

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is a country in West Africa. It is bordered in the West by Benin Republic, in the East by Cameroun and Chad; Niger Republic in the North and in the South by the Gulf of the Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. The country which at independence was divided into four regions: The Eastern, the Western, the North central, and North Esthern regions, is presently comprised of 36 States and the Federal Capital Territory located in Abuja. There are still agitations for more states.

Nigeria often called the Giant of Africa, is the most populous country in Africa and the 9th most populous in the world, with over 180 million citizens. The country is viewed as a multinational state, as it inhabits over 500 ethnic groups of which the three largest are the Hausa, the Igbo and the Yoruba. “These ethnic groups speak up to 500 different languages with a wide variety of cultures.”¹ The official language of this populous country in Africa is English, having been colonized by the British people. Religion wise, the country is divided mainly into two: The Christians who live majorly in the East and Southern part of the country and the Muslims and also Christians who live in the Northern part of the country. A minority of the population still practice indigenous Nigeria religion. These are a minority of the Igbo tribe and the same of the Yoruba and same part of North Central.

Economically, it was touted to be the 20th largest economy in the world in 2015 worth more than \$500 million and 1 trillion-pound sterling in terms of norminal GDP. It over took South Africa to become the largest economy in Africa in 2014. “Nigeria is considered to be a mixed economy emerging market”,² by the world bank. “It has been identified as a regional power

in African continent,”³ “middle power in international affairs”⁴ and has been described as ‘an emerging global power’⁵

It is set to become among the “Next Eleven” biggest economy in the world. Nigeria is a founding father of OPEC, moribund Organization of African Union- OAU, African Union- AU, Common Wealth of Nations- CWN and a member of the United Nations- UN. It has abundant supply of natural resources; a developing financial, legal, communication, transport sectors and stock exchange which is the second largest in Africa and Vast Agricultural produce. Nigeria is the 12th largest producer of petroleum in the world and has many other sources of income mostly yet to be tapped; yet, the majority of Nigeria citizens live below poverty line. The unemployment rate is very high. It is therefore regarded as a third world country in all its ramifications. This economic situation of the citizens more than anything, affects its democratic practice. We should note that the term ‘third world,’ was not at first intended to mean a primitive, underdeveloped or poor. In fact, the term initially referred to countries that are not aligned to the capitalists (1st world) or communist or socialists (2nd world). The terminology came into being after the second world war, with 1st world seen as United States and all its politically and economically similarly structured allies and the second world, Soviet Union and its politically and economically similarly structured allies. This economic usage was a later development.

Nigeria’s formal education was initiated by the colonialist and its missionary agencies. They were only interested in putting in place an educational structure that will aid them practice their religion and in the looting of African resources. Nigerians were therefore subjected to clerical officer and messenger trainings. Anybody with higher or any other form of training got it from over seas. These economic reap off form of training, orientation and brain washing deeply affected the political perceptions of Nigeria leaders so much so that, when

the colonialist eventually left at independence in 1960, its puppets' leadership did everything to take over all aspects of the ravaging legacy of their masters.

Nigeria was largely an Agricultural country. When petroleum was discovered in commercial quantity in the country, its leadership abandoned agriculture and depended solely on petroleum for all aspects of the life of the country. Being oriented in the policies and life style of the colonialists, the leaders were neither able to lay any solid foundation for the economic development and growth of the country, nor the welfare of the citizens. In spite of the huge revenue accruing from oil which could have aided any form of development, they were busy entrenching greed, corruption, self aggrandizing non people oriented projects and directionless leadership. These ills have deeply affected the country's political practice and have been biggiting other societal ills – corruption, military coups and orchestrated propaganda that led to Jonathan ouster for instance.

The present enduring state structure and political map originated from the British Colonial rule in the 19th century, through the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914. The Colonialist setup the administrative and legal structures, while practicing indirect rule through the local Chiefs. Nigeria eventually became politically independent in 1960 and a Republic in 1963. Soon after, it plunged into civil war with one of its regions (Eastern region), which lasted for about three (3) years; from 1967-1970.

The Nigeria Constitution has unequivocally stated that, ‘Nigeria is a democratic secular state,’⁶ which was the political legacy of its Colonial Masters. Its initial democracy was the Westminster type; while its present form of democracy is the American presidential form. In reality it has politically alternated between democracy and military dictatorship, with the military having the lion share of the post independence rulership period. Civilian leadership appears to have come to stay with the present seeming stable democratic period which started

in 1999. ‘‘Its 2011 presidential elections were viewed as the first to be conducted reasonably free and fair.’’⁷

1.2: Statement of Problem

It is for the opportunity to use his abilities and for the peaceful enjoyment of the benefits therein, that men and women decided to hand over their rights to a man or men to be used for the good of all. This initial desire for peace and security gave rise to ‘‘social contract’’ which has in turn given rise to different forms of governments. Nigeria as it were, chose to stay with the democratic form of government introduced to it by the colonial master, perhaps, because of the enviable characteristics it embodies and the benefits it claims to bequeit. They include: freedoms of opinion, speech, press and mass media, majority rule, minority opinion, equal right to vote, good governance, basic human rights to every individual person, religious liberty and so on. The measuring rod with which Nigerians use to judge the efficacy of democracy is hinged on its entry claim that it will better the material and abstract life of the masses. Many years into the practice life of western democracy in Nigeria, Nigerians have little or nothing to show for their faith and sacrifice in democracy and are beginning to see it as a fraud and another instrument of oppression by the political power elites to continue their subjugation of the downtrodden masses, hence the agitation for any other form of government that will give them what they want- the space to express themselves, freedom of movement, real political and human right, the availability of requisite amenities, healthcare, securities of life and property, the enabling environment for the making of private and public wealth.

