

GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Democracy and Governance seem to convey similar connotation due to the fact that both concepts go in a long way to attain the same purpose through some instrumentalities which are considered as their Principles, Characteristics, Indicators, Indices and Features. These instrumentalities have more often than not made the relationship between Governance and Democracy inseparable both as the system and practice of government. One can hardly become successful without the impact of the other.

It is crystal clear that among the principles mentioned herein are the following: Accountability, Transparency, Rule of Law, Constitutionalism, Service Delivery, Popular Participation, Effectiveness and Efficiency to mention a few.

This paper examines the symbiotic relationship between governance and democracy in Nigeria with a view to pointing out if indeed the country (Nigeria) has attained good governance through the practice of democracy since 1999 till date. In doing this however, the study employs the use of secondary source of data collection and content analysis of scholarly contributions from various authors and specialists in the areas of governance and democracy.

Nevertheless, the study finds out that the challenge of democratic governance in Nigeria among others have been majorly products of geo-political lop-sidedness, poverty, lack of free, fair and credible election, lack of readiness to

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accept defeat after election and so on. The study equally finds out that for governance and democracy to thrive sufficiently, all these challenges raised, highlighted and discussed must be addressed with the co-operation of the policy-makers and stakeholders in Nigeria.

Keywords: Democracy, Governance, Popular Participation.

Introduction

Governance and Democracy seem to convey similar connotation because both go in long way to achieve similar purpose through the instrumentalities of law like the rule of law and constitutionalism in Nigeria. This is because the parameters for ensuring good governance and ensuring democracy are well spelt out in the constitution. It is therefore reasonable to state that the relationship between governance and democracy is inseparable.

There is increase expectation that for the government to govern the people well in any given society; Nigeria inclusive, there is need for the enthronement of proper accountability, rule of law, transparency and constitutionalism which are the essential ingredients of governance and democracy. This paper therefore shall examine the symbiotic relationship of good governance and enduring democracy particularly from the period of democratization process in Nigeria, that is, 1999 till date.

Conceptual Clarification

It is important to clarify and define the terms “Governance” and “Democracy” as used in the paper for a proper understanding of the focus of the study.

Governance

The dictionary meaning of “governance” is the act or state of governing. It is a system of government with the intention to rule the people well within the tenets of constitution and other enabling legislations. (Akomolede, 2010:1) Governance is further seen as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels (UNDP, 2000). This definition is supported by the World Bank (2010) while conceiving governance as:

“The exercise of political power to manage a nation’s affairs. The manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social developments”.

In the course of this definitional clarification by the World Bank, three dimensions of governance are identified which are:

- (i) The nature of political regimes;
- (ii) The exercise of authority in the management of social and economic resources and;
- (iii) The capacity of governance to design and implement policy effectively. (Eyinla, 1998:51)

Governance is further perceived by the World Bank and United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Arts and the public UN(ESCAP) as:

“The process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (not implemented)”.

These two institutions see governance from typologies and its characteristics. Hence, according to them, governance can be used in contexts and characteristically contain the following indicators:

- (i) Transparency;

- (ii) Accountability;
- (iii) Service Delivery,
- (iv) Popular participation.
- (v) Rule of law
- (vi) Consensus oriented
- (vii) Effectiveness and Efficiency
- (viii) Equitability and inclusiveness.

It can be argued that any manifestation of the aforementioned indices of governance is an indication that the government is on the part of proper administration and such tends to impact on the citizenry.

On its own, the International Monetary Funds (IMF, 2007) defines governance as:

“The mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizen and groups articulate their visions and interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences”.

This position of IMF agrees with that of (DFID, 2007) as the latter sees governance as:

“Involving all men and women, including the physically challenged, to have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their interests”.

The “legitimate intermediate” as used by (DFID, 2007) could imply that the elected representatives are expected to represent the interests, concerns and aspirations of their people in order to bring about the enduring democracy.

Similarly, Nwekeaku (2014) supports the philosophical definition of the World Bank and U.N (ESCAP) on governance while maintaining that:

“enthronement of a democratic government, which guarantees equal participation of all citizens in government; provision and sustenance of the rule of law; provision, and protection of the fundamental human rights of the citizen; availability of a transparent; accountable and participatory governance at all levels of governments”.

