U. N. (2016). Despotism versus good governance: Challenges of administration of Nigeria fourth republic. *Journal of Developing Areas*; Vol. 50 Issue 4, pp 195-210
- Adekunle, (2018, September 6). Nigeria overtakes India as World's poverty capital-report. Vanguard. Retrieved from
- Ake, C. (1996). Democracy and development in Africa. Retrieved from <https://www.amazon.com/Democracy-Development-Africa-Claude-1996-01-01/dp/B01FKWIXSI>
- Annan, K. (2004). The Causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development. *African Renaissance* 1, pp. 9-43
- Campbell, J. (2018). Doing business in Nigeria's Northeast, the land of Boko Haram, Africa in transition, Africa program and Nigeria on the brink. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved from <https://www.cfr.org/blog/doing-business-nigerias-northeast-land-boko-haram>
- Chibba, M. (2009). Governance and development: The current role of theory, policy and practices. *World Economics* Vol. 10 No2
- Ekundayo, W. J. (2017). Good governance theory and the quest for good governance in Nigeria.

International journal of humanities and social sciences vol. 7 No. 5

Elaigwu, J. I. (2001). *Topical issues in Nigeria's political development*. Jos: AHA Publishing

Etim, O. F. & Ukpere, W. I. (2012). The impact of military rule on democracy in Nigeria. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261672856_The_Impact_of_Military_Rule_on_Democracy_in_Nigeria_24/05/2019.

Galadima, H. S. (2000). *Evaluation of current democratic process in Nigeria*. Paper Presented at Department of Political Science, University of Jos, Nigeria.

Gisselquist, R. M. (2012). Good governance as a concept, and why this matter for development policy. *World Institute for Development Economics Research. Working Paper No 2012/30*

Global Strategy for Good Governance, (2017). 2017-2021 Global strategy for governance: People in Need. Retrieved from <https://www.clovekvtisni.cz/media/publications/903/file/1805-pin-rdd-strategy-good-governance-v6-final.pdf>

Human Right Watch, (2007). Human right watch. Seventeenth annual review of human rights practice around the globe, 2(10)

International Center for Parliamentary Studies, (2018). Governance. Retrieved from <http://www.parlicentre.org/Governance.php>

International Fund for Agriculture and Development, (1999). Good governance: An overview. Retrieved from <https://www.ipa.government.bg/sites/default/files/pregled-dobro-upravljenje.pdf>

International Monetary Fund, (2012). *IMF REFORM*. Washington DC: Centre for International Governance Innovation.

International Monetary Fund, (2016). *The IMF and Good Governance*. Washington DC: Communication Department.

Konrad, A. S. (2011). Concept and principles of democracy and accountability. Retrieved from <http://epd.eu/2011/01/01/konrad-adenauer-stiftung-concepts-and-principles-of->

Mo Ibrahim Foundation, (2010). 2010 Mo Ibrahim index of African governance country ranking and scores. Mo Ibrahim Foundation. Index of African Governance Summary.

Musawa, H. (2014, September 11). Good governance a panacea to sustainable democracy. Sahara Reporters. Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/2014/09/11/good-governance-panacea-sustainable-democracy>

Nnoli, O. (1995). *Ethnicity and development in Nigeria*. UK: Ashgate Publishers Ltd.

OECD, (1995). Participatory development and good governance: Development co-operation Guideline Series. Retrieved from <https://www.oecd.org/dac/accountable-effective-institutions/31857685.pdf>

Ojo, E. O. (2008). Imperatives of sustaining democratic values. In E. O. Ojo, (ed), *Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd.

Onadipe, A. (1998, April 4). The in eyes of the Storm. West African Magazine pp 262-265.

Orokpo, O. F. (2018). *Democracy, good governance and sustainable development in Nigeria*. A paper presented at the 3rd National Conference at Salem University Lokoja 23rd-26th April 2018.

United Nations, (2005). Guidance note of the Secretary-General on democracy assistance. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/democracyfund/sites/www.un.org.democracyfund/files/un_sg_guidance_note_on_democ

United Nations, (2005). Resolution adopted by the general assembly on the 2005 World summit outcome of the sixtieth session of the general assembly. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_60_1.pdf

World Bank, (1993). *Governance and development*. Washington DC: The World Bank Group.

Yar'adua, U. M. (2007). Nigeria: Inauguration Speech by President Umar Musa Yar'adua. Retrieved from <https://allafrica.com/stories/200705300790.html>