Considering the disgraceful displays of our political leaders, the level of their irresponsibilities, corruptions and many other societal ills, the big questions who’s not too tasty answers are generating a lot of apathy, frustrations and regrets among the populace, are as follows: Is Nigeria really practicing a presidential democracy or an absolute

monarchy? Why are the elections never free and fair? Why is it the decision of the illegitimate minority (cabal) that holds sway and not that of the majority? Has democracy in Nigeria not turned to the government of the cabal, by the cabal, for the cabal? Have the powers of the executives, legislators and judiciary been really separated? Do they work for the masses or for themselves, considering their present looting of the treasury? Does sovereignty really reside at the lowest level (the masses) in Nigeria? Where are the benefits promised by democracy? Can there be democracy without democrats or presidential democracy without the peoples' votes? If these democratic situations are not quickly ratified, they will lead to the unwanted exit of the world's most popular form of government from Nigeria. These and many more are the problems agitating the minds of the masses which also elicited this study and which is preventing Nigerians practice of the right democracy, as to reap the attendant benefits.

1.3: Purpose of Study

It is a given, in a study of this nature or any other, that efforts be directed toward providing solution(s) to an envisaged or perceived problem(s). This study is no less directed. It is geared toward: discerning why Nigeria's democratic practice is so ineffective from the democracy as practiced by the countries we are trying to copy, to find out in which direction Nigerians need to move, to enthrone the right democratic practice as to reap the benefits, to provide future researchers in this or similar field with the necessary literature to serve as the foundation or basis of their research.

1.4: Scope of Study

This study will cover the practice of democracy in Nigeria at the Federal level and the problems that have attended this practice at the indicated level. This is to say that democratic issues located not later than 1960, when Nigeria got her independence, may be fully discussed,

but those after may be mentioned or briefly discussed to establish a link in the age of democratic problems but more detailed attention will be paid to the western democratic life span in Nigeria. It does not also mean that necessary state democratic problems to define how deep rooted these problems are, may not be brought in. No military rule will be discussed but can be mentioned in passing. At the end of the hermeneutical interpretations of the indicated past level and within the indicated time frame of democratic practice in Nigeria; suggestions will be made in the bid to provide solutions to the problems hermeneutically exposed, which is hindering the practice of the appropriate democracy. We may make haste to add here that, because of man's 'bounded rationality,' the research might not be exhaustive and may not have all the answers even within its adopted scope.

1.5: Significance of Study

The significance of an issue refers to its importance to the environment or situation at the time. In the face of our present study therefore, this will mean, the importance of our study of how democracy was practiced in Nigeria or the benefit of such study presently and the factors that have hindered the success of the practice in Nigeria so far. This is necessary as other parts of the world are tending toward democratic prominence. The citizens of a country expect to benefit from the activities of their country in the form of the security of their life and property and that of their families, in the provision of equal opportunity in the exercise of their capabilities to provide for themselves and their families, in the provision of shelter and commodious living, in the provision of the means of health of mind and body, in their freedom to express themselves and freedom of worship, political decision making, association, movement, private property ownership, employment, and so on. An appropriate democratic practice bequeathing its healthy essences, is an eloquent factor to judge the worthiness of any nation aspiring to become a member of United Nations' Security Council. Nigeria being famishly desirous to be a member of this body needs this study.

At this juncture, and following the mounting desire for these governmental albeit democratic benefits, considering the rights handed over, it is important to: draw the attention of our political leaders to the point where we started getting it wrong, what we brought into the praxis that led us astray, to pinpoint what factors we need to remove, add or review in the democratic practice to achieve our desired objectives, to make our leaders realize that as long as the wellbeing of the masses are not considered and their views not sought in any policy, so long shall they continue to get it wrong, to make the political leaders realize that autocracy is never the same as democracy. The people expect to have a say in their government as promised by democracy, not otherwise. Democracy might be the most difficult form of government but it is also the most inclusive and free form. Further more, to draw attention to the need to with a strong political will, fight corruption, tribalism, poverty, religious intolerance, and regionalism to a stand still. They are among the worst enemies of democracy.

1.6: Methodology

This study has to do with the interpretation and critical look at the actions, inactions and reactions of Nigeria past democratic governments activities, to determine how well the governmental form in practice democracy, compares with the set democratic concepts; its status presently and in the midst of the inevitably intervening factors. These outlined intentions, argues for the use of hermeneutics as the method for the study. "Hermeneutics itself is the theory and methodology of interpretation,"⁸ especially the biblical texts, wisdom literature and philosophy text. "It started out as a theory of text interpretation, but has been later broadened to questions of general interpretation."⁹

Etymologically "Hermeneutics is derived from the Greek word 'Hermeneuo', meaning, 'translate', 'interpret.'¹⁰ Other origins are indicated, but the Greek surfaces. "The

early usage of hermeneutics places it within the boundaries of the sacred.’’¹¹ A divine message must be received with implicit uncertainty regarding its truth. ‘‘This ambiguity is irrationality; it is a sort of madness that is inflicted upon the receiver of the message. Only the one who possesses a rational method of hermeneutic could determine the truth of the message.’’¹² Folk etymology placed ‘‘the origin of hermeneutic with Hermes, the mythological Greek deity who was the messenger of god.’’¹³ Beside being a mediator between the gods and between gods and men, ‘‘he led souls to the underworld upon death. Hermes was also considered to be the inventor of language and speech, an interpreter, a liar, a thief and a trickster.’’¹⁴ These multiple roles made Hermes an ideal representative figure for hermeneutics. As Socrates notes, ‘‘words have the power to reveal or conceal and deliver messages in an ambiguous way.’’¹⁵

The Greek view of language, as consisting of signs that could lead to truth or to falsehood is the essence of Hermes who was said to relish the uneasiness of those who receive the message that he delivers. In the modern times hermeneutics emerge with the new humanist education of the 15th century, as a historical and critical methodology of analysing text. Dilthey (1833-1911) broadened hermeneutics even more by relating interpretation to historical objectification. ‘‘Under this man, hermeneutics detached itself from the spiritual sciences and has broadened to include all texts and multi media.’’¹⁶ It has become all encompassing.

