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Democratic Culture and the Challenges of Good Governance in Nigeria

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Abstract:

The extant political culture in any given social formation to some extent, conditions largely the nature of government and subsequently the behaviour of citizenry and survival of the state. Consequently, in a democratic system, the political culture supportive and sustainable to stable democracy is the civic culture which emphasizes citizen's active participation in the political process. This paper, therefore, argues that the extent to which political culture in Nigeria is bankrupt and parochial will be solved from revisiting the demographic cultural ethics of the nation. The paper adopts structural functionalism by Almond & Powell (1966), as popularized by Donald Struck (1968), and Defleur, (1977). as the theoretical framework of analysis. The theory perceives governance within the context of society as a system that is made up of interdependent parts tending towards stability. That an understanding of any part of the society requires an analysis of its relationship to other parts and the contributions to the maintenance and development of society. It assumes that good governance is a consequence of a functional relationship between the arms of government midwife by a good democratic culture. The paper adopts qualitative analysis and generated data only from secondary sources like published and unpublished articles, thesis, and textbooks. Analysis of data reveals that the hurries arising therefrom, stunts sustainable political engineering and constraints good governance in the country even as the paper recommends amongst other things, a review of the 1999 constitution as amended to address issues such as revenue allocation based on resource control/derivation principle, to ensure the practice of true federalism.

Keywords: Democracy, Culture and Governance

1. Introduction

Democracy, culture and good governance are functions and consequences of social behaviour. One major feature of democracy and by extension, good governance is that they combine "a proper balance between governmental power and governmental responsiveness". The idea here is that government must have room to manoeuvre and the power to implement its decision, but at the same time, its decisions must at the very least, be taken in the light of the known wishes and aspirations of the citizens. The citizen's social behaviour determines largely the nature of the state, its political environment, its survival, the nature of governments, and the political, economic and social processes in the state.

Democracy is a form of government claimed by by so many politicians as a toll of legitimacy. However, what politicians do in Nigeria/ Africa is very far from democracy itself as long as their whims and caprices are carried out and amply achieved by them. The basic tenets of democracy such as freedom, justice, equity, fraternity, equality and respect for rule of law etc, are usually not adhered to by the political class. For instance, the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria like every other constitution of advanced democracies has the above principles of democracy in the preamble. The unfortunate situation in our peculiar form of democracy is that the words provided in the preamble are more observed in the breach than they are to be carried out in their true essence.

As earlier stated, the absence of practice of basic democratic culture has made the country to be so backward and poor. This paper opines that the practice of true democracy leads to good governance as good governance is a function of true democracy and this is determined, environmentally, culturally and in the society. The success or failure of democracy or any other form of government, is a function of the prevailing social behaviour in a given social context. The focus of this paper is to examine some pertinent conditions for democracy and good governance to thrive, holding culture as an independent variable for their sustainability. The paper is guided by the theory of structural functionalism and divided into four sub-sections. The first sub-section deals with the problem which fillips the research and snowballed into the challenges facing good governance. The second sub-section deals with concept of democracy, culture and good

governance. The third is concerned with the relationship among the three concepts and cultural factors affecting democracy and good governance, and the last subsection is concerned with conclusion and recommendations.

2. Statement of the Problem

Many scholars, especially scholars of Nigerian government and politics, and development studies, like Alapiki (2008, pp. 17 -23), Ibodje (2009, p. 32), Umoh (2015, p. 5), and Orji and Uranta (2015), have attempted to establish a relationship between democratic culture, the nature of good governance and development in Nigeria. Some have attempted to correlate the political system, the character of political actors, the colonial experience, the character of the Nigerian state with issues of governance and underdevelopment. However, they have not done much to establish a link between the democratic culture, character of the Nigerian State, the challenges of good governance and the implications for development. They did not show for instance, how the democratic culture can pose challenges to good governance of the country. That is the focus of this research, bearing in mind, that when analyzing issues of democracy, culture and governance, other issues that challenges good governance like political process, political will and or corruption, are tacitly contextualize within such variables as power struggle, corruption and lack of public accountability, incompetence of political actors, selfish interest of the ruling class, amongst others. There is need therefore, to examine the democratic culture as part of political experiences of Nigeria. According to Alapiki (2008, pp. 17 -23,) and Umoh (2015, p. 5) the Nigerian State is a product of the conquest and subjugation of several pre-colonial empires, kingdoms and communal states by the British colonial authority. They aver that in both form and character, governance in the colonial states are organized mainly on the basis of a functional notion of government backed by a well-developed coercive apparatus with a strong focus on revenue collection, maintenance of public order and establishment of essential infrastructural facilities, tailored towards resource extraction.

