

**The challenge of democratic governance in Nigeria: A
religio-philosophical appraisal**

Olatomiwa Olasunkanmi Aborisode
Ladoke Akintola University of Technology
Ogbomoso, Oyo State, Nigeria

Olabode John Omotosho
Department of Religious Studies
Faculty of Arts Adeleke University
Ede, Osun State, Nigeria

Abstract

The absence of good governance could be seen and explained in terms of defective constitutional arrangement, corruption, economic mismanagement, undemocratic internal party politics, fraudulent electoral system, rule of man as against rule of law and lack of accountability and transparency are the major impediments to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. In this regard, the study argues that sustained poor political leadership has seriously threatened the survival of democracy in Nigeria and that positive influences on the part of the religious bodies, through their leaders are argued to be inestimable. Meanwhile, this paper looked at the challenge of democracy in Nigeria from a religio-philosophical point of view and the manners those problems which constitute fundamental challenges could be surmounted. Findings in this research maintain that for there to be significant improvement in the democratic processes, amongst others, Nigerian political leaders should change their dispositions in the handling of state affairs. Finally, the paper made some recommendations that would assist in promoting democratic practice and culture in the country. Among other recommendations, the paper recommends that for effective and productive democratic governance in Nigeria, the political leaders need to uphold democratic values of popular participation, respect



for the rule of law, free and fair elections and the independence of the judiciary.

Key words: Consolidation, Democracy, Electoral, Good, Governance, Nigeria, Religio-Philosophical

Introduction

It is argued here that constitutional, accountability, infrastructural, and electoral challenge are suggested to be among the evidences of bad democratic governance in Nigeria. To Omotuyi, the reality of post-colonial Nigeria reveals that democracy in Nigeria is in contradistinction of the other developed democracies. This is evident in the harbinger of multiple of woes because there seems to be a visible lack of semblance of good governance.¹ In a similar pattern, Omotosho corroborates Omotuyi that the system of Nigerian democratic governance since post-colonial era has obtained less dividends of good. This argument on the less dividends of good and the occurrences of evils has empirical evidences in the manifestations of devastations, failures, backwardness, crimes, and other related cases.²

There is this general belief that the best form of organised government in the whole world today is democracy. This lends credence to the fact that democracy is now fascinating and inviting to all people and government. What is democracy? Democracy is about running a society or country in such a way that these rights and freedoms are respected and defended. To Appadorai, democracy is a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by them.³ Ununu (cited in Igwe) defines democracy as essentially a method of

¹Sunday Omotuyi. "Electoral Process and Neo-Patrimonialism: An Appraisal of Quality of Governance in Democratic Nigeria" *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F Political Science*, 16, no. 3. (2016), 39.

²Olabode J Omotosho. "Ethical Implications of Exodus 20:15-17 on Effective Government in Nigeria" *Journal of the Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions*, 27, no. 2. (2017), 5.

³S. Appadorai. *The substance of politics*. (11th Edition). Oxford: University Press, 1975, 12.

organising the society politically. He suggested five basic elements without which no community can call itself truly democratic. These elements are equality, sovereignty of the people, respect for human life, the rule of law and liberty of the individual.⁴ Giddens on his own case defines democracy as a political system that allows the citizens to participate in political decision making, or to elect representatives to government bodies.⁵

Furthermore, Huntington claims that democracy exists where the principal leaders of a political system are selected by a competitive election in which the bulk of the population has the opportunity to participate. Huntington definition's emphasis on election tends to equate election process with democracy where choice and decision making rest with the people.⁶ This view is further supported by Hermet, according to him; Democracy means first and foremost, the real possibility for those who are governed of choosing and unseating, peacefully at regular intervals those who govern them. The fact that election is indispensable to democratic governance is acceptable to both Guy & Huntington.⁷ This echoes Abraham Lincoln famous definition of democracy as the government of the people by the people and for the people (cited in Ake).⁸ But democracy is beyond election, to equate election with democracy is like undermining the expectation that democracy brings. Election guarantee political process but it may not guarantee the emergence of the desire or expected dividend of democracy. Pogoso captures this view in this way:

⁴Liga E. Igwe, Liga E. "Democracy and Development in Nigeria: Issue and Challenges" *International Journal of Economic Development Research and Investment*, 1, nos. 2 & 3. (2010), 41.

