



THE NIGERIAN STATE AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: A NEED FOR REVISITATION OF DEMOCRATIC ETHOS

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ABSTRACT: *The study examined the practice of democracy in Nigeria, bearing in mind the tenets of democracy. Democracy has been accepted as the most viable and sustainable form of government by world leaders and is used to determine the extent of freedom enjoyed in different countries of the world. However, the availability of the freedom it offers in Nigeria is questionable. This is largely due to the lack of democratic principles such as free, fair and credible elections, mass participation in the governance processes, independence of the judiciary, rule of law, etc. While successive governments since 1999 have verbalized efforts at strengthening democratic ethos/culture in the country, observers are of the view that the democratic practice in Nigeria is a far cry from the acceptable norms. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to examine the extent to which democratic ethos have been institutionalized in the Nigerian State. The study adopted the Participatory Theory of democracy, its main idea being the provision of greater involvement and control over all governmental laws and non-governmental rules pertaining to the citizens, and to analyze the imperative to revisit the practice of democracy in Nigeria. The study relied mainly on secondary data focusing on the nature and character of democratic governance in the country. The study revealed that efforts at institutionalizing democracy, enhancing mass participation as well as achieving development had not yielded the desired outcomes in the country. This is evident in the increasing rate of electoral violence that characterizes elections over the years in the country. The paper concluded that, for Nigeria to substantially deliver the “dividends of democracy” to the people, the state must revisit the culture and practice of democracy in the country. The study recommended, among other things, that the state should strive to uphold the rule of law at all times, ensure judicial independence, enhance mass participation in the governance processes and efforts should also be made to guarantee free, fair and credible elections.*

KEYWORDS: Revisitation, Democratic Governance, Participation, Ethos, Elections, Dividends.



INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has experimented with the practice of democracy since the introduction and adoption of the Clifford's Constitution of 1922. However, the practice of democracy had been truncated by incessant military interventions in the political administration of the country. The recent effort at restoring the democratic process began with the emergence of the Fourth Republic on the 29th of May, 1999. Since then, Nigeria has witnessed decades of uninterrupted democratic governance (Harry & Kalagbor, 2021). Democracy has been accepted as the most viable and sustainable form of government by world leaders under the auspices of the United Nations Organization (UNO) since the end of World War II (Harry, 2008). This is because it is widely believed that democracy, wherever it is practiced would, guarantee popular participation in governance, equity, transparency/openness, rule of law, peace and justice and ultimately good governance. To this end, democracy has become the barometer for determining/measuring the extent of freedom enjoyed in different countries of the world. Nonetheless, the availability of the freedom democracy offers in Nigeria is questionable. This is largely due to the lack of or inadequacy of democratic ethos or principles such as free, fair and credible elections that would allow the masses to freely choose their leaders, mass participation in the governance processes, independence of the judiciary, near absence of rule of law, lack of accountability, widespread of impunity associated with public officers, among others (Harry, 2018).

Interestingly, the belief in the supposed goodies democracy would offer Nigerians made Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and human rights activists to fight vigorously against the military junta until democracy was restored in 1999. Indeed, as Dedijn (2017) observed, "democracy involves deliberation, value pluralism and reciprocity; that is, the habit of treating all persons with respect and weighing well their aspirations and ways of looking at the world. In such circumstances the freedom and liberties of the individuals/citizens in the society would be respected and protected, which is a critical and fundamental democratic ethos". Similarly, Levitan in Deleon and Deleon (2002), asserts that, "a democratic state must not only be based on democratic principles but also be democratically administered, in such a manner that the democratic philosophy is permeating its administrative machinery". However, these expectations are far from being attained in the Nigerian democratic experience. Hence, there is an urgent need to revisit the ethos of democracy, so as to correct the wrong trajectory of democratic practice in Nigeria. Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to examine the extent to which democratic ethos has been institutionalized in the Nigerian state. The paper contends that it is the institutionalization of these democratic ethos that will enhance mass participation in the governance processes and ultimately leads to freedom and all inclusive development of the country, hence the need to revisit the culture/principles and practice of democracy in the nation to ensure the delivery of dividends of democracy.

CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a word that most people are familiar with. However, it is still a concept that is misunderstood and misrepresented at a time when dictators and coup leaders alike use the cloak of democracy to gain popular support and cling on to power or ascend to leadership positions. Nonetheless, the power of democratic ideas has triumphed over chaotic government, and, despite its continuous challenges, continues to evolve and flourish around the world. The word democracy was derived from two Greek words: "demos" and "kratein". The former means "the people" while the latter means "to rule"; this means that the act of governance should be the responsibility of the people. According to Lawal and Olukayode (2012), the popular view of



democracy is the position of Abraham Lincoln, who sees democracy as government of the people by the people and for the people. Harvey and Harvey (1989) defined democracy as a concept that involves among others, “setting affairs according to known rules of government, toleration towards minority views, regular elections, freedom of speech and above all, observance of rule of law”. In his own right, Kalagbor (2017), defined democracy as an organized system of government under which the people or electorate exercise governing power either directly or indirectly through representatives at the executive and legislative levels, who are periodically elected by themselves. In some forms, democracy can be exercised directly by the people; in large societies, it is by the people through their elected agents. One of the arguments in favor of democratic governance is that democratic system emphasizes majority rule as opposed to authoritarian rule by the few. Kolawole (2004) believes that democracy is not the absence of military rule nor is it necessarily the presence of civilian administrators, but a situation where political actors and institutions of state are oiled in democratic values, norms and ethos. In this respect, the impact and effects of democracy must permeate all the strata of society and governance.

Franceschet (2009) defined democracy according to three basic requirements; non violence, political participation and control and political equality. Badru (2005) noted that democracy represents, first and foremost, an increase in citizens’ political equality and equity in terms of their popular participation in the society. He argues that democracy is a system of government that enables both the leaders and the citizens to be conscious of what is required and accomplish it for the betterment of their society in terms of political, social and economic development. What this implies is that the citizens of a democratic society must therefore have the opportunity to participate in the electoral process of making deliberate choices as to who to vote into public offices without fear or favor; air their disagreement with those in authority without being punished for their views and even place demands on the government; and anything short of that is to be regarded as undemocratic (Daniel, 2014).

Democratic Ethos: An Overview

It is noteworthy to point out that the active participation of people in the governance process is a central feature of democratic ethos. As a result, democratic ethos is the culture in which the participation of the individual citizens in the governance process of a society is both encouraged and legitimated (Veronica, 2009). It is the set of values, beliefs and practices that support this participation as a political idea. This ethos is rooted in the citizens' ability to rationally deliberate and shape the ongoing and future structures of society at both the micro level of the nation, the family, workplace and everyday life. According to White and Ypi (2010), democratic ethos requires that the idea of collective self-rule is prioritized and rendered meaningful to citizens. The recognition by citizens that certain situations are a matter of concern and that they can and should be addressed in common rather than by individual adaptation makes them relevant to decision-making by democratic means. It is often emphasized that one of the most fundamental features of democratic ethos has to do with the possibility of connecting political agency to collectively determined goals, “government of the whole people by the whole people, equally represented” (White and Ypi, 2010). Democratic ethos is more than just a set of specific government institutions; it rests upon a well-understood group of values, attitudes, and practices - all of which may take different forms and expressions among cultures and societies around the world. Democracies rest upon fundamental principles, not uniform practices. Citizens under a democratic government have not only their rights, but also the responsibility to participate in the political system that in turn, protects their rights and



freedoms. Democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation and compromise. As the great Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi, puts it, “intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic ethos”. Democracy rests upon the principles of majority rule and individual rights. Democracy guards against all-powerful central governments and decentralizes government to regional and local levels, understanding that all levels of government must be as accessible and responsive to the people as possible. It is an indisputable fact that one of the prime focuses of democratic ethos is the protection of the basic human rights of the people/citizens such as freedom of speech and religion; the right to equal protection under the law; and the opportunity to organize and participate fully in the political, economic and cultural life of society.