Similarly, Ibodje (2009, p. 32) is of the view that governance in the Nigerian state today is a bye product of colonial creation, that the Nigerian state is a product of bad governance extracted from colonial methods of administration and is superimposed on the different groups that are now Nigerians. He says that because it was superimposed, the state was detached from and autonomous of the Nigerian society and served as an instrument in the hands of the colonial elite who manipulated it at will, both in the metropolitan interest and in the direction of their own personal comfort. He explains that at independence, the indigenes elite, who inherited power from the colonial elite, also inherited a state that was not only autonomous in relation to the society, but also one that could be manipulated by them for their own interests. The above views seem to support the idea that the governance by the political class can be explained in clear terms by their unflinching determination to grab state power for economic gains even if emerging good democratic culture is to be sacrificed. Again, how the democratic culture in Nigeria challenges good governance as evidenced in the zilch sense of commitment to the well-being of the citizens via the presence of development deficits, further watered the focus of this research

3. Objective of Study

- To identify the challenges of Good Governance
- To locate the nexus between Democratic Culture and Good Governance.
- To identify the Cultural factors affecting Democracy and Governance in Nigeria

4. Theoretical framework

This research will be anchored on Structural – functionalism. The theory can be traced to the works of Almond & Powell (1966), Donald Struck (1968), and Defleur, (1977). The theory emphasizes social equilibrium. Scholars use this theory to view societies within an organic perspective; that is, as systems made up of interdependent parts tending towards stability. If conflict arises, it is seen either as “abnormal” or as a means by which temporary strains between elements are being reduced in a move toward greater equilibrium (Defleur, 1977) in Wegbuom, (2008)). The basic unit of analysis is society or governance. Governance is thus examined within the context of its various parts such as the executive, legislature and the judiciary. These parts are understood primarily in terms of their relationship to the whole, just as the social institutions such as the family, religion, are analyzed as part of the social system rather than as isolated units. In particular, they are understood with reference to the contributions they make to the system as a whole, (Umoh, 2015, pp. 2 – 3)

The early functionalists often drew an analogy between society and an organism such as the human body. They argued that an understanding of any part of an organism depends largely on the analysis of its relationship to other organs — in particular its contribution towards the maintenance of the organism.

In the same way, an understanding of any part of society or the state requires an analysis of its relationship to other parts and most importantly of its contributions to the stability, growth and maintenance of the society. Contributing to this analogy, Almond and Powell (1966: 15) argued that just as an organism has certain basic needs which must be satisfied if it is to survive, so society has basic needs which must be met if it must continue to exist. These basic needs or necessary conditions of existence are sometimes known as functional pre-requisites and they include adaptation, goal attainment, integration and pattern maintenance or latency (AGIL).

The structural- functionalist theory emphasizes the consensus of values held by members of the society or state. The roles of individuals and institutions are formulated in accordance with these values, and role expectations therefore, tend to be complementary.

The functionalists claim that it is practically necessary that some individuals and groups be more powerful than others. The reason is that only few people can take important decision. Absence of the decision-makers can lead to chaos. Furthermore, structural functionalists claim that social change occurs only when it is functionally necessary. They tend to think of change as evolutionary, (gradual) not revolutionary; and as being externally induced.

According to Donald Struck (1968, pp.67 -72), structural functionalism directs attention to the social structures and institutions which are in some way involved in the problems which interest the analyst. Analysts are, therefore, not only interested in identifying what structures exist in a given society, what functions they perform and how they perform these functions but also and importantly, the consequences of the relationship which obtain in the society in terms of the survival of the system. Thus, analysts not only try to set out the conditions which would guarantee the survival of the system but importantly, to identify the related role sets which constitute the structures that perform the functions by which the political system operates. Consequently, the relationship is said to be functional if it promotes or enhances the survival of the political system, or other structures of its goals of adaptation, integration or maintenance. On the other hand, it is said to be dysfunctional if the possibility exists that it will reduce the chances of survival of the political system or other related structures or equally impair the performance of its functions of adoption, integration or maintenance. Function refers to the objective consequence of a patterned and regularized process of interaction, in particular, those that make for the adaptation or maintenance and survival of the system. They are different from dysfunction which through objective consequences of a pattern of interaction, make for disequilibrium, disintegration, conflict or systemic breakdown. Structural functionalists therefore believe that the functioning of the political system depends to a large extent on its capabilities, that is, the way it performs as a unit of the environment. Exponents of the theory also say that it equally depends on the natural mechanism of the conversion process, that is, the way the system transforms inputs into outputs, particularly the way demands are transmitted into decisions and implemented.