In the 20th century, Martin Heidegger’s philosophical hermeneutics shifted the focus ‘‘from interpretation to essential understanding, which was treated more as a direct non mediated and thus more authentic way of being in the world than merely a way of knowing.’’¹⁷ Harold-George Gadamer’s hermeneutics is a development of the hermeneutics of his teacher, Heidegger. Gadamer asserted that methodological contemplation is opposite to experience and reflection. We can reach the truth only by understanding or mastering our experience.

You can only master your experience by interpreting and understanding it. According to Gadamer, our understanding is not fixed but rather is changing and always indicating new perspectives. The most important thing is to unfold the nature of individual understanding. Gadamer pointed out that prejudice is an element of our understanding and is not perse' without value. Indeed prejudices, in the sense of pre-judgements of the thing we want to understand, are unavoidable. Being alien to a particular tradition is a condition of our understanding. He said that we can never step outside our tradition; all we can do is try to understand it. This further elaborates the idea of the hermeneutic circle. Friedrich Schleiermacher, widely regarded as the father of sociological hermeneutics believed that, in order for an interpreter to understand the work of another author, they must familiarize themselves with the historical context in which the author published their thoughts.

His work led to the inspiration of Heidegger's hermeneutic circle, a frequently referenced model that claims one's understanding of individual parts is based on their understanding of the whole text, while the understanding of the whole text is dependent on the understanding of each individual.¹⁸

Hermeneutics therefore simply stated in the context of this research and in line with Schleiermacher's view, is an interpretation of history. Man understands himself as a historical being. Since human knowledge is situated in time and varies with the historical features in which the knower finds himself or is living, he can only understand others and be understood through the process of history. Man, through this hermeneutical process relates the past to the present, checks and balances the two periods to see whether they compare favourably or whether there is need to make amends to posit a better tomorrow.

One of the fundamental principles of historicity is that, "man must accept the facts of his life, interpret and produce it for others who also will understand him through the process of interpretation."¹⁹ It is true that man could be better understood by going through his

historical past, taking into consideration the permanent and provisional, without also losing sight of the historical circumstances. It is the past and present which make up a personality and properly define situations.

The two types of approaches to the interpretation of history are: Archeological or psychological approach proposed by the psychoanalysts led by Sigmund Freud and the Levi Straus led structuralists and Phenomenological approach, led by phenomenologists like Martin Heidegger, H.G Gadamar and Paul Ricoeur. It is the phenomenological approach that is more apt to this study's choice of methodology. Heidegger, who first suggested this, insisted that 'man is part and parcel of history and to understand him, we must refer to history. This involves the acceptance of the past as it really is, and its human component'²⁰ It is to be noted that human existential situation will also determine the human course of history. It is therefore crucial that the past be made available to the present, to save man from falling into the same awful situation of the past. The degree of this understanding depends on the degree of openness of the facts of the past. Experiences must be accepted as they are.

The Principles of Hermeneutics

According to Hans-Georg Gadamar, Hermeneutics has three (3) principles. They are: that every knowledge is an answer to a question, that all the historical documentations, works of arts, literatures, Social institutions, religious Creed's or belief and documentation of certain experiences are dialectics in human knowledge which attempt to answer questions posed by various authors; that, there is no pure and unprejudiced knowledge, that is, that every human knowledge embodies some atoms of individuality, perceptivity and preconceived ideas; no matter how much one claims to be objective, one is simply airing one's view, though, with some degree of objectivity.

This study will therefore be applying hermeneutics in the interpretations of the performances of Nigeria's governments in the practice of democracy within the stipulated period. As pointed out earlier, Schleiermacher views hermeneutics as an interpretation of history; history itself consist of action, inaction, reaction of man and environmental expressions in the presence of man's personality, prejudices, special circumstance viz a vizthe objectives needed to be attained or the appropriate response to the situation or problem raised. Here, we are going to use hermeneutics to look at the actions, inactions, environmental situations and reactions of our political leaders and their leutinants at the federal level and within the period stipulated, in the presence of the set essence of democracy, to see whether whatever they did in their time measures well in democratic demand and the masses needs. This is to enable for the suggestionof what need to be done to achieve the appropriatedemocratic practice and reap its benefits. The data to be so interpreted will be gathered from: text books, margazines, periodicals, Online publications, Unpublished notes, Journals, participant observer interviews, personal interviews and so on.

In trying to unravel these issues pointed above, this study is divided into six chapters. Chapter one deals with the introduction, exposition of the back ground of the study, problems that necessitated the study, the method –hermeneutics adopted, the scope and purpose of the study, significance of the study and the definition of terms. Chapter two is literature review, which takes a look at what has been written on this issue, as to know what other aspect of this issue need to be covered. Chapter three takes a look at the essence of democracy generally and the Western democratic approach. Chapter four dwells on the problems of democratic practice in Nigeria. Chapter five shows how democracy is practiced in Nigeria which portrays the debilitating factors. Chapter six, deals with the philosophical evaluation of the whole study, conclusion and the recommendations.