It is therefore inferred from the submission of Nwekeaku that for good governance to thrive. It must exhibit the indices outlined by the World Bank; et.al. Not only this, Michael (2010), noted that:

“improved governance requires an integrated, long-term strategy built upon co-operation between government and citizens”.

Michael holds the same opinions with the foregoing submission of the scholars and institutions herein that governance involves both the participation of the citizens and the institutions of government. Commenting on governance (Esman, 1997:1) indicates that:

“before governance can be considered good, it has got to be effective. It must command the report and allegiance of the people over whom it exercises powers and must satisfy certain basic collective needs”.

He further clarified that some minimal elements and/or essential of effective (good) governance involves:

“Provision of security for the people”, “Defence of the territorial borders of the state”, “protection of lives and property”, enforcement of laws to enhance

economic development among others. According to this scholar, governance requires the ability to ensure the wherewithal of sustained government and that public authority should find it necessary to pay for services that must be provided.

Corroborating the definition of Esman, (Okolo, 2014, 11) argues that:

“effective governance must make possible the provision for certain basic services by the state to include, transport, communication, education and health services. Such to be relatively cheap and reliably affordable”.

Looking critically at this submission, it has to be so, since effective governance implies the capacity of the state, through its power of determinism or, authoritative allocation of scarce societal resources to deliver the basic necessities of life to the governed and equally facilitate the process of economic and political development.

Democracy

Another concept that demands clarification is that of “Democracy” which is very central to good governance.

Hague (2004) defines 'Democracy' “as a form of self government in which all adult citizens participate in shaping collective decisions in an environment of equality and open deliberation”. Supporting Hague’s definition of democracy, Omilusi (2010) defines democracy as:

“a political system in which all citizens are allowed to influence policy by means of direct vote or referendum on any particular issue”

These definitional perspectives of both Hague and Omilusi give express clarification as the citizens reserve the power of vote to shaping matters or issues affecting them. Through “vote”, citizens do participate in the act of governance. This lays credence to the fact that policies or decision are likely to be made for the benefits of the majority and not for the benefit of any factions or those who hold power in order to effect good governance. Both Hague and Omilusi further classified democracy into “direct and “indirect”. This classification describes a means of governance in which citizens are represented by their elected representatives.

Contributing to the definitional perspectives of democracy, Mainwaring (1989:2) argues that democracy involves the following three essentials and procedures:

- (i) Competitive election must be the principal centre to political office,
- (ii) There must be broad adult citizenship,
- (iii) Democracy necessary provides traditional civil liberties for all, such that minority rights must be respected.

Main warning conceives democracy from the point of struggling since he employs the use of “competitive”. He believes anyone vying for any political posts must be prepared to engage in competition. This competition, he contends, should involve the universal adult suffrage which must of course allow for traditional civil liberties by incorporating the rights of the minority groups. Any system of government therefore that displays afore-mentioned three essential features is said to be democratic according to main warning.

In addition, Coppedge M. and Gerring J. (2011:251-254) present six conceptions of democracy to include:

(i) Electoral democracy, (ii) Liberal democracy, (iii) Majoritarian democracy, (iv) Participatory democracy, (v) Deliberative democracy and (vi) Egalitarian democracy.

In electoral democracy, they argue that democracy is attained through competitive leadership groups, which vie for the voters' approval during periodic elections before a broad electorate. 'Liberal' democracy dwells on the fact that the rule by the majority does not result in the oppression of minorities or the loss of individual liberties. They explain that "majoritarian" democracy reflects the principles that the will of the majority be upheld.

Democracy, as conceived by Johnston (2005.5) is characterized with following: establishment of credible rights; a free press, electoral and judicial processes, shared values and social organizations. He argues further that the aforementioned characteristics, if a given acceptance in the society would promote good governance as the dividends of democracy would evenly be distributed to all. This is because people are more likely to participate politically in vigorous sustained ways when they have a stake in any outcomes (Ibid). this clarification according to Johnston (2005) is that open, competition and fair participation within the framework of legitimate, credible institutions enables citizens and groups to defend their interests and attain their aspirations. (Ibid) It must be made clear from these definition that democracy enables election to deliver power, authority and legitimacy on a government.