The implication of the theory to this study is that it sees and analyses governance within the context of democratic culture as transducer of the oversight functions of the different parts of governance. The theory explicates functional relationship between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary as functional parts of governance in the state that are segmented, yet diffused, and working together for collective goal of the state which is development via good governance. Dysfunction on any part, affects the entire system. It also explains the power relationship between the organs of government. It shows clearly that the nature of the relationship that exists between the structures affects governance as a direct consequence of their performance and more importantly, that the political environment, culture or system where the structures operate shape the relationship between the different structures and their respective role in the society. The capability of the structures is a function of how healthy the system is. In other words, good governance is a direct consequence of the network of relationships between the arms of government that shapes the democratic culture within a political system. Put differently, good governance as a measure Nigeria's development is a function of how healthy, mature and diffused the democratic culture is within the political system via the none vulnerability of the constitution, or the judicial arm of government, (Umoh, 2015, p. 15).

5. The Concepts of Democracy, Culture and Good Governance

5.1. Democracy

There is no universally accepted definition of the concept of democracy. Scholars define it in various ways. But central to every definition of democracy is citizens' participation, freedom of speech and association, guaranteed rights of citizens' and the protection of private property. The contraries prevalent in emerging democracy like Nigeria is a consequence of a coordinated process that was tailored by colonial administration to usher in capitalism. This was achieved through the superimposition of a totalitarian colonial system of governance on the different independent nations that is referred today as Nigeria. To adumbrate this point, Mkandawire (1999, p. 125), says that democratic state that are built on the ruins of authoritarian rule often retain some of the previous state's institution, which linger due to social inertia and structural rigidity. In this wise, every democracy that operates on the contrary cannot be a democracy, unless the idea is to emasculate the phenomenon of any useful meaning. This is why in the opinion of Oyovbaire (2017, p. 21) democracy has no settled meaning. However, Deutsch (2014, p. 23) noted that:

Under a democratic government, the majority (directly or indirectly) makes or confirms laws and elects or confirms the government, its officials, and its policies. But the minority must be free to express its views, to agitate for them, to organize, and to try to win converts to its side. Where minority views are silenced, the majority is crippled in its ability to compare ideas, to learn new ones, and if it so wishes, to change its actions.

In the opinion of this definition, the feelings and interests of the majority and minority must be taken into consideration in order to have a stable political system. However, the narrative in Nigeria is a clear prevarication from the ethos which characterizes the very nature of democracy as a political system. In Nigeria, political actors are engaged in sham democracy. Sham democracy is a derivative of democracy whereby the tapestry of real and acceptable democratic processes is obfuscated by parallels or contraries. It is best described as Cabalcracy – a government by a miniscule demographic of the elites – the cabal. Be it as it may, Appadorai (1975, p.137) defines democracy as:

....a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by themselves.

He opines that liberty is the indispensable minimum in a democracy. Democracy guarantees personnel freedom and equal opportunities for all. It creates patriotic feelings in the citizens as a result of their participation in the affairs of the nation. Authority is made a trust in a democracy. The essence of political liberty "is the right of every man bound by the decisions of a government to contribute whatever is in him to the making and remaking of those decisions. (Appadorai, 1975, p, 138).

Heater (1964, p. 34), in (Umoh, 2015, p.3) defines democracy as an essential method of organizing society politically. He identifies five basic elements that differentiate democratic society from undemocratic ones. These include equality, sovereignty of the people, respect for human rights, the rule of law and liberty of individuals.

Democracy is at times equated to be majority rule by number. By this it refers to quantity but not quality. Even at that, democracy in its concept of majority rule does not mean that only the people that have greater majority in number, as an ethnic group must rule as seen in Nigeria.

From the forgoing, it can be argued that democracy means a set of ideas, institutions and processes of governance that allows the broad mass of people to choose their leaders and that it guarantees them a broad range of civic rights. Since the contrary seems to be a licence to governance in Nigeria, it is the opinion of this paper that the definitions of democracy as given by many scholars are limited and narrow. The concept should therefore be broadened to incorporate complex societies like Nigeria because the degree of interaction between the governed and the group that governs explicate social and economic existential vacuity of the masses.