1.7 Definition of Terms

In a write up of this nature, and for the avoidance of misconception, the meaning of the major terms employed in the topic need to be properly explained, so that the exact notion which the writer wants to convey is clearly understood. This is particularly necessary since virtually every word in English has more than one meaning. It is therefore incumbent that the specific usage in the write up is understood and clarified. In this spirit therefore, we define or explain these words:

Democracy was simply defined by a former U.S president, Abraham Lincoln (1809 to 1865) as ‘‘a government of the people, by the people, for the people.’’²⁵ This type of government is here indicated to have been put in place by the free and willing people, in the first instance; and is being collectively run by them for their collective good. Experience has raised questions about this definition, based on the complexity of the implementation of the above explanation; prompting other attempts at more manageable comprehensive definitions.

Merriam-Webster saw ‘‘democracy as a government in which supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation, usually involving periodically held free (and fair) election.’’²⁷ This definition, though more comprehensive still lack something – the legal component which is very important to democratic structure and its pragmatic effectiveness.

It should however be borne in mind that no definition of democracy has been all incorporating. The definitions have been approached from the angle of concern. Even the one tagged ‘modern definition’ has the same approach. This explains democracy as the form of government, where a constitution guarantees basic personal and political rights, fair and free elections, and independent courts of law.

Looking at all the definitions stated above, it is all clear that democracy may be further explained as,

the government of the people in which law is supreme, rulers and subjects' alike being subject to it. Democracy, adequately understood, is a theory that sets some basic principles according to which a good government, whatever its form, must be run.²⁸

Such principles include those of justice, equity, freedom, liberty, accountability, openness and transparency in government. Indeed, effective democratic forms of governance rely on public participation, accountability and transparency. In this regard, democracy not only prescribes how political power should be acquired but also what to do with it or how it should be exercised. Therefore:

democracy specifies who constitutes the legitimate government and wields the stipulated authority inherent in the state (the elected representatives), how they acquire the authority (free and fair choice from parties by the people) and how they are to exercise it (in broad harmony with public good).²⁹

This makes democracy amenable to moral and ethical justifications or judgements. Hence, “good governance forms the philosophical foundation upon which democracy and democratic theories are built.”³⁰ Democracy has thus been recognized as the only moral and legitimate way through which a society can be administered.

However, the main attributes of democracy is that, those holding political office do not have automatic security of tenure but can be challenged and even displaced in accordance with the will of the people, through a wide range of institutional mechanism. Thus,

the core ideas and ingredients defining democracy are participation, accountability and transparency; that the people determine who govern them, and that those who govern give account of their stewardship through periodic election is one of the most important mechanisms for the realization of the objectives of democratization. It is also

important to note that, elections are not only meant to ensure, confirm or re-affirm the legitimacy of the governors through a regular consent, but also to provide a fertile ground for democracy to thrive.³¹

For the purpose of the clear understanding of what this research is trying to put across, this study will posit its own definition of democracy as: ‘A system of government in which sovereignty resides with the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly, through a system of representation, instituted through a free and fair election, backed by a constitution which guarantees basic political and human rights, and independent judicial system.’ This definition for now appears to be very comprehensive, because it appears to embody all the current departments of human heights on freedom, dignity, equality, right, law, prime power and authority. We should take this definition as our working definition.

Praxis ‘is the process by which a theory, lesson or skill is enacted, realized or practiced. ‘Praxis’ may also refer to the act of engaging, applying, exercising, realizing or practicing ideas.’³² This term has always been a recurrent topic in the field of philosophy; from Plato, Aristotle, St Augustine, Karl Marx and many others.

In the Ancient Greek, the word refers to activity engaged in by man. Aristotle is convinced that, there are three basic activities of man: *theoria* (thinking) *Poiesis* (making) and *Praxis* (doing or practicing). Corresponding to these activities are three types of knowledge: Theoretical, the end goal being truth; poetical, the end goal being production; and practical, the end goal being action. As if to emphasize why ‘Praxis’ should engage the attention of this study, Hannah Arendt in her *human condition*, insisted that,

western philosophy too often has focused on the contemplative life, abandoning the activeness of philosophy. This has led humanity to frequently miss much of the everyday relevance of philosophical ideas to real life³³

For Arendt, ‘Praxis is the highest and most important level of activity in life.’³⁴ She therefore argues that, ‘most philosophers need to engage in every day political action or Praxis, which she sees as the true realisation of human freedom.’³⁵

For the avoidance of doubt, the concern or the interest of this study is embedded in the practical or doing aspect of Praxis, which Hannah sees as the true realisation of human freedom. So, Praxis in this study should be understood to mean, practice or doing; taking the action; implementing the action plan.

Problem

The word ‘problem,’ have other origins but it’s Latin origin is from the word ‘problema’ which means, anything thrown forward, hindrance, obstacle, anything projecting, a headland. To throw or lay something in front of someone. An attempt to draw a clearer picture, explains it as, ‘a difficulty that is to be resolved or dealt with.’³⁶ Example, she is leaving because she faced numerous problems to do with racism.

Militate

The word militate has Latin origin; ‘militatus’- past participle of miltare, meaning “to engage in warfare.”³⁷ The transliteration militate, is ‘to be a deciding factor for or against,’³⁸ example, when you are young, sometimes your age works for you, and sometimes it militates against you.

Essence

Etymologically, the word is from Latin word, ‘essentia’ and is translated in English as essencia. The simple definition of essence is, ‘the basic nature of a thing: the quality or qualities that make a thing what it is.’³⁹

It can also be defined as-“the properties or attributes by means of which something can be placed in its proper class or identified as being what it is.”⁴⁰It is the basic part of something.