Akpeninor, (2007), defines democracy as:

“a system of government in which ultimate power (or sovereignty) rests with the people as against other forms of government in which the final decision making power

rests with an individual (Monarchy) or with a small number (aristocracy).

Akpeninor clarifies further that the term democracy is often used to imply the institutional sense in which, it describes a system of government where the powers are divided amongst different institutions; such that some are responsible for making laws, while others are responsible for executing the law and the third institution is responsible for mediating or adjudicating in disputes involving many individuals or groups in the society (Akpeninor, 2007:48),

It is now clarified that an essential procedure of democracy is the fact that the opinion expressed by the majority is the dominant position that needs to be adopted while the minority opinion will be submitted to that of the majority.

THE SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNANCE AND DEMOCRACY

In assessing the relationship between the Democracy and governance such will be accomplished through the indices of governance which almost equally serve as the basic principles of any democracy. These factors include: transparency, accountability, popular participation, rule of law, consensus oriented, periodic election characterized with free and fair procedural steps.

Both democracy and governance esteem high the culture of transparency. In the words of Beetseh (2012:2) transparency requires:

“that the process of rule-execution and rule-adjudication must be reasonably open. The extent of openness must be such that private citizens and groups should be able to

know the justification for any public action. In other words, government activities should be subjected to open, public knowledge as may be necessary”

To this extent, decision of public authorities in any democratic governance are expected to follow rules and regulations in order to bring about the dividends of good governance. Also, both democracy and governance require “transparency” which is predicated on the following measures according to Beetsch (2012:3):

Information to be freely available and accessible to those who will be affected by such decision and enforcement.

There must be a mechanism for co-operation, communication and co-ordination from the central government to other levels of government.

It can be inferred from Beetsch’s submission that a good government of transparency ensures that those government officials as well as the elected political office holders should disclose their processes and transactions to the public which is equally the hall mark of democracy.

Besides, another symbiotic relationship to be drawn is that of “accountability”. In the words of Collins (et.al., 2008), accountability is conceived to imply:

“that institutions and individuals are answerable for their commitments and responsibilities”

Dann (2006) provides that accountability connotes:

“having to answer for one’s action or inactions, depending on the answer to be exposed to potential sanction”

Another scholarly perspective is that of Scott (2003), who educates thus:

“the underlying accountability is the notion that progress towards commitments, responsibilities is assessed and those responsible for action in these areas are held accountable in some public functions”.

It should be noted that the ultimate objective of accountability in any democratic governance is to improve performance.

Democracy and governance are symbiotically related in the area of “rule of law” and “popular participation”. In the former, the UN Secretary-General defines the rule of law characteristically as follows:

“a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated which are consistent with international human rights, norms and standards”.

While the latter has to do with “popular participation”. Good Democratic governance requires the participation of all. UN (ESCAP, 2013), described popular participation as a key “cornerstone” of good governance. Participation could either be direct or through legitimate intermediate institution or representatives. Democracy requires popular participation in order to command the general acceptability of the citizens. Likewise, good governance is a product of any democracy characterised with popular participation.

In this regard, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in year 2012 stressed the relevance of “popular participation” in any democratic setting as:

“deeping democracy so it can provide tangible improvements to people’s lives...making democracy work requires informed and active citizens who

understand how to voice their interests, act collectively and hold public officials accountable”

The position maintained by NDI suggests that ‘informed’ and ‘active’ individual is a necessary prerequisite in both good governance and enduring democracy.

Governance and Democracy seem to be related in the area of periodic election premised on the free and fair exercise. Any election conducted in an atmosphere of rancour and pandemonium stand to be regarded as grossly anti-democratic in nature. It is expected, that the election that will engender good governance must of necessity be characterized with credible exercise. Such that ballot boxes snatching, killings, arsons, and other vices are constantly avoided and technically prevented. Democracy and governance tend to have robust relationship in this regard particularly when free, fair and credible elections are clearly practised.

CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

The fact that democratic system has been accepted all over the world is an undisputable discourse that it is sweeping across the whole world, from the nation-states in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to Africa and Asia. This therefore pre-supposes that democracy has gathered momentum across the globe consequent upon its immense positive contributions and by implication due to the negative consequences of bad governance (Bello-Imam 2004: 1). An insistence on expression of the will of the people has indeed precipitated democratic movements all over the world. Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa has no choice than to align itself with the rest of the world on the democratic crave (Walter and Uhunmwuangho 2012:1). However, Nigeria has not gotten it right with democratic crave. This may have been probably due to the country long tortured history of

administrative problems (Ibid). Some challenges might have equally been responsible as observed by (Adekola, 2,010:1) to include:

lack of large scale free, fair and credible election, lack of freedom of speech and publication; refusal to accept defeat in elections by political gladiators; covetousness and attitude of political office holders to corner the wealth of the nation; non-observance of rule of law; and probably the long military rule".

The relatively free, fair and credible elections in April, 2011 and that of March, 2015 indicate the fact that there would be hope for democratic future of Nigeria and Nigerians. The experiences of democratic events in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Democratic Republic of Congo especially Nigeria, under President Ibrahim Babangida and Late General Sanni Abacha among others show that the democratic struggles and democratization in Africa have been informed by different and sometimes conflicting objectives and strategies between the elites and the masses. (Okoro, 2007:2). In fact, as against the popular participation and belief system, democracy in Africa context means the ability of few people to effectively take control of the powers and authorities of government with or without the choice of those they represent. Vanhanem (1990) pointed out that:

"in order for democracy to be meaningful, it must be characterized by the principles of openness, representation, accountability, transparency and the defense, protection and preservation of individual and group rights".

The challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria can be explained by arguing that the Nigerian state has been constantly struggling between the forces of democracy and authoritarianism, characterized by 'push for development' and the pull for underdevelopment; the burden of public corruption and the pressure of accountability" (Kesselman et.al 1996:616). It has "deviated from the known curve

of consolidation to de-consolidation" (Odion-Akhaine et.al, 2007:1). This can be traced to the fact that Nigeria is one of the colonial legacies in the African continent. The country retains parts of the authoritarian ethos as an offshoot of the colonial praetors. As a result of this, rather than being at the service of the people, it is in the service of the ruling oligarchy (Fagbadebo, 2009: 1),

For Monshipouri (1995: 1 5), the challenges of democratic governance are better perceived from:

"the existence of socio-economic inequality in society being a fundamental condition for the successful functioning".

The challenge of democratic governance is seen from its "etymological sense" as the rule of the people (Oyedele 2006:90). A democratic system therefore is preferably adjudged according to the degree of its commitment to the ingredients of democracy. It is widely believed that democracy thrives where people freely stand for election and vote during election; where there are periodic elections based on universal suffrage; where freedom of speech, publication and association is allowed; where the government and its agents adhere to the rule of law; where majority rule is maintained; where opposition is allowed; where individual is allowed to freely make his/her choice and where election is competitive among political parties. If all these tenets, elements and parameters are strictly adhered to, a government can be regarded as being democratic (Jega 2001:4).

Another challenge confronting the democratic system of Nigeria is the fact that the nation cannot be developed without a credible and competent leadership. A credible and competent leadership cannot emerge through an electoral process riddled with corruption and violence. (Walter, 2012:50). This is particularly so because the phenomenon of corruption makes Nigeria a fertile ground for fraudulent electoral processes. This is not limited only to the officials of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) but extends to law

enforcement agents, members of the judiciary and even voters are exposed to the strong and seemingly overwhelming temptation to taste the 'forbidden fruit' or corruption which threatens the electoral process and its outcome (Ibid). It is a fact that Nigeria which has attained 50 years has just recently had successful general elections. The failure of the country to transit democratically before now might be due to the intervention of the military. (Obasanjo, 1999) rightly observed that:

"Military regime is an aberration to democracy, but the violation of the tenets of democracy by politicians prompted the military intervention in the body politics of the country".

It is worthy of note that among the multiplicity of the challenges that have confronted democratic governance in Nigeria since the inception of the fourth Republic in 1999 include, electoral irregularities and malpractices, Inter-and Intra-ethnic rivalries, religions crises and insecurity, poverty, inadequate and weak democratic institutions and institutionalised corruption (Ogbonnaya, Omeju, and Udefuna, 2012:688).