5.2. Culture

Culture on the other hand, has been defined in various ways. Okujagu (2003, p. 7) defines culture as a configuration of learned and shared pattern of things, ideas, emotions, and actions which arise out of language communication within a social group and helps the individual to adapt to his physical environment, his biological nature, and his group life. He further defines culture as the totality of the way of life of a society. Accordingly, *Dowse & Hughes, (1972, p. 55) aver that;*

Culture is socially shared and transmitted knowledge, both existential and normative symbolized in art and artifacts.

The significance of culture derives in the main, from the fact that "within a culturally bound area, most individual actions have meanings" (Ibid). Culture is learned through the interaction of individuals which generate ideas, expectations, attitudes and beliefs absent from their common activities. With time, these ideas, values and attitudes come to be associated with particular patterns of behaviour and become transmitted from one generation to the other. In other words, it is socialized. conformably, Almond & Powell, (1968, pp.65-69) avers political culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, values and skills which are current in an entire population as well as those special propensities and patterns which may be found within separate part of that population" Similarly, (have argued that political culture is not a residual category but rather, it involves a set of phenomena which can be identified and measured. They suggested that a typology of political culture can be drawn up by a combination of internalized personal orientation, and objects or targets of these orientations.

Dowse & Hughes, (1997, pp. 12-15) have suggested that there are three internalized orientations derived from the works of Talcott Parsons, namely, cognitive orientations, affective orientation and evaluative orientations. Cognitive orientation involves knowledge about the rules, roles, outputs etc. of the system; affective orientation deals with the feelings of participation or apathy of individual about the political system, its rules, roles and output; while the evaluative orientation refers to the assessment or sense of judgement expressed by individuals about political objects involving the use of values, information and feelings etc.

Again, Dowse and Hughes (1997, p. 18) have explained that since political culture is a product of the history of both the system and the individual members of the system and is thus rooted in public events and private experience, the development of the concept of political culture is an attempt to bridge the gap between psychological interpretation of the individual political behaviours, and macro-sociological analysis. Thus, for the individual, the political culture provides guides for political behaviour, and for the society as a whole; it constitutes a structure of values and norms which help to ensure coherence in the operation of institutions and organizations.

Almond & Verba (2013, pp. 24-28) specify three types of political culture, the parochial characterized by disorientation, non-contribution and participation in the political process, little expectation and awareness of the effect of government; subject political culture characterized by the citizen' high awareness of the political system but passive in participation: and the participant political culture characterized with citizens' high level of awareness and participation in the political process, politically active and efficacious. They came to the conclusion that the culture supportive and sustainable to stable democracy was the civic culture. Here, the dominant culture is the participant, with some mix of subject and parochial characteristics.

The political culture of most developing countries is largely parochial or posses some doses of traditional and local cultures which predispose social and political behaviour. In these countries, national political cultures have not emerged or are weak or non-predominant. Rather the cultures are plural or poly-cultural, with several ethnic and traditional loyalties co-existing with the national ones (Ikelegbe, 1995, p. 29).

The political culture of a nation is a product of several developments. The historical development and experiences may create a culture of radicalism, conservatism, loyalty, affections for certain political institutions etc. The nation's heterogeneity or homogeneity in ethnic and religious terms may affect the level of parochialism and primordialist values (Ikelegbe, Ibid). It is important to note that there cannot be culture without society and vice versa. Culture is effective within a specific environment.

5.3. Good Governance

The concept of good governance is relatively new in African political discourse, Scholars see it as the conscious management of the public space based on some common goals. Good governance systematically is replete with evidence of the absence of development deficit. Good governance thus, is predicated on the determined effort to exit the Hobbesian state of nature and all it represents, with a commitment to providing the greatest good for the greatest number of citizens. According to Akanbi (2002, p. 54) good governance is the ability of government to maintain social space, guarantee law and order, promote or create condition necessary for economic growth and ensure minimum level of social security, It implies efficient and effective public administration, good public policies and sound management of national resources. Good governance incorporates the features of accountability of public officials, transparency on government procedures and processes reliable flow of information to the citizenry, freedom of the press and strict adherence to the rule of law. Akanbi has described accountability and transparency as central themes of good governance. He described them as the right of the people in a democratic setting to hold their leaders responsible for their actions and inactions, and to freely get information about government activities.