Nature and Character of Democratic Governance in Nigeria

The birth of democratic governance in Nigeria can be traced back to the beginning of the Fourth Republic. Surprisingly, no military intervention has occurred since the commencement of the Fourth Republic, and the country has even experienced a civilian-to-civilian transition for the first time in its democratic history. This, indeed, represents a symbolic and significant success for the democratic experience. However, when democratic governance began in 1999, most Nigerians had high hopes that the system would promote democratic ethos that would encourage constitutionalism, respect for human rights, the rule of law, accountability, transparency, popular participation and improve citizens' socio-economic well-being. Salisu and Avidime (2018) noted that the high hope expressed by most Nigerians was borne out of the recognition that in the previous republics, democratic governance was mismanaged by the political leadership and ruling elite with a great blight on the quality of governance, economic development and welfare of the people. It was also ruined by incessant military intervention. Even though the democratic experience today has remained uninterrupted by any form of military adventurism into the foray of politics since it returned on the 29th of May, 1999, the impact of the system on the nation's socio-political development has been minimal and therefore disappointing.

The desired democratic ethos for the practice of democracy has not been attained. Salisu and Avidime (2018) observed that the country has witnessed the militarization of civil and electoral processes, a trend that is dangerous for democratic governance during this period. Omodia and Aliu (2013) further posit that, democratic governance in the Fourth Republic, to a large extent, has failed to guarantee minimum conditions of governance, deliver democratic dividends, and development. They further assert that the failure of democratic governance is evident in the persistent problems of food insecurity, unemployment, security challenges, inadequacy of portable water, unavailability of good health care, poor road networks, lack of qualitative education, among many others; this is in addition to intolerance of government to dissenting views. Moreover, the widespread manifestation of insecurity in the form of armed robbery, kidnapping, crude oil theft, militancy and insurgency partly explain the prevalent state of poverty in the country, which democratic governance has failed to adequately tackle. The governance system in Nigeria has experienced some characteristics of undemocratic acts. As Aniekwe and Kushie (2011) rightly observed, elections have been characterized by violence since the inception of the Nigerian Fourth Republic.

The 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections were marred by ballot box snatching, political assassinations, bombings, killings, maiming of voters, arson and abduction of electoral officials. The subsequent elections such as the 2011, 2015 and 2019 were not different from



the previous three elections stated above, as there had been an increase in cases of ethno-religious conflicts, high levels of malpractice, militarization of the electoral system, and so on. In fact, Omodia and Aliu (2013) opined that the failure of democratic governance to meet the yearnings of most Nigerians in the Fourth Republic has degenerated into a crisis of legitimacy. The problem of mutual distrust among Nigerians is aggravated by the decline in public trust in the ability of the government to provide security and improve their wellbeing. Some Nigerians now willingly extend loyalty, obedience and allegiance to ethno-religious and micro-nationalistic groups for protection than to the Nigerian State. The unhealthy rivalry among ethno-religious social groups had sometimes snowballed into violent conflicts in the country (Omodia and Aliu, 2013). The spates of ethno-religious and communal conflicts that have ravaged Plateau, Kaduna, Kano, Nassarawa, Taraba, Imo and Enugu states since the return of democratic governance as well as the Niger Delta militancy, Boko Haram insurgency and rampaging killer-herdsmen are good examples in this regard. Again, the registration of numerous political parties in the country further increased the nature of political contests which, to a greater extent, has amplified electoral malpractices.

In another dimension, despite the travails recorded in the character of democratic governance in Nigeria, the country can still boast of some gains of democracy since its inception. As Salisu and Avidime (2018) had observed, the country has also experienced some socio-economic and political gains since the return of democratic governance. Some of the successes are products of some of the governmental policies and programmes engendered by the democratic environment in place. Such gains include the introduction of a new salary scale for civil servants, deregulation of the communication sector which led to the introduction of the Global System for Mobile telecommunication (GSM) and the debt relief secured for the country during the Olusegun Obasanjo administration. Moreover, the passage of the Freedom of Information bill, some measure of respect for the rule of law and the economic development vision inherent in the seven point agenda under Late President Umar Musa Yar'adua represent some forms of democratic dividend. The establishment of nine federal universities and the commitment and drive towards the deregulation of the downstream sector of the petroleum industry by the administration of Goodluck Jonathan represent some of the gains of democratic governance as well (Igba, 2012). The government of President Muhammdu Buhari has also done its bit in the delivery of dividends of democracy in the areas of National Social Investment Programmes, signing of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) and the granting of financial autonomy to the legislative and judicial arms of government in the country. This is aimed at strengthening separation of powers in the polity as well as signing the Electoral Acts of 2022 targeted at enhancing free, fair and credible elections and institutionalizing democratic culture/ethos in the country.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRATIC THEORY