The principal cardinal tenet of participatory democracy is orderly change of government through credible, free, fair and periodic elections. There have been periodic change of government since the inception of the Fourth Republic in Nigeria, between 1999 and 2015 four different civilian governments have emerged with four successive transitions from one civilian administration to another (Obasanjo Administration, 1999-2007, Yar ' Adua/Jonathan administration 2007-2011, Jonathan led government 2011-2015 and now Buhari led administration. However, the credibility, freeness and fairness of the elections so far conducted have been the subject of thorny debates in contemporary national discourse. (Omodia, 2009: 1). Those elections have been characterized by monumental irregularities and malpractices aided by the institutions of the states such as the

police, the military, and even the electoral body, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) collude to manipulate the electoral process in favour of certain candidates. Thus, situations had arisen where individuals have won elections from prison custody as in the case of Senator Omisore of Osun state and Governor Aharnafuna Oriji of Abia state as against the standing order of the Electoral Act. In some other states, INEC was found to have conducted elections where the tenures of sitting Governors were still subsisting like in the case of Governor Peter Obi against Andy Uba of Anambra state in 2007. (Human Rights Watch, 2007;27)

Be that as it may, in every periodic election, Local and International observers have been on the same page in their reports that the elections (in Nigeria) have generally fallen below internationally acceptable standard (Carter Center and National Democratic Institute). For instance, the 1999 elections that ushered Olusegun Obasanjo to power were said to have been marred by such widespread electoral frauds that observers from the US based Carter-Center concluded that:

"It is not possible for us to make an accurate judgement about the presidential elections" (Ibid).

In 2003, the general elections were seen as a test of Nigeria's progress towards open and accountable governance. The Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) observed that while the voters waited and preserved in the polling stations to cast their votes, the political class and the political parties had different ideas (TMG, 2003). The voters wanted their votes to determine the winner of the elections, whereas the political class might have been strategising differently on how to corrupt the process and rig their way into elective office on the whole the result can be said to marginally reflect the choice and will of the Nigeria people (Ibid).

It is widespread as opined by (Ajayi, 2007) that:

"the history of election administration in Nigeria IS a history of electoral fraud and violence".

This informs Omodia's (2009:38) view of Ajayi by submitting that:

"in Nigeria, just like most African countries, elections especially its freeness and fairness constitute the central factor in ensuring democratic survival. This is because the lack of free and free elections often threaten democratic process as a result of legitimacy question. This factor, no doubt has characterised the democratic experiment of the Nigerian fourth republic in that there have been persistent crises of legitimacy in governance arising from poor electoral system".

Indeed free, fair and credible elections are central to the consolidation and sustenance of democracy. Apart from being one of the cardinal tenets of democratic process, of a truth; it shows the degree of freedom exercised by the people in selecting who represent them in government (ibid). Buttressing this view, (The National Democratic Institute 2012) argues:

"however, this has not always been the case in Nigeria as the system is usually manipulated to favour the desire of political class, certain individuals and the likes. The history of problematic and controversial election administration threatens the consolidation of democratic institutions".

Ethnic cleavages and security crises also constitute potent challenges to democratic governance in Nigeria. According to Duruji (2010:92):

"the return of Nigeria to democracy in 1999 opened up the space of expression of suppressed ethnic demands bottled up by years of emergence of ethno-nationalist insurgence such as the Movement For Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), in the Niger Delta region, the renewed demand for Biafra Republic spearhead by the Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the increasing notoriety of the Odua People's Congress (OPC) in south west".

This has equally resulted in incessant ethnic clashes in the middle belt region and other parts of the country such as the Ijaw-Hslekiri ethnic crashes in 2009. Also, Intra-ethnic and Inter-ethnic crisis as witnessed in the horrors of Ife/Modakeke and Aguleri/Umuleri fratricidal wars in the south-west and south-east regions respectively have equally been the order of the day. Indeed, these inter and intra-ethnic rivalries and religion crises have not only resulted in the loss of human and material resources, they have consequently occasioned untold economic hardship which has most fundamentally breed state of anarchy that threatens the unity and corporate existence of the Nigerian state (Best. 2001:62). While those who act on behalf of the state are left with magnitude of national issues to contend with. For instance, in 2008, it was estimated that Nigeria lost over three trillion naira as a result of militancy in Niger Delta. This had taken a heavy toll on the nation's economy because of its dependence on oil for foreign exchange earnings. The Boko Haram insurgency in the North has, at the last count,

left over 25,000 policemen, soldiers and civilians dead!. This is apart from over 200 chibok girls abducted by the Boko Insurgency. (UNCIRF, 2012) see also The Punch 2014, p.14. Given these inter-religious and socio-cultural crises which have frequently occurred outside the confinement of the constitution. (Duruji 2010:93) observes:

"Nigeria is now being perceived as unsafe for foreign investors.