Azeez (2002) identified accountability based on notion of popular sovereignty and public choice, a legal framework that guarantees the rule of law and decision making process based on political and social pluralization and on freedom of association and expression, and bureaucratic accountability based on impersonality of office, uniform application of rules and nationality of organizational structure as some of the pre-requisite for good governance. Structural and attitudinal change from both the government and governed, fair justice and respect for democratic values must be promoted in order for good governance to thrive in Nigeria.

Within this prism, Orji and Uranta (2015, p. 201) see good governance as a synonymous concept with democracy, development and good life. To them, good governance simply means government that is good. They explained further that; *...to the ordinary man especially, the government that is good provides good things (of life) to the citizens.... good (and consumable) water, good roads good education (system), electricity that is regular, job opportunity, security of lives and property, etc.*

5.4. Some Challenges to Good Governance in Nigeria

Governance can take the form of cooperation or conflict between the arms of government which may be constructive or destructive. The relationship between the arms of government is a function of the respective roles they play in governance and the extant democratic culture which midwife actors in governance. Good and acceptable democratic practices therefore presuppose reduced challenges to good governance.

5.4.1. Lack of Established Democratic Culture

The Nigeria's fledgling democracy is at its infancy. Eine, (2008, p. 32), says that the debilitating effect of prolonged military rule in Nigeria has produced negative consequences that continue to haunt individuals and institutions in Nigeria. The legislature is not an exception. The legislature today is truly not independent of the Executive and therefore, is often incapacitated from acting as the watchdog of executive activities (Wegbuom, 2008). Thus, the inordinate ambition of members and leadership of the legislative houses often sees them hobnobbing with the executive such that valuable time for law-making is lost in the process of lobbying for juicy leadership positions and committees in the legislative houses.

5.4.2. Corruption and Nepotism

Corruption and nepotism have been the bane of public life in Nigeria. It is often rumored that bills hardly sail through the legislature until members have had their hands greased. Oyewo. (2007). The implication of this, therefore, is that debates on such bills either at the plenary or committee levels cannot be subjected to thorough scrutiny in the best interest of Nigerians who are the objects of such bills eventually when they become laws. It is indeed not too gratifying that such primordial and mundane issues have roles to play in passage of bills into law.

5.4.3. Personal Interests and Ambition of the Legislators

It is common knowledge that a good number of members of the legislative houses at both federal and state levels pursue pure selfish interests that often inhibit them from combating the challenges of law-making. Members pursue contracts from the leadership of the houses and even from the executive such that they easily compromise when it comes to contributing meaningfully to debates on the floor of the house. At times, some members resort to absenteeism from the floor of the house and do not participate at all in the proceedings. Again, many of the legislators have ambitions to contest for leadership positions in the house or membership and chairman of juicy committees. A lot of valuable legislative time is wasted while pursuing these ambitions.

5.4.4. Interference with Legislative Oversight Functions by the Executive

The legislature is given a lot of powers in the constitution to perform oversight functions and act as the watchdog of the executive. (See for example, Section 88 of the Constitution) Again, the legislature must screen and approve certain appointees of the executive. (See Sections 147, 154(1), 171(4), 231, 238 and 250 of the 1999 Constitution). The legislature is further empowered to even remove the President, Vice President, Governor and the Deputy Governor through impeachment procedure provided for in the constitution. (See Sections 148 and 188 of the constitution). It is however disheartening to say that the exercise of the above function to ensure good governance for the benefit of all and sundry is often interfered with and hampered by the executive. This is done, first and foremost, by the executive ensuring that their

cronies are elected as the leaders of those houses through excessive politicking orchestrated and funded by the executive. Again, where the legislature musters enough courage and ventures to carry out any of the oversight functions, the executive often resorts to the use of money to pursue a "divide and rule" agenda to break the rank and file of the legislators. The effect of the game is that good governance is denied to Nigerians who are entitled to have same.