The study adopted the Participatory Democratic theory. The Participatory Democracy theory was propounded by a renowned French Philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau argued that the sovereignty of the people can be neither alienated nor represented. To him, direct democracy is the only legitimate form of government. It follows therefore that for democracy to serve the interests of the people, the people must continually participate in public affairs in all facets of the nation's life. Subsequently, it was popularized by J. S. Mills and G. D. H. Cole, who argued that political participation is indispensable for the realization of a just society. The theory emphasizes greater involvement and control over all governmental laws and non-governmental rules pertaining to the citizens. According to Smith (2009), for a democracy to



achieve political transformation and development of the polity, there is need for greater citizens' participation and more direct representation, using referendums to make critical decisions and citizens assemblies or constituency meetings for the discussion of policies, all of which would enhance people's involvement in the governance processes.

This theory is relevant to our present study and the Nigerian socio-political environment as there is heightened clamor in the nation by various interest groups for the opening up of the political space so as to allow mass participation in the governance processes. Obviously, the political space under the present democratic regime is highly circumscribed by laws and policies that seclude the large majority of the people. Essentially, mass participation would be attained when democratic ethos is revisited and institutions/administrative machineries are made to be democratic and functional in the Nigerian state.

METHODOLOGY

This research relied mainly on secondary data, thus it was qualitative in nature and employed the content analysis method to analyze the data collected. The data for the study were drawn from textbooks, journal articles, facsimile, archival materials, etc. These works were selected on the basis of their relevance and suitability to the topic of investigation. As Bengtsson (2016) has observed, "the purpose of content analysis is to organize and elicit meaning from the data collected and to draw realistic conclusions from it". Such analysis is done either by focusing on the content in terms/conceptual meanings or contextual presentations. It is mainly inductive in application. In this research work, content analysis was used to explain the performance of the Nigerian state in democratic governance experiments and to show the need for revisitation of democratic ethos in the country.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As earlier noted, the Nigerian state has witnessed democratic practice over the years and for over twenty years of uninterrupted democratic experience. However, impact on institutionalization of democratic ethos/culture is minimal in the polity. Thus, the critical questions for consideration in this paper are:

- a. To what extent has democratic ethos been institutionalized in Nigeria?
- b. What is the state of human rights in Nigeria?
- c. How pervasive is popular participation in the governance processes?

A. Institutionalization of Democratic Ethos in Nigeria

Democratic ethos is founded on the protection of fundamental human rights, legitimacy, rule of law and the recognition of separation of powers, among other things. Thus, the institutionalization of democratic ethos is the establishment of new institutions or the expansion of the roles of existing institutions in promoting fundamental human rights, the rule of law, ensuring separation of powers, etc. The press, for instance, has been a means of fostering people's participation in governance and decision making in Nigeria. Just as food, clothing and



shelter are essential for human survival, so the press also plays an indispensable role for the promotion of democratic ethos in Nigeria. Although, the presence of other democratic institutions such as legislature, executive, judiciary, police, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political parties, etc has had little or no contribution to ensure optimum participation and freedom of expression, or even consent of the people in state affairs. For instance, the INEC has not been strengthened to carry out its functions of conducting free, fair and credible elections with a view to guaranteeing ‘one man, one vote’ in choosing capable public office holders; they have also failed to educate both politicians and the citizens on the ethos of democracy for good governance and development of the country. The outcome is poor representation, voter apathy and in most cases uprisings, conflicts and dissenting opinions. However, in recent times, the election body has rediscovered itself by establishing its independence and adopting technology in the electioneering process so as to ensure free, fair and credible elections. Even so, a lot still needs to be done to institutionalize the democratic culture that is desirable. Nonetheless, popular participation, rule of law, legislative and judicial processes are flawed in the polity and require urgent re-visitation.