Example, freedom is the essence of democracy.

Endnotes

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This is the presentation of related past works on the topic one is studying. It is intended to show: what has been achieved by the previous writers on the topic, what remains to be achieved and the gap which the present study intends to fill. In the area of arrangement, this study intends to use the chronological or historical form of arrangement in which the past works reviewed are presented according to their year of publication, starting with the oldest publication. Those with author's name and date are arranged to come first, followed by those with names but no dates; finally followed by those with no names and no dates. It should be remembered that the concern of this study is, 'Democracy in Nigeria.

The concept of democracy is as old as political Philosophy and its practice has attracted a lot of comments. Reasons have been given as to why the practice of democracy is very necessary; they include: liberty, all inclusive participation in political decision making, fairness in all its dealings and so on, on the one hand and on the other hand, though it might be very cumbersome, it considers the societal structure, culture and the nature of man. Power and authority are said to reside with the masses who are also supposed to control the representatives they elected. Democracy also presents a systematic overthrow of other forms of hitherto practiced oppressive forms of government. We will at the end of each author's view reviewed, indicate what might be considered his or her contribution to the practice of democracy in Nigeria.

The exposure of the short comings of Nigeria democratic practice and what could be done to make the practice better are all contributions but it is the later that be will indicated as the contribution.

Reviewing literature on the topic, these Nigerian philosophers and writers have these to say: Ejiofor, L. U. (1980- till date) in his book; 'The Nigeria politics': what prospect? looked at how Nigeria government organizes election and manages the ensuing conflict. He is dismayed enough to conclude that, "in Nigeria politics therefore, one expects conflict, some in pursuit of common good, conflict of group interest, conflict of use of power and struggle for power, all within the dictate of fairness and justice."¹

This philosopher canvasses for proper legislation and the conscientious organization of the electoral processes. He advocates for the use of government powers for the common good, not for tribal, sectional or selfish ends. He stipulates proper judicious management of electoral conflict. An election is complete with the swearing in of the genuinely elected winner. The swearing in of a contestable winner, does not edify democratic practice, rather, it raises questions about the competency of the judicial arm of government, the supervising body and the enabling law makers.

His contribution to democracy is to draw our attention to the fact that conflicts are necessary in a democracy, but should be fairly and judiciously adjudicated and managed. That government power should be used for common good and not for tribal, sectional or selfish good. He insisted that only when the true winner of an election is sworn in, can election be said to be complete.

This writer John Okwoeze Odey (1996- till the present date), writing on Nigeria's political problems saw Obasanjo's regime as the regime with the greatest opportunity to make a difference in the political terrain of the country but decided not to. He insists that:

Obasanjo spent the whole eight years of his regime squandering billions of Nigeria naira; killing innocent citizens and must be remembered as the man under whose rulership; millions of our youths were carefully denied descent opportunities such as: good education and good jobs²

Obasanjo spent so much time and money sponsoring thugs to disrupt governance in some states, like; Anambra, Plateau, River states and so on. That Obasanjo squandered billions of naira, preparing for a sham election that imposed Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, as the president of the country in 2007 and globe trotting canvassing for industrialization without making much impact except bringing in killer industries like tobacco producing industries which the Europeans who are the greatest smokers have expelled from their countries. He preferred to squander billions of dollars junketing the world than to use it to exploit the numerous solid minerals begging to be industrialized in the country. What a waste. What does it take to activate the solid minerals in the land and provide the needed jobs in the country - policies, just well articulated policies and their proper funding and implementations, are all we need? Nigeria has the financial muscle to do so, thereby spreading the economy but Obasanjo preferred gallivanting and his selfish harvests of the resources of Nigeria.

He insisted that, in a democracy effort should not be spared in the provision of effective enforcement agency that will ensure the safety of life and property before, during and after election, ensure the maintenance of the ideals of democracy, everybody's subjugation to the rule of law, promotion of justice and fairness, pursuit of common good instead of private good, inculcating and entrenching high value for life, and the provision of necessary infrastructure that will help private creation of wealth.

It is of note that no president, past or present, has the opportunity to correct the many ills of this country with his wealth of experience as a second time president but chose not to do so, rather preferred to squander the country's resources as Obasanjo. It was a Nigerian, professor Exchotoyo from Cross River state Calabar who from the paper he presented in Ghana ensured the revival of that country's economy, but Nigeria, we are not good at appreciating and using what we have. Heinous crimes were committed against democracy and the people of

this country during his reign, particularly during his bid for a third term. This was an attempt to sponsor illegality. When his bid was resisted and rejected, he became like a ‘bull in a glass shop.’ Any benefit from his regime, considering his eloquent body language, could be considered as having come as a result of Adam Smith’s ‘invisible hand.’

His contribution to democracy is in his insisting that effective law enforcement agency is necessary in a democracy to provide safety of life and property, protection of democracy and the dividends.

Ogugua Paul.I. in 2001 took a look at ‘Democracy in Nigeria’ starting with the ‘factors which were supposed to be institutionalized’ before the introduction of the system-democracy, as was articulated and is practiced by the Western World. In his literary contribution to the Nnamdi Azikwe journal of philosophy titled ‘Towards a participatory society,’ published by the department of philosophy Nnamdi Azikwe University Awka, Nigeria, vol. 7 No. 1; he expressed the need to institute the atmosphere that are necessary for the smooth practice of democracy in Nigeria. This researcher is particularly drawn to the term ‘participatory,’ because it is a word that appears African in principle which connotes democratic characteristics embodying freedom and decision making. In Africa, every eligible man participates in decision making, not through election but through a continuous discussion, until a consensus is reached, which contain the views of the minority and that of the majority. The word ‘toward’, he explains as futuristic; implying the lack of authentic participation in Nigeria democratic practice, ‘hic et nunc’. Unfortunately, as indicated above, the absence of these factors in Nigeria polity is responsible for the unthinkable things happening in Nigeria presently.