⁵A. Giddens. *Sociology* (Second Edition fully revised and updated). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, 9.

⁶Samuel Huntington. *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twenties Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991, 72.

⁷Guy Hermet. "Introduction: The Age of Democracy" *International Social Science Journal*. no. 128. (1991), 27.

⁸Claude Ake. "Devaluing Democracy" *Journal of Democracy*. 3, no. 3 (July, 1992), 41.

Democracy is based on the principle that public decision is the business of all citizens equally. This means that all citizens must not just be entitled to, but also enabled to participate in public decision making. The question of democracy goes beyond the holding of elections to the realization of democratic principles of governance in practice and to the balance of social forces in the political community. It is what politicians do when they are in office that counts.⁹

Democracy is the process of organising a political community through which the individual participate in chosen their own representative in a competitive medium to protect their welfare. Democracy therefore represents the totality of ideas and ideals, institutions and the processes through which people participate in making decisions that affect them.

This work deals with the difficulties that made the building of a truly democratic society in a nation that are made up of a diversity of ethnic, tribal and cultural groups like Nigeria. Having in mind that democracy is the most welcoming forms of government throughout the world today, we want to examine those challenges that are standing as a stabling blocks toward the realization of this lofty goals in Nigeria and the way out.

Theoretical Framework

The paper is resting on the work of Adejumobi on the liberal democracy.¹⁰ It is generally understood that liberal democracy is a system of government in which people consent to their rulers, and rulers, in turn, are constitutionally constrained to respect

⁹A. I. Pogoson. "Rethinking Governance in Africa: Measuring Performance-The Ibrahim Index on African Governance" *Paper Presented at a Departmental Seminar, Department of Political Science, University Of Ibadan, Nigeria.* (10th, February, 2010), 7.

¹⁰Adejumobi, S. "Democracy, Good Governance and Constitutionalism in Africa" S. Odion-Akin (ed). *Governance: Nigeria and the World*, Lagos: Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarisation, (2004), 11-22.

individual rights.¹¹ In this regard, Omodia and Aliu corroborate that the state or government is expected to practice and promote constitutionalism, respect for the rule of law and human rights, popular participation, accountability and transparency, and probity in the management of people and resources. These values largely represent the core essence of democratic governance.¹² Significantly, these key attributes are critical to the capacity of democratic governance to engender and strengthen the social contract, popular trust, state legitimacy and enhance socioeconomic and political development in the society.¹³

Meanwhile, it would be safe to opine that the successive governments in Nigeria seem to have lacked the political will not only to initiate or sustain policy, but also incogitant to engage in structural transformation or to embark on sound economic reform to reposition the state for holistic greatness that would be evident in good governance.¹⁴ In this wise, in order to have the system of good governance that will be responsive and responsible to manage governmental agencies for the good of the people in Nigeria, the exercise of political power to promote the public good and the welfare of the people are argued to be indispensable.¹⁵ The assumption would that where there is a developed and matured democracy in Nigeria there would be possibility of good governance that is capable of surmounting the constitutional, accountability, infrastructural, and other related challenges which are the realities of bad governance.

¹¹ Liberal Democracy, Encyclopedia.com, accessed May 17, 2021.

¹²S. M. Omodia and M. Aliu, M. "Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on the Nigerian Fourth Republic" *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3, no. 4 (2013), 36.

¹³Omodia and Aliu. "Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on the Nigerian Fourth Republic", 36.