Not only this, this crisis challenge has weakened democratic institutional mechanisms that are met to checkmate them and consequently threaten the consolidation and survival of democratic governance in Nigeria",

Moreover, the level of poverty accounts for or constitutes a challenge to democratic governance in the country. It is axornatic that Nigeria is blessed with abundant human and mineral resources. In Nigeria, hunger exhibits its ugly face in most home where the average citizen contends with" life of abject poverty. Thus, the common man according to (UNDP, 2007:27) is:

"alienated from himself as he lacks the wherewithal to afford the basic necessities of life such as education, medical facilities and delights".

From the foregoing, therefore, it can be asserted that life generally in Nigeria is threatened by absolute and abject poverty. Verily, these realities are much more obvious in rural areas. The weakness of the democratic institution in Nigeria is another challenge to democratic governance. By democratic institutions as used in this study, they are the executive, judiciary and legislature and electoral agency such as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

It must be said that, each of these institutions is constitutionally empowered to maintain a particular degree of autonomy and independence so as to serve as a watchdog on the others. However, in practice, these constitutionally allowed powers have not remained a formidable reality. The major consequence of this has been the existence of subdued judiciary, weak oversight capacity of the legislature, and the ineptitude of the electoral bodies both at the federal and state levels. Omodia (2009: 38) further indicated that events in the democratic dispensation have shown that the electoral body is not independent of the party in power. This of course is defined in relation to the manner in which the electoral body has been conducting elections in favour of any party in power while the judiciary has "Served as mechanism for creating political topsy-turvy that unconstitutionally undermine the democratic process". (Duruji. 2010: 1 02). Duruji contends that judiciary has failed to uphold the democratic process in Nigeria by refusing to convict anybody through the judicial process for several cases of arson and killing that have characterized Inter-and-Intra ethnic clashes while legislative institution has proven incapable of competency in the management of ethno-religious and security crises through the expected formulation of policies. Indeed, the security apparatus such as the Nigerian Police, the Nigerian Army, the Department of the State Security (DSS), the Nigerian Civil Defence Corps etc have repeatedly proved to be incompetent with respect to the management and checkmating both simple and major conflicts, whether religious, ethnic, communal and so on. The state itself has failed to prosecute and punish law breakers under the constitution. For instance, the case of Stella Oduah, Nigeria Former Minister of Aviation is very fresh in our minds. Also, the cases of Honourable Dimeji Bankole and Honourable Farouk Lawan have swept under the carpet. Makinde (2004:20) rightly observed thus:

"democracy is only possible if the instructive process and institution through which the peoples' will is expected to be addressed, accommodate their interests, values and aspirations".

Democratic governance in Nigeria is equally riddled with institutionalized corruption". Joseph (1991) maintained that politico! and institutionalized corruption constitute the greatest banes and threats to democratic governance in Nigeria since the first Republic. However, the magnitude and degree of manifestation of corruption in Nigeria reached unimaginable highest in 2004 when Corman-based international non-governmental organisation. Transparency International (TI) in 2004 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) reportedly, rated Nigeria as the second most corrupt country in the world. (Akinyemi, 2008:22). The most credible measure of domestic and public sector corruption is the Transparency International CPI. According to the index, every public institution in Nigeria is corrupt and has not fully taken any step to do something worthwhile to checkmate the pace at which corruption persists. From the report of CPI, nepotism, bribery and patronage are so deeply engrained in the daily life of Nigerians that even existing anti-corruption laws have no impact on the trend of corruption (Yishau, 2011 :33). It is even argued in the submission of Olu-olu (2006: 186) that the war against corruption has been difficult to win because the "act is perpetrated by policy maker themselves" a clear truth about this is the oil subsidy bribery scandals rocking the Nigeria National Assembly and the Federal Ministry Of Petroleum Resources. According to (Ogbonnaya, Omoju, & Udefuna, 201: 691)

"This has thrown up public frustration in Nigeria. The
2011 Transparency International's Corruption Perception

Index (CPI) shows that the public frustration is well funded".