These necessary but absent factors include: the issue of recognition and imbibing of the fact that man, all men and women, came into being not by accident but through the design of the

most high God; embodying His grace, respect and dignity. Man, therefore, is the centre of the universe to say the least and his dignity must be respected. The necessity and importance of recognising the freedom of man from inception, to enable him fulfil the essence of his creation must be respected. This explains why men seek autonomy and absence of restriction in all their endeavours. His sense of worth and power must not also be restricted by any external and internal factor; hence the need to educate him to gain an indept or knowledge of his essence. Respect for others' right, laws and order, are among the important conditions for the attainment of freedom in a state. Also included are: acknowledgment, respect, acceptance and protection of human rights. These rights are natural and not optional.

However, you cannot claim right without accepting the duties, they are both tied. This is recognised world wide, hence, the American bill of right, the Universal declaration of Human rights adopted by the United Nations, the Human rights in the Nigeria constitution, the ability to obey rule of law. How to harmonise freedom, right and authority of an individual introduces the issue of law. This is for the fact that there is no absolute freedom. Man need some regulation; law protects true freedom. The end or objective of state or society brought about law. It is a positive instrument for the survival of man and the society. Ogugua went ahead to reveal that the plea for participatory society is a plea for democracy and rule of law. In the absence of the rule of law, there will be no democracy and without democracy, there will be no participatory society.

He summed up this part by indicating that, it is necessary to identify the conditions in Nigeria whose absence will make democracy or participation impossible. He went ahead to establish that the clear conditions for democracy include:

the absence of militarism, absence of disparities in wealth, social equality, faith in democracy, proper education, freedom of the press, vigilant citizenship, high moral character, agreement on fundamental issue, wise

leadership, honest administration, subordinating of experts and the army, strong and effective political opposition, local self government, national planning for plenty, indispensableness of private property.³

Looking at the points enunciated above, Nigeria has the absence of one of the factors whose presence will make democracy impossible- the absence of Khaki boys, though they can materialise in a jiffy. The ease of the materialization of this particular factor explains one of the reasons democracy is not thriving in Nigeria. Again, since democracy is an ongoing process, nations seek out its problem solving form. Any type that tackle its problems is the one that nation adopts as the governmental form. Nigeria therefore need to evolve its own form of democracy or participatory system according to its culture and ideals and should not swallow the systems of other societies hook and sinker.

Ogugua also pointed out that sacrifices must be made by individuals, leaders and the society. "Patriotism, spirit of nationalism and courage"⁴ are the requisite cultures that need to be cultivated for functional democracy. "Man having been shaped by the society, shapes the society through his ideas, efforts, actions and inactions."⁵

He pointed out the importance of the individual in the political activities of his polity. The individual first needs to develop himself thereafter he can use his knowledge, ideas, resources and connections in bettering himself and the society, provided it is done legitimately according to set rules. "The criteria by which a citizen fulfils his duty in election, chooses his candidates, supports their programmes and approves or criticises their performance are a test of the quality of his political conscience and maturity."⁶ It is the responsibility of the individual to ask for change and help in bringing about change where it is needed.

It is common knowledge that man abhors injustice and dehumanising economic, cultural or socio-political stance. Sometimes, those more highly motivated, either by self or by others,

equally gingers others. These are the people we usually call leaders. However, leaders need to know that they are simply the major tools by which the larger society attains their goal. Therefore, they are servants of the people and not their lords. They also should know that not all leaders are more intelligent than the people they serve.

It is not easy to change people because it borders on convincing them to change their primary value system and these are hard to do. The charisma displayed by the leader is often what wins him followership. The honesty people can discern in a leader explains what causes the people to accept the explanations for the inaction of government on their demands.

Leaders should realise that man is an end himself and should be loved, not exploited, oppressed or violated.

Socialization derived from the word society could be explained as a process of being human. The new born child is a creature of God, though born of human. The society makes him human by the process of socializing. “By living in a particular society, he imbibes the society’s culture, its norms and values and ways of doing things or living.”⁷ The values we imbibe determine the kind of human being we turn out to be and the quality of the society. What we become is also accounted for by the quality of the community, peer group and formal education, but the most lasting influences are those generated by the family. The next is that from formal institutions.

In relation to the participatory society or democracy, the type of exposure or education needed is the political education. This starts with the knowledge of civics, where rights and duties to one’s society and nation are introduced. “Politics is an honourable art; like every art, it requires knowledge, skill, intuition, patience, perseverance and wholesome vision.”⁸ Many nowadays call it ‘dirty,’ because politicians approach it with dishonesty and dishonour.

A true political education will highlight the vocations and roles of the citizens in his political society, so as to harmonize the interest of authority and freedom of the individual. These are turned upside down by the so called leaders. Duties and roles of the leader in ensuring the achievement of the common good are abandoned by the leaders preferring manipulations and illegal acquisition or embezzlement. Presently the wealth of the nation is being legitimately siphoned away through padding or in the cause of oversight functions.