5.5. Selected Cases

Cooperation between the arms of government in general and specifically between the legislature and the executive where the challenges of good governance was minimal maybe exemplified by the cooperative form of relationship during Odili government and Amaechi leadership of the State House of Assembly in in River state which the legislature complied with almost all executive wishes. One of such instances of hostility between executive and legislature was in Lagos under Fashola administration in the 2010 appropriation bill which the governor presented to the Lagos State House of Assembly on the 11th of November, 2009 with an expectation that it will be approved by 1st January 2010. The draft budget however, did not get the approval, of the House until March 2010. When it was finally approved, the budget estimate of 429.59 billion that was presented to the house by the governor was reduced by 40 billion based on the recommendation of the House Committee on Economic' Planning and Budget. The sum of N389.5 billion was therefore approved, for the fiscal year, (Umoh, 2015)

It is instructive to note that the major areas of potential and actual challenges to good governance is between the executive and legislature is primary in its oversights functions including appointment, policy and appropriation, (Umoh, 2015, p. 6). Appointments into key offices in the public service of a state or the federation are made by the executive subject to the confirmation of the legislature. In addition, most bills passed into laws by the legislatures were initiated and sponsored by the executive. In the same vein, while the executive prepares the appropriation bill, the legislature approves the disbursement. Challenges usually occurs when one arm or both decides to adopt unconstitutional approach in dealing with the other.

In some states such as Bayelsa State, Plateau State, etc., it was usually insinuated that the former governors of these States dictated the tune of events in the state. In the first tenure-1999-2003, the state and federal governments witnessed rampant executive interference in legislative affairs. Consequently, governance subsumed in oversights of the legislature of some State Houses of Assembly such as Rivers, Bayelsa, Plateau, Abia, Adamawa, Imo, Edo, amongst others, were in practical terms mere tools in the hands of the executive branch for forcing through executive policy choices. Indeed, the Assembly hardly exercised its oversight functions. The legislators in most cases quietly complied with executive wishes in exchange for material favours and comfort. For example, Umoh, (2015, pp. 6 - 8) reported that throughout the first tenure in office-1999-2003, DSP Alamieyeseigha and several high ranking officials of Bayelsa State had featured prominently in the list of corrupt officials being investigated by the various federal anti- corruption agencies namely, the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related crime Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). In one particular case flowing from a 2003 investigation initiated by the ICPC, the governor was accused of approving several dubious contracts and payments totaling 1.7 billion naira in favour of eight fictitious companies in respect construction projects. He was also said to have awarded other contracts totaling 667.258 million naira to another set of fictitious companies through the Bayelsa State Tender's Board, which he presided over (The Guardian, 20 December, 2004). Aware that the people of the state especially the members of the legislature, would not remain always silent in the face of such blatant mismanagement of scarce resources, he fell back to the usual strategy of redistributing the funds from oil rents among top officials and members of the State House of Assembly, apparently to stave off demands for greater transparency and accountability.

In Rivers State, the former governor of the state, Dr. Peter Odili, was said to have chosen Honourable Chibuike Rotimi Amaechi then speaker of Rivers State House of. Assembly, as his possible successor as governor of the state, a fact which the state assembly rather pliant to Odili's administration.

Conversely, important social services such as education, health, portable water and other anti-poverty initiatives were under funded. The implication of this was that the Legislative Assembly was weakened in its oversight functions, lacked internal cohesion and discipline as members sought for personal material gains at the expense of their constitutional role. Thus, the legislative Assembly could not challenge their chief Executives who had all the ingredients and natural disposition to be powerful. The weakness of the oversights function of the legislative chamber therefore strengthened the authoritarian character of the executive. To this end, a dissection of the democratic culture from a bird eye view would reveal a potpourri of challenges to good governance explicates in the nexus between democracy and culture.

5.6. The Nexus between Democracy, Culture and Good Governance

As earlier stated, democracy is a function of good governance and good governance is a function of democracy and both are a function of a prevailing cultural and social values in a given society. Diamond (1994, pp. 12 - 19) posits that democratic sustenance and by extension, good governance involve behavioural and institutional changes that normalize democratic policy and narrow its uncertainty.

This normalization requires the expansion of citizen's access to development, democratic citizenship and culture, broadening of leadership recruitment and training and other functions that the civil society performs. For democratic governance to be sustainable, it must become internalized in the society. It must become a way of life, manifesting itself at all levels of the social and political system.

Democracy and good governance are hinged on respect for the constitution but good constitution and respect for it are not sufficient to ensure good governance. Dowse and 1-lughes (1972) have explained thus:

...that underlying these various arrangements of governments there must be an appropriate political culture.

According to Almond and Verba, (2013, pp. 30-35), the most appropriate political culture for a democratic system of government is the civic culture and to the extent that a country's political culture deviates from the ideal mix to that extent does it lack an effective and stable democratic government. Besides, there is need for some consensus on values and norms for stability of societies.