B. The Nigerian State and Fundamental Human Rights

Fundamental human rights are certain liberties enjoyed by citizens of democratic society. Jewa (2006) sees fundamental human rights as inherent in man’s nature without which he cannot live as a human being. He further maintains that human rights and fundamental liberties are synonymous and they all together allow man to fully develop and use human qualities, intelligence, talents and conscience to satisfy both spiritual and temporal needs. Susan (2009) opines that fundamental human rights refer to those entitlements of all people irrespective of their location, status, other contexts and legal systems. Hoffman and Rowe (2006) summarized the meaning of fundamental human rights as: a claim to something which someone has to do or provide; freedom to do something; power to do something which affects other people; and immunity from challenge in doing something. Rights is a very broad and significant social, political, national and international issue and value. The various Nigerian Constitutions have made clear provisions on the fundamental rights of citizens. For example, Chapter IV of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) spelt out the various rights and provided for their safeguard, guarantee and enforcement (Isah, Nazaariah & Muhammad, 2016). It additionally provided the only grounds on which such rights can be deprived. But in Nigeria, human rights violation is pronounced in all aspects of the citizens’ life (both public and private). Violation of the rights is, however, a result of several factors and from within the government (the justice system, other law enforcement agencies and civil-public agencies) and the general public through many actions, inactions and reactions as well as socio-cultural, religious and economic factors, which also account for the problems associated with the fundamental rights in Nigeria (Isah, Nazariah & Muhammad, 2016).

The human rights situation in Nigeria is marked by serious human rights violations such as extrajudicial executions, arbitrary arrests and detentions, tortures and other ill-treatments, enforced disappearances, violence against women and girls, restrictions on the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly, mass forced evictions, environmental pollution and lack of accountability for human rights violations and abuses (Harry, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2007). Over the years, Amnesty International has documented several cases of human rights violations and abuses in Nigeria (Amnesty International, 2019). In the North East, Amnesty International has reported cases of rape and sexual exploitation by soldiers and members of the Civilian Joint Task Force. Some soldiers



and members of the Civilian Joint Task Force often take advantage of the famine-like conditions in satellite camps to perpetrate sexual violence against women, in exchange for food and basic necessities that these women need for survival. In 2018, the Knifar women, a group of displaced women campaigning for justice and the release of their husbands who are unlawfully detained by the Nigerian military, were denied access to food in the Internally Displaced Persons' camp, in a bid to silence them (Amnesty International, 2019).

Children in Nigeria are subjected to various forms of violence. According to United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), 6 out of every 10 children experience some form of violence; 1 in 4 girls and 10 per cent of boys have been victims of sexual violence (UNICEF, 2017). Nigeria has the highest number of child brides in Africa, with more than 23 million girls and women who were married as children; and the third highest number of women and girls (19.9 million) who have undergone female genital mutilation globally (Amnesty International, 2019). One of the most topical in recent times was the Lekki Toll Gate shooting, which many civil society organizations such as the Amnesty International and Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) have condemned in strong terms as one of the worst cases of human rights violation in present democratic dispensation. The END SARS protest organized by Nigerian youths to protest against police brutality in the country was quelled with much more violence and brutality by the state actors, a level of brutality that has never been seen in a democracy.

C. The Nature of Popular Participation in the Governance Processes

Popular participation is the involvement of the citizens in the political and governance processes of a country. Adelekan (2010) described popular participation as the process through which the individual plays a role in the political life of his society and has the opportunity to take part in decision making with regards to common goals of the society. As Falade (2014) noted, participation in governance is an aspect of political behavior and it focuses on the ways in which individuals take part in politics and decision making. It is a voluntary activity and one may participate directly or indirectly. The various ways by which the citizens can be involved in the governance processes include selection or election of political leaders, formulation of policies, community activities and other civic engagements. In fact, popular participation and implementation of public policies is regarded as a critical ingredient of participatory democracy (Dean, 2018). This changing context, from rigid bureaucratic process to pro-people approach, has shifted the concept of government to governance, and has introduced many instruments to engage local communities in development programmes. Many social scientists have argued that a greater level of participation would improve the decisions and implementation strategies that ensure better outcomes for development programmes (Mumpower, 2001). Similarly, Rahman (2005) asserted that, "people engagement also increases the level of transparency and accountability and improves the quality of governance".