¹⁴Dhikru Adewale Yagboyaju and Adeoye O Akinola. "Nigerian State and the Crisis of Governance: A Critical Exposition" *SAGE Open Journals.sagepub.com/home/sgo*, (2019), 91.

¹⁵Daniel E. Gbervbie, Adeola I. Excellence-Oluye Oyeyemi, and O. Nchekwube. "The Challenges of Good Governance, Accountability of Governmental Agencies and Development in Nigeria" *ACTA Universitatis Danubius*. 6, no. 2. (2014), 12.

The Challenge of Democracy in Nigeria

There are difficulties confronting Nigeria in building a truly democratic society, where the respect of constitutionality and the rule of law is the rule rather than the exception. This task is complicated by the fact that Nigeria as a nation was created by colonial powers. It can be historically sustained that the Nigerian entity did not exist in vacuum before the British conquest of 1861. Different Nationalities had existed with their respective and distinguishing values, traditions, cultures, norms, and in fact governmental system. These Nationalities had attained different levels of economic and socio-political developments before colonialism truncated such process.¹⁶ This could be attributed to the scrabbling for partition of Africa at Berlin conference of 1884 that led to the creation of political boundaries without giving attention and respect the cultures, traditions as well as the blood linkages among the African ethnic groups. Martin Meredith discovers that, in the Sahel, new territories were established across the great divide between the desert regions of the Sahara and the belt of tropical forests to the South–Sudan, Chad and Nigeria –throwing together Muslim and non-Muslim peoples in latent hostility. These heterogeneous ethnic groups were forced together by the colonialists to co-exist and remain as state.

The different ethnic groups become polarize rather than unite. In addition to this was the 1914 amalgamation of Southern and Northern protectorate that brought about the existence of Nigeria which has brought in an uneasy and unresolved tension between the North and the South in all ramifications. There is the fear of domination which is usually expressed against the majority ethnic groups by the minority groups. This has remained a patent problem in the contemporary Nigeria. In fact, this problem has substantially generated concerns by the leaders with respect to how to deal with the national questions.¹⁷

¹⁶S. O. Akinboye, S.O and R. Anifowose. "Nigerian Government and politics." In *Elements of Politics*, Anifowose Remiand and Enemou Francis (eds). Lagos: Malthouse Press, 1999, 240; Walter Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. New York: Panaf Publishing, 1972, 43.

¹⁷Meredth Martin. "The fate of Africa" *Public affairs*. (June, 2006), 88.

Furthermore, democratic system is judged according to the degree of its commitment to the ingredients of democracy. Democracy thrives where people freely stand for election and vote during election; where there are periodic elections based on universal adult suffrage; where elections conducted are free, fair and credible; where defeated leaders accept defeat freely in an election; where succession process is smooth and not problematic; where the individual is allowed to freely make his/her choice; and where the process of election is competitive among the political parties. If all these tenets, elements, and parameters are adhered to, a government can be regarded as being democratic. All these are absent in the case of Nigeria, fraudulent electoral practices have being instituted in the body politics. Not only officials of the electoral commission are guilty of this but also law enforcement agents, members of the judiciary and even voters are exposed to these fraudulent practices that threaten the electoral process and its outcome. Many electorates have lost confidence in the process and have consequently become apathetic to the system, a situation that further promotes the preponderances and ambivalences of political actors.¹⁸

In addition, Nigeria irregular election rather than regular was, to a large extent, masterminded by the Armed Forces. 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.¹⁹ One of the proofs of the loopholes in the electoral process in Nigeria is the number of elections that have been voided by the petition tribunals and Appeal Courts since democracy was re-introduced. Some of the issues that have characterized elections in Nigeria are: Electoral violence; Political intimidation; Manipulation of the Electoral Commission and security agencies; Multiple voting; Hijacking of ballot boxes; Vote-buying. And the inability of the National Electoral body to manage logistics as it obtained in all the election period in Nigeria. A credible and competent

¹⁸W. Adebani and E. Obadare. "The Abrogation of the Electorate: An Emergent African Phenomenon." *Democratization*, 18, no. 2 (2011), 65.