In explaining the central issues involved in the relationship between democracy and cultural ideas, Eckstein focuses attention on narrower set of orientations concerned with exercise of authority. His argument is that a government will be stable to the extent its authority pattern is congruent with other authority patterns of the society in which it is embedded. (Cited in Dowse and Hughes, Ibid.p. 238). Incongruity between authority patterns is therefore a possible source of strain to societal stability.

Achieving democracy and good governance requires some consensus about building relevant political and civil institutions that can promote transparency, accountability, fostering democratic and cultural values.

6. Cultural Factors Affecting Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria

As individuals interact with one another, they generate ideas, expectations, attitudes and beliefs about their common activities which also shape their actions and behaviours in the society. The internalized ways of life that affect democracy and governance are as follows:

6.1. The Materialistic Nature of the State

The state in Africa and Nigeria in particular is all owning and powerful. According to Ake,

"In Nigeria, the state is everywhere and its power appears boundless. There is hardly any aspect of life in which the state does not exercise power and control. That makes the capture of state power singularly important".

According to Ikelegbe (1995) the state is:

"The main vehicle of accumulation and modernization for individuals, communities, ethnic groups and regions".

As Diamond (1994) states,

"The state is the primary threat to or primary guarantor of material advancement, material progress and cultural integrity".

Consequently, competition for state power has assumed a desperate, cut throat warfare for survival and integrity. The large premium on state power therefore, set the pace and conditions other factors. It is this materialistic nature of the state that has necessitated the various drives and strategies by the individual to enhance his or her material condition. In effect, this tendency leads to a situation which Van de Wegbuom (2008) describes as"

"The privatization of the state in which access to state resources through various forms of fraud was allowed to become endemic".

The implication of the materialistic nature of the state is that it has created an obsessive pre-occupation with and militarization of politics in Nigeria. The political class places too high a premium on political power and uses every means including assassination of political opponents and other undemocratic practices to achieve their desires for power. Thus, rigging of elections, imposition of candidates on the electorates, abuse of power, corruption, suppression of rule of law and human rights as well as other democratic values become internalized political way of life. Another implication of the materialistic nature of the state is that it engenders political violence. Ake (1991:162-163) examines violence in the Nigerian post-military state and states thus:

"The crux of the problem of Nigeria today is over politicization of social life. We are intoxicated with the politics, the premium on political power is so high that we are prone to take extreme measures to win and to maintain political power. State appears to intervene everywhere and to own virtually everything including access to status and wealth, inevitably, a desperate struggle to win, control the state power ensues since this control means for all practical purposes being all powerful and owning everything. Politics became warfare, a matter of life and death".

The above view shows that, economic condition plays a dominant role in understanding the Nigerian democratic project. It shows how enhanced economic condition can only be attained through access to state powers.

6.2. Primordial Loyalties

A close look, at the nature of political competition in Nigeria shows that political power has consistently oscillated within ethnic political elite. It is in this light that Alapiki (2001) noted that:

...ethnicity constitutes the main force of political life in Nigeria. In addition, that ethnicity conditioned pattern of political competition is sustained by the system of patron-client relationship through which, the ruling parties and government make it possible for their members to retain their client by a judicious allocation of public resources to their constituencies.

The above shows that in the struggle among the political elites, the only tool each faction had for giving itself a separate identity and for ideological mobilization of mass support was primordial loyalties such as ethnicity and religion. The prevalence of ethnic and sectional loyalties prevents the emergence of national identity and democratic values and collective purpose. It is opposed to the development of basic national democratic culture such as equality, justice, even development, respect for minority rights and resource control. In addition, true federalism can never thrive where ethnicity is the order of the day. Above all, primordial loyalties as seen in ethnicity threatens the unity of the country.

6.3. Poor/Low Level of Political Socialization

One of the major parameters used in measuring democracy and good governance as well as the value prevalent in a political system is the level of political socialization and by extension, political participation. A nation's political values, attitudes and perception toward the political system is depended on the extent of political socialization in the polity. Political socialization is therefore used in measuring the level of political participation, development and underdevelopment of the citizenry.

In specific terms, political socialization is the process by which the citizenry acquires political orientation, about the state, politics and state characteristics (Ikelegbe, 1995). By this, the citizenry in the view of Kousoulas (2015):

Learn about the political culture, form their political self or personality and their political behaviour and perspective through a long, slow, sometimes imperceptible developmental process of learning, experiences, interaction and information exchange.