Nigeria, as we have earlier noted, made its historic transition from incessant military rule to democracy with an epochal elections in 1999. In the past years, many changes have occurred, aimed at the institutionalization of formal structures for representation and participation (Okewale, 2019). The introduction of a democratic constitutional dispensation in 1999 replaced the previously selective and undemocratic government. Consequently, it opened up new opportunities for citizen's participation in governance processes. However, previous research carried out on popular participation in governance processes in Nigeria showed that the nature of popular participation in the country has not been encouraging given the politics of self-



interest, which exists in the country, coupled with electoral malpractices (Okewale, 2019; Dean, 2018; Eriksson, Reestorff & Stage, 2018). Even where development of local participation is an important tool for rural development and where political education in mass participation is a key element of the development strategy, programmes have not increased genuine participation and responsibility among the people. There are political, socio-cultural and bureaucratic constraints to political participation in the country (Okewale, 2019). Due to the poor nature of popular participation in governance processes in Nigeria, there have been a negative impact on the alignment of government priority areas relevant to citizens' demand; inadequate popular participation in Nigeria has also made the system to look more like an oligarchy, where few people make decisions that will only benefits their interest and not public interest. It has equally created development disparities and governance discontentment among citizens as seen in protest by citizens against government policy actions that are considered to have negative impact on the citizens. This disconnection between the people and the government is eminently evident in the policy choices of the government that have little or no impact on the well being of the people. For instance, policies like the increase in Value Added Tax (VAT), removal of fuel subsidy, hike in electricity tariff, to mention a few are all anti-people policies that have negative impact on the well-being of the citizenry.

CONCLUSION

Despite the benefits recorded as a result of democratic rule in Nigeria, this study has shown that in all ramifications, Nigeria is far from institutionalizing democratic ethos, as citizens' active participation in decision making is almost in non-existence. The country lacks the ingredients of democracy, even though democratic institutions like the legislative, political parties, etc, exist. Their roles in promoting democratic ethos are not visible enough, as the selfish interests of the leaders are prioritized over public interests, and this situation is harmful to people's interests and their living conditions. Indeed, the press is always available to air people's opinions, but what does it stand for when those opinions are aired but are not recognized by the government? If it holds true that democracy is government of the people and by the people then, there is a need for new democratic culture and norm in Nigeria, a democratic culture and norm that will no longer be geared towards the personal aggrandizement of those that are in positions of authority, but for the welfare of every individuals in the country. Thus, the conclusion of this paper is that for Nigeria to substantially deliver the "dividends of democracy" to the people, the state must revisit the culture and practice of democracy in the country. This, no doubt, will enhance transparency, accountability, openness, popular participation in the governance processes to mention a few.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the above findings the paper makes the following recommendations:

- i. The Nigerian State should strive to uphold the rule of law at all times, so as to guarantee the freedom and fundamental rights of the citizens as well as the independence of the judiciary.



- ii. In order for democratic ethos to thrive in Nigeria, the political elites in the country must have a change of attitude and orientation. Leaders and followers must both learn the art and discipline of democracy, cultivate the habit and virtue of honesty, accountability and transparency as well as imbibe democratic ethos, as these are the only antidotes to national development crises.
- iii. Citizens must become active participants in the governance processes. Citizens must recognize that they own the democratic process and are thus strategically positioned to demand accountability, effective and efficient governance from political leaders. Essentially, political active, effective, critical and well-informed followership is critical to the success of democratic governance in Nigeria.
- iv. Elections are a critical component of democracy around the world. For Nigeria's democracy to rise to the level of other first-world countries, the electoral body, the Independent National Electoral Commission, must guarantee free, fair and credible elections. To accomplish this, the electoral body must put in place an effective mechanism to ensure that the will of the voters is recorded, rather than writing electoral results and depriving the majority of their rights to decide who will lead them.
- v. Even development, infrastructure, including electricity, good roads, pipe borne water, quality education and a good housing policy to house the poor and homeless are all dividends of democratic ethos, and as such, governments at all levels in Nigeria should work hard to execute these projects.

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