¹⁹O. Obasanjo. *A Valedictory Speech of the Outgoing Chairman Advisory Council. Transparency International, Otto-Suhr-Alle 97/99, Berlin, Germany, October 20, 1999.*

leadership cannot emerge through an electoral process riddled with fraudulent practices and violence.²⁰

The phenomenon of corruption makes Nigeria a fertile ground for fraudulent practices. Corrupt law enforcement agents, corruption in the judicial system, and very slow process of trial, lack of good welfare for the judges that made many of them to take bribe and bypass judgment, the political policy makers and the civil servants that implement their policies are corrupt. Corruption has being instituted in Nigeria, it has reduced the society to anything goes provided you know your way. Merit is a foregone conclusion, which is reason why many Nigerian politicians are well known for causing violence because of corruption. They are ready to do anything to acquire power since they know what their society demand. One could not dispute the fact that the level of corruption of most politicians in Nigeria is very high. On the level of moral decadence, Nkeonye submits that:

Really, the rate of corruption, bribery, indiscipline, immorality, cheating, idleness, and other vices have assumed alarming proportions. As it were, it seems that everything has simply gone upside down, in order to negate and thwart the legitimate aspiration of the common...²¹

Consequently, the challenges that face Nigeria as a nation cannot be met without a credible and competent leadership. Many of Nigeria leaders are inefficient, though they seek all means to perpetrate themselves in office. Many of the rulers have used the constitution as a tool to entrench themselves in power or have totally disregarded its existence. Although, in some instances, the rulers have followed the constitution to the letter, where they are frustrated by the constitution, amendments have been engineered.²² Constitution has been readily adopted as

²⁰M. Haruna. "Electoral Reforms: Politicians as Bad Workmen" *The Comet Newspaper*. no. 5. (December, 2003), 7.

²¹O. Nkeonye. "On Nigeria Ethical Revolution and all that" *Journal of Philosophy University of Nigeria Nsukka*, 2, no. 1. (1983), 149.

²²Sam. Agere. *Promoting Good Governance*. Commonwealth secretariat, 2000, 87.

opportunistic strategies to close democratic space, curtail popular rights and negate even traditional cultures, tolerance and popular involvement in decision-making. The rulers have perfected the art of brutal and inhuman politics with a desire to retain power and keep the citizens out of politics and constitutional development.²³

Another challenge to democracy in Nigeria is the refusal of governments to adhere to the 'Good Governance' agenda. "Good governance is understood to denote: a system of values, policies, and institution by which a society manages its economic, political, and social affairs through interaction within and among the state, civil society, and private sector."²⁴ Doorknobs rightly posits that, the concept of good governance "could be used to invite judgment about how the country...concerned is being governed: it enables the raising of evaluative question about proper procedures, the quality and process of decision making, and other such matters". Moreover, good governance has been closely linked to the extent which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver public services, able to create an enabling policy environment for productive activities in its conduct." When the government is against this rule democracy cannot survive.

Furthermore, it is a well known fact that for democracy to succeed in a country there must necessarily be a role for the opposition. Opposition politics is an ideological stance taken by groups of politician whose party fails to win a convincing majority in an election. Opposition politics is inevitable in a democratic society. Genuine political opposition is a necessary attribute of democracy. How can a country be democratic without Opposition parties? How do you ensure a proper check and balance of a government under the democratic process

²³O. P. Dwiredi. "On Common Good and Good Governance: An Alternative Approach" in D. Olowu & S. Sako (eds) *Better Governance and Public Policy: Capacity Building for Democratic Renewal in Africa*. (2004), 46.