Political socialization process is a life-long process of learning and re-learning of events, changes and occurrences. The political culture expected of the citizenry in Nigeria was significantly underdeveloped due to prolonged colonial and military rules in Nigeria. The political consequence of military rule among others include the limitation of the opportunities available for the individual's voluntary and effective participation in the affairs of the state; the emergence of authoritarian culture which compels people to behave in a particular manner, more out of fear than as a result of genuine interest; selective elite co-optation which limits masses opportunities of self-development and self-actualization through participation in policy decision making; and poor mobilization of the people on any national issue.

The implication of the above is that high level of political apathy is shown by the electorates during elections or on any serious national issue. The political class capitalizes on this political weakness and becomes more corrupt, unaccountable and non-transparent. The result of this is bad governance.

6.4. Lack of Autonomy of the State and its Institutions

The Nigerian state lacks autonomy. According to Ake (1985) in Alapiki (2001, p. 18) this is true in two senses. First, it lacks autonomy in the sense that it is externally controlled, a fact reflecting Nigeria's dependent economy. Secondly, the state lacks autonomy in the sense that it is not detached from the dominant class, but used by it directly as a tool for the pursuit of parochial interest (cited in Alapiki ed, 2001)".

The Nigerian state lacks relative autonomy to mediate the contestation among the political elites. Politics becomes essentially a competition without rules or reference. The use of the state to foster the individual unrestricted political and economic interests has resulted in various forms of crises leading to loss of lives and property. The argument is that the Nigerian state, through bad political culture has become a means of production and common denominator in or a decider of production relations This is reflective of the various regulatory and policy making institutions such as the judicial and extra-judicial institutions and the legislature which is destitute of autonomy. They are all at the dictate of the centre controlled by the hegemonic class who dispense its functions and benefits without recourse to accountability, constitutionalism and respect for rule of law.

The implication of this lack of autonomy of the state and its institutions is that the state is vulnerable to the hegemonic politics of the dominant fraction of the political class. The state has become what Ake refers to as "a modality of class domination". The ruling class uses state power to manipulate and dominate the people they are supposed to protect, enrich themselves at the expense of the majority, appoints and installs whoever they like into public offices and above all, privatized the state and its resources.

7. Conclusion/Recommendation

Culture is the product of the history of both the political system and the individual members of the system. Every political system or form of government operates within a prevailing cultural environment and the success or failure of such government is dependent on it. Democracy promotes good governance and good governance engenders sustainable democracy and both are a function of their cultural environment. Building relevant political and civil institutions that can promote transparency, accountability, foster democratic and cultural values that are vital to achieving democracy and good governance in a sustainable manner in Nigeria.

Since there is absence of basic democratic cultures and ingredients for good governance in Africa and Nigeria in particular, the following recommendations will inevitably address them if implemented.

- The first step to achieving sustainable democracy and good governance in Nigeria is a review of the 1999 constitution as amended. Issues such as revenue allocation based on resource control/derivation principle, state/local government creation in the south to ensure equal representation with the North at the National Assembly, Niger Delta crisis, middle belt banditry, herdsmen violence, minority rights and terrorism must be resolved. These will ensure fairness in the distribution of federal scarce resources and engenders the practice of true federalism.
- The state regulatory institutions such as the judiciary and its agencies, the mass media and the civil society should function in their expected and conventional way by way of bringing Defaulters to hook irrespective of the individual personality and connections. By this, the judiciary must be very assertive.
- The fight against corruption must be total involving all and sundry. The ICPC, Due Process and EFCC must be strengthened to be able to investigate, arrest and prosecute corrupt culprits irrespective of their status, to serve as deterrence to others.

- Government at all levels should embark on development projects that have direct bearing or impact on the people. Programmes such as rural electrification, roads, small and medium scale industries, agriculture and short- and medium-term collaterals free loans will definitely boost development which is the result of good governance. This will engage the youths in productive activities and reduce crime rate.
- Most importantly, the electorate should be able to effectively ideologize leadership through prayer for God's intervention for a type of leadership that will understand, believe and appreciate the basic principles and tenets of democracy, defend the Nigerian constitution and pursue the promotion of the citizens' collective joy and happiness. Otherwise, no quantum or standard of recommendations can stray or pervert an evil-minded leadership from rescuing Nigeria from bad governance.

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