Ogugua contributed to democracy by stipulating what needs to be established before embarking on democratic or participatory practice. They include: recognition and respect of man's dignity, recognizing the freedom of man, the recognition and respect of man's sense of worth, rights, laws; the stipulation of the interwovenness of rights and duties, he indicated that the survival of man and society is hinged on law and necessitate the rule of law. A participatory society is equally based on the rule of law. He stipulated the need for political education, high moral values, faith in democracy, honest administration, strong and effective political opposition and soon. He also indicated the need for the democracy of a nation to take into consideration the nation's culture, History, values, and ideas in its formation. He insisted that the leadership and the citizens need to sacrifice for the success of democracy. Ogugua also pointed out the role of the individuals shaped by society, in turn shaping society through their ideas, actions and inactions. He insisted that leaders should not always perceive themselves as being more intelligent than the people they serve. He holds that the roles and duties of a leader is to ensure the achievement of the common good.

Moses Ochonu in May 18, 2010 took a swipe at democracy in Nigeria with his publication; 'The failures of Nigeria democracy'. He is of the view that the kind of democracy being practised by Abuja has not improved the standard of living of the common man, nor even the abstracts like the freedom of the press, or human rights; rather it provides the perfect cover for massive corruption. Siding with the view of his friend Ikhide Ikheloa who is convinced

that “democracy, far from doing Nigeria good, has moved the country decades backward,”⁹ he sees Nigeria standing empty of its substantive content because of democracy. The reasons for his stand are stipulated thus: the material promise of democracy in terms of improved standard of living is yet to materialize by 2010, eleven years from 1999. The abstract benefits like the freedom of the press, human rights, political choice, deliberation in governance, are not within the reach of the common man; further more, democracy has spread corruption, legitimized corruption in padding, illegal appropriations in budget defences and during oversight functions and so on. For instance, the severance package being given to former executive governors for life, while they go on serving and looting in the National Assembly, with nobody speaking against it, is very scandalous.

The above also include, stupendous payments being collected by Nigeria office holders, assistants and assistant’s staff, leaving the country with little to execute the much needed projects like: roads, healthcare, schools, water, electricity, food etc. For instance, the ethnic insurgences, regional quagmires, the health crises and death of Yar’Adua cost Nigeria a lot financially, leaving the country with virtually nothing to prosecute any project. Does anybody know the amount of money Buhari used in treating himself and packing his plane in London? This researcher thinks that if Nigeria is not rich, it would not have yet come out of its recession. The often lawlessness of our leaders in the bid to perpetuate themselves in power, like did Obasanjo and many other Nigeria leaders, in no way helped Nigeria democratic practice, the unfortunate situation of not enacting or accepting policies based on the number of people it will touch, but on whether it looks good politically, whether it will help in the re-election bid, as an instrument of campaign; how it will benefit campaign donors and godfathers, are not the best for the buildup of democracy in any nation.

For many Nigerians, democracy has failed due to its inability to live up to its material and abstract promises. While we may not jettison it for military, we are at a crossroad. We do not

have the luxury of the American ideal evaluation of democracy with their huge and strong economy. Nigeria's perception of democracy is purely utilitarian. While Americans are obsessed with the intellectual questions, Nigerians are concerned with what it can deliver to them as immediate benefit to their lives, quantifiable gratifications. Can you blame Nigerians? The advocates of democracy simply state: "democracy brings development and improved living"¹⁰ Nigerians' expectations are therefore simply based on these. Nigerians are developmentally challenged, therefore their needs are material, not idealistic, and that is the measure of its success or failure. Democracy therefore suffers a setback in Nigeria and Africa to the degree of its experienced setback to life expectations.

A Zambian- Dambisa Moyo, Oxford graduate, author of 'Dead Aid' insists that, democracy, multi-party democracy prevents timely action that may make the difference between a life saving economic initiative and life taking inaction or disaster. It fosters costly ethno-partisan impasse that stifles developments and economic changes. She offers an alternative to democracy to be 'benevolent dictatorship'. At least, it gets things done and can push needed reforms through without the cost and time consuming observance of democratic rules and processes.

The question here is, do benevolence and dictatorship meet? The answer is no. And also Western democracy cannot be transplanted into Africa without first tinkering with it. The choice before Nigerians are: benevolent dictatorship, it is non people representative and may stifle development, moreover, the deficiencies of dictatorship can wipe out its benefits; Nigerians will opt for an effective military rule than an ineffective democracy that violates life and rights like the present.

Most Nigerians, no doubt, will settle for the ideal democracy, that is, an effective governing machine, prudent, fair and humane allocator of common resources. Where this is not available, they will settle for any regime that gives them: roads, schools, water, healthcare,

electricity and food security. The saying that the worst democracy is better than the best military is elitist. Many Nigerians believe in democracy. A critic of democracy is not an endorsement of military rule but the cry for something than what we have presently. The modifications of the present democracy can start with the questions: why have two legislative houses when one,like they usein America can do; why three senatorial representatives per state when one can do; why Ministers and Ministers of state; why Advisers when Ministers can double as Advisers with such name as Secretary.

Dambisa Moyo contributed to democracy by insisting that democracy also requires intellectual concerns. He holds that Western democracy needs to be tinkered with, if it is to be practicable in Africa, not swallowed whole and sinker.He questioned the use of two legistilative houses when oue can do. In order word, he questioned the squandering of our scarce resources on bogus legistilative structure.