²⁴M. Doorknobs. "Good Governance: The Rise and Decline of a Policy Metaphor" *Development Studies*, 37, no. 6 (2000), 14.

without an Opposition? The existence of an opposition, without which politics ceases and administration takes over, is indispensable to the functioning of democratic political systems. In this case, we have seen Nigerian leaders failed badly as the opposition is openly hounded and denied any significant role in governance. The use of radio stations to attack opponents is allowed with the hope of making opponents unpopular; tugs openly assault opposition at home, market and social places. This is against good governance and by so doing democracy cannot flourish.

More so, there is a serious challenge of ensuring a democratic dividend for our women. Nigeria is a society ruled and dominated by men over women. This is inherent in most African families. Giving men a higher social status over women has crept into public life, which reflects in state activities. The family plays an important role in maintaining this patriarchal order across generations. In spite of the constitution specifying the role of women and the role of nongovernmental organization plus United Nations resolutions urging all countries to pay attention to their status and roles, Nigerian women still hang precariously on the lower rungs of the political ladder. The view women given the opportunity proved their mantle and the society acknowledge their contributions. Some are even arguing that probably if women were allow to be president may be the needed magic of transforming Nigeria would be delivered by them but our man would not allow that. Democracy cannot flourish in a place where half of the population is marginalised. Their participations make meaning in any democratic setting.

The biggest challenge in Nigeria is how to institutionalise democracy and how to help democracy to deliver. Democracy will not survive unless the mass of our people are introduced to significant economic prosperity. Reducing poverty and improving the quality of life. These processes may be slow and tedious, but economic development need to go hand in hand with improving democratic governance. Better governance means better conditions for the people. Hence, governments that are genuinely interested in democratic development must be more interested in economic development the people as well.

Democratic Governance Challenge: Religio-Philosophical Appraisal

'Religio-Philosophical Appraisal' is purposefully here used as a compound word in order to capture the the roles of religion through the critical approach to the Nigerian democratic governance challenge. It has been argued that Nigerian democratic governance experiences challenges in the various realities of anomalies of defective constitutional arrangement, corruption and other related vices. It argued that these anomalies would be normalised through the critical approach of religion, and possible solutions for effective and productive democratic governance in Nigeria would be attained.

Meanwhile, in the context of the challenge of democratic governance in Nigeria, the roles of religion through the critical approach would build good and sustainable democratic governance. In fact, much could be done at curbing the challenge of democratic governance in Nigeria where it is assumed that the activities of the various religious groups seem to be evident in the regular meetings in order to appease God for more blessings and to appeal for more membership so as to achieve continuity. This argument considers Nigeria to be a religious country where people could enjoy workable democratic governance, but the reverse seems to always be the case. Meanwhile, if all the religious groups are critical in their activities or actions against the challenge of constitution, accountability, infrastructure, election and other related issues, it is believed that good and sustainable democratic governance is attainable.

Now, it could be opined that in achieving good and sustainable democratic governance in Nigeria everyone needs to be deliberate in its workability. That is, it is argued that intentional efforts of the leadership and deliberate supports of the followership are paramount. In this wise, in a situation where lives and properties are valued, everyone seems to enjoy constitutional right of freedom of expression without discrimination. When both leaders and followers are intentional in their responsibility, it would be resulted in a reality of good and sustainable democratic governance.

Since it could be asserted that in one way or the other that every Nigerian seems to belong to religious body, now critically disapproving any act that militates against good and sustainable democratic governance in Nigeria could be appropriately carried out at every worship centre, especially during the regular meetings. The critical approach on the part of every religious group Nigeria is believed to be an important method if good and sustainable democratic governance would be built, attained, and sustained. It could be argued that religion has a potential to build up human value, promoting actions and thought paradigms that enhance good and sustainable democratic governance through the value of effective governance system. Religion seems to have some other human oriented teachings such as respect for life, dignity and sanctity of human life. Since religion forbids any activity that is not human oriented, doing things that are absurd in democratic governance is being spoken against through the teachings of religion. To Omotosho, the challenge of democratic governance could come through corruption which could greatly contribute to the backwardness and failure of any good and effective government. As Yahweh through Moses, the Nigerian leaders serve as crusaders against anything that stands against good and sustainable democratic governance.²⁵

In addition, religion seems to give a perspective of non-discriminatory selfless service and care for every citizen that democratic governance can transmit in Nigeria. The model of the selfless service and care demonstrated by the leadership could serve as a motivation for promoting honesty, integrity, and accountability in a society such as Nigeria. Possibly, the consistent selfless efforts of the leadership in democratic governance could become the model of self-sacrifice and the framework for thinking about people's welfare at all levels in Nigeria.