Not minding the public frustration as opined by Ogbonnaya and others, corruption has become an ineradicable part of the culture in Nigeria and it has continued to threaten both constitutional democracy and the nation. Oko (2008: 60) rightly submits:

"nothing enfeebles democracy more than corruption. It distorts governance, provides perverse incentive Cor dysfunctional behaviour, and ultimately diminishes quality of life by diverting funds Cor social service into the private pockets".

It must be slated that the democratic governance in Nigeria has not been free from damages of corruption. This Inight have propelled Burack Obama's perception during his visit to Kenya that:

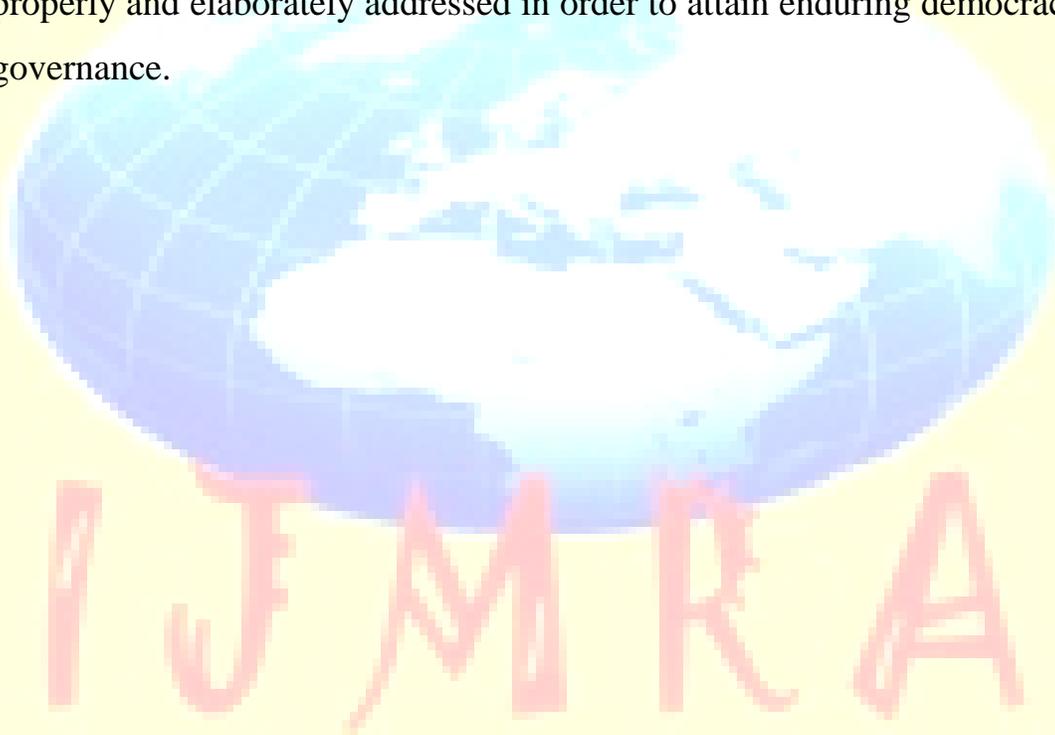
"corruption crocks the slate from the inside out, sickening the justice syst rn until there is no justice to be found, poisoning the police forces until their presence becomes a source of insecurity rather than :1 source or security" (Obama, 2006).

The fact that democracy in Nigeria is flawed. and threatened by variables internal and external inclusive, does not negate the truth that democracy is more preferable to military dictatorship.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has been able to bring into limelight the fact that good Governance and Democracy are yet to occupy the full political, socio-economic and cultural space in Nigeria. this of course must have been due various factors highlighted and discussed in the study.

It is instructive to note that the yearnings of every Nigerian has been on how good Governance and Democracy could be attained. However, the challenge has been majorly on geo-political lop-sidedness of Nigeria as a country. And this has to be properly and elaborately addressed in order to attain enduring democracy and good governance.



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