Religion also functions as a tool for integrating laws and orders. It is believed that religion has concern for a whole way of life; it could have the potential of being a veritable rallying point in

²⁵Olabode J. Omotosho. "Ethical Implications of Exodus 20:15-17 on Effective Government in Nigeria" *Journal of the Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions*, 27, no. 2. (2017), 4.

achieving set goals. In effect, religion can become means of promoting and integrating justice in the Nigerian society. For instance, serving and instilling model of positive attitudes, good and sustainable democratic governance would the goals of every Nigeria political power. Integrating laws and orders among the citizenry, religion has the potential to inculcate and implant humility, empathy, cooperation and equitable power sharing structure in the Nigerian democratic governance.

It argued that religion serves as a tool of social control aiming at building responsiveness and responsibility in everyone. This could be seen in the light of the efforts of the leadership for effectiveness, efficiency, and productivity of democratic governance, as well as the supports of the followership through total obedience of laws and orders. In this wise, considering the numerous numbers of the various religious groups in Nigeria, religion, if well and critically harnessed by these various groups, has the potential to positively influence good and sustainable democratic governance which would also serve as a panacea for social vices like corruption, banditry, and other related cases. This therefore plays a very important role in giving and sustaining equity and equitability in the society. In a country like where some leaders and followers could have tendencies to be ant-social could be at the same time be influenced positively by well and critical harnessed religion.

In this order, religion plays major roles in shaping the society. It could be opined that religion seen at the for-front of attaining good and sustainable democratic governance that could be evident in educational development, health-care systems, welfare and security if well and critically harnessed. The opinion here postulates that providing some of the social amenities to the people by the good and sustainable democratic governance, well and critical harnessed religion could serve in a way of collaboration. In fact, religious communities provide emotional and social support for the people. While everyone sees his or her self as a member of a family, emotional, social, and economic are built and sustained in the society. In this pattern, religion a tool for providing emotional, psychological, social and spiritual supports every individual, if well and critically harnessed, the influence of religion would at the high advantage for both leaders

and followers. As emotional, psychological, social and spiritual well being individuals form a healthy couple so also healthy families form a better society where members find solace in the workable constitution, accountability, social justice, and infrastructural development.

Conclusion

The political leaders as well as a majority of the population are becoming more aware and conscious of the fact that genuine efforts have to be made in the building of democratic societies because Nigerian need much more than multi-party politics and elections to consolidate democracy. They need political institutions that are tailor-made to fit the particular nature of Nigeria society, and that is good governance. It demands upholding democratic values of popular participation, respect for the rule of law, free and fair elections and the independence of the judiciary. Good governance essentially promotes improved welfare of the people, transparency and accountability by public managers in the conduct of state affairs and reduces corruption to the barest minimum. These correlates of democracy are some of the daunting challenges Nigeria is yet to resolve.

Nevertheless, it has been argued that in a country like a Nigeria where there are activities of religious bodies or groups that could challenge political institutions towards achieving good governance, greater and better would be the dividend of democracy if these are deliberately carried out. In this regard, the religious institutions or bodies, through their leaders could be effective and productive on how to democratically make Nigeria great and better. In a situation where there seems to be developed democracy, there would be possibility of governance which often serves as prerequisite to good infrastructure, accountability, and protection of the rights of the citizenry. Therefore, on the part of the religious bodies, vehemently speaking against any form of corruption through their leaders at level of the political institutions seems to weaken the challenges that are evidently confronting democracy in corruption, economic mismanagement, and other related vices in Nigeria. This is because it could be safe to assume that majority of the political holders belonging to one religious group or the other.

Bibliography

- Adebanwi, W and Obadare, E. "The Abrogation of the Electorate: An Emergent African Phenomenon." *Democratization*, 18, no. 2 (2011).
- Adejumobi, S. "Democracy, Good Governance and Constitutionalism in Africa" S. Odion-Akin (ed). *Governance: Nigeria and the World*, Lagos: Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarisation, (2004).
- Agere, Sam. *Promoting Good Governance*. Commonwealth secretariat, 2000.
- Akinboye, S. O. and Anifowose, R. "Nigerian Government and politics." In *Elements of Politics*, Anifowose Remiand and Enemou Francis (eds). Lagos: Malthouse Press, 1999.
- Ake, Claude. "Devaluing Democracy" *Journal of Democracy*. 3, no. 3 (July, 1992).
- Appadorai, S. *The Substance of Politics*. (11th Edition). Oxford: University Press, 1975.
- Doorknobs, M. "Good Governance: The Rise and Decline of a Policy Metaphor" *Development Studies*, 37, no. 6 (2000).
- Dwiredi, O. P. "On Common Good and Good Governance: An Alternative Approach" in D. Olowu & S. Sako (eds) *Better Governance and Public Policy: Capacity Building for Democratic Renewal in Africa*. (2004).
- Gberevbie, Daniel E. Oyeyemi, Adeola I. Excellence-Oluye, and Nchekwube. O. "The Challenges of Good Governance, Accountability of Governmental Agencies and Development in Nigeria" *ACTA Universitatis Danubius*. 6, no. 2. (2014).
- Giddens, A. *Sociology* (Second Edition fully revised and updated). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.
- Haruna, M. "Electoral Reforms: Politicians as Bad Workmen" *The Comet Newspaper*. no. 5. (December, 2003).
- Hermet, Guy. "Introduction: The Age of Democracy" *International Social Science Journal*. no. 128. (1991).

- Huntington, Samuel. *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twenties Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Igwe, Liga E. "Democracy and Development in Nigeria: Issue and Challenges" *International Journal of Economic Development Research and Investment*, 1, nos. 2 and 3. (2010).
- Liberal Democracy, Encyclopedia.com, accessed May 17, 2021.
- Martin, Meredith. "The fate of Africa" *Public affairs*. (June, 2006).
- Nkeonye, O. "On Nigeria Ethical Revolution and all that" *Journal of Philosophy University of Nigeria Nsukka*, 2, no. 1. (1983).
- Obasanjo O. *A Valedictory Speech of the Outgoing Chairman Advisory Council. Transparency International, Otto-Suhr-Alle 97/99, Berun, Germany, October 20, 1999.*
- Omodia, S.M. and Aliu, M. "Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on the Nigerian Fourth Republic, *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3, no. 4 (2013).
- Omotosho, Olabode J. "Ethical Implications of Exodus 20:15-17 on Effective Government in Nigeria" *Journal of the Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions*, 27, no. 2. (2017).
- Omotuyi, Sunday. "Electoral Process and Neo-Patrimonialism: An Appraisal of Quality of Governance in Democratic Nigeria" *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F Political Science*, 16, no. 3. (2016).
- Pogson, A. I. "Rethinking Governance in Africa: Measuring Performance-The Ibrahim Index on African Governance" *Paper Presented at a Departmental Seminar, Department of Political Science, University Of Ibadan, Nigeria*. (10th, February, 2010).
- Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. New York: Panaf Publishing, 1972.
- Yagboyaju, Dhikru Adewale and Akinola, Adeoye O. "Nigerian State and the Crisis of Governance: A Critical Exposition" *SAGE Open Journals.sagepub.com/home/sgo*, (2019).