These philosophers, Paul, T. H.and Kanu, I. A., OSA (2012) writing on ‘Nigeria democracy’, as a contribution to the European Journal of Humanities and social sciences vol. 16 No. 1 2012; titled‘philosophy and good Governance: The Nigeria experience,’Wondered, is there any ground to think of good performance as far as Nigeria is concerned? The reasons for this question are:

Individualism is upheld to the detriment of communalism; sense of good governance is strange to the leaders...; as the facts have shown, the Nigerian state has been a case of high level of corruption, political instability and a cyclical legitimacy crisis.¹¹

They however did not loose hope advising that we should imbibe the spirit of good governance to correct the wrongs of the past. Governance evolves from the need to organise the society towards the achievement of a common good. It came to mean the use of traditions and institutions by which authorities control society for the common good. This

include: “the authority selection process; government capacity to effectively manage its resources and implement sound policies and respect of citizens’ fundamental rights”¹²

They advocated for the participatory form of governance where the citizens are allowed to play more direct public roles in decision making or engage more deeply in political issues to deepen democratic engagement. Government officials should be more responsive to this kind of engagement. They agreed with Madhavin his saying that, “a proper government strategy puts in place system to monitor and record what is going on, take steps to ensure compliance with agreed policies, and provide for corrective action in cases where the rules have been ignored or Misconstrued.”¹³ Good governances they insist, is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective, efficient, equitable, all inclusive and follows the rule of law.

They agreed with Joseph et al (1996) that Nigeria is an unfinished state, qualified to be called the giant of Africa with enormous wealth from oil, economic, social and political strength, but the reverse is the case in the use of the wealth to bring about development. The poor quality of governance in Nigeria resulted in: “recurring/ incessant religious crises, persistent ethnic and sectional conflicts, separatist movements, gross social, economic and political instability, deepening legitimacy crises,”¹⁴ and relentless terrorist and bombing attacks, by the extremist Islamic group- ‘Boko haram.’

They insist that injustice has become the permanent feature of Nigeria political system, hence the failure; confirming Aristotle’s stand that, “no government can stand which is not founded upon justice.”¹⁵ “Those charged with governance in Nigeria have their priority totally misplaced.”¹⁶ Governance in Nigeria has been whittled down to the sharing of oil loot and creating of new states, not for an enhanced good governance but to put political power and state revenue in a few more hands.

Political and bureaucratic corruption has also been accused for the failure of governance in Nigeria. Toeing the same line on corruption, Chinua Achebe insists, “my frank and honest opinion is that, anybody who can say that corruption in Nigeria has not become alarming, is either a fool, a crook or else does not live in the country.”¹⁷ Human greed might be the driver of corruption; but the fertilizers are, the structural insensitivities and poor enforcement system to punish the corrupt. These have contributed to the rising curve of graft in Nigeria.

These writers Paul, and Kanu contributed to democracy by insisting that government officials should put structures in place to monitor compliance with agreed policies as to attend the benefits. They hold that good governance is participatory; consensus oriented, accountability, transparent, inclusive, follows the rule of law and soon. These are strong essences of democracy.

This writer Chude Jideonwo, in Red Media Africa, special to CNN, on June 27, 2014 expressed himself in the topic: ‘The trouble with Nigeria: A failure of leadership.’ Leadership has failed woefully and with it, the system, democracy. The leadership has no answer to security, any form of security. Children, adolescent, students, poor man, rich man, the elites, foreigners and celebrities have all suffered kidnapping with government standing by bemused, totally lost on what to do. For instance, “On 14 April 2014, it happened again, this time as Nigeria has never seen before, on a very large scale. More than 300 girls in Chibok, Northern Nigeria, were said to have been taken from their school in the dead of the night by the deadly terrorists’ group, the Boko Haram.”¹⁸ When the question of, when will they be back was raised, Nigeria former President Olusegun Obasanjo answered; “if they will be back”. According to a New York Times report, “The Nigeria military is (and it hurts deeply to see) rendered incompetent based on a collage of factors including corruption, lack of modern training, inadequate equipment and vanished moral”¹⁹

President Goodluck Jonathan who first tried to pass the buck to the Borno state Governor where the girls were kidnapped; thereafter, asked the protesters to take their protest to the terrorists, later still claimed that the protests have been hijacked by the opposition party; before eventually moving into action when the people and the world persisted and demanded action. The government later branded Obiageli Ezekwesili (co-founder of Transparency International) as “an opportunist who always benefit from national Tragedy,”²⁰ after their attempts to disrupt the protest with touts failed.

“On 18 June 2014 Boko Haram Kidnapped another sixty females including children and, killed 30 men in a raid in a village in North Eastern Nigeria.”²¹ There were explosives that claimed the lives of the innocent in many parts of Abuja and Northeast Nigeria. This researcher would have been a victim of one of Boko Haram’s bombs in Madalla on the Christmas morning of 25th December 2011 but for Divine intervention. The questions that emerge from all the activities and statements on Bok Haram attacks from the Northeast are meriads, but this researcher will make haste to acknowledge this fact and ask this one question. While pictures of the reported massacre of 30 men could be seen and testifies to the content of the report, were the reported kidnappings factual or stage managed to achieve the aim of getting Goodluck Jonathan, a presumed Igboman and a Christian out of office and installing a Northern Moslem? since our Northern brothers are desperate to attain this. They have been known to use whatever is within their reach, including massacre to try to achieve what they desire.

During the reign of Goodluck Jonathan, negotiation with the Boko Haram terrorist group was in the air. Many of the powers that be were urging the Federal government to negotiate with the terrorist group to obtain the release of the Chibok girls who could not be located anywhere. The terrorist group even nominated our now president- rtd Muhammadu Buhari, as the only Nigerian they will listen to. As soon as he came into office, one of the first things he

did was to go ahead with the negotiation. The consequence was the strongly rumoured huge sum of money paid out to the Boko Haram terrorist group, with which they were said to have renewed attacks in various parts of Northeast of Nigeria. It is therefore not surprising to this researcher, that recently another 110 students were abducted from another school in the same Northeast; after all, the terrorist group, if it is them that kidnapped the girls, have been made to realize that this type of kidnapping is a huge financial provider and they are exploiting it. Another question is, what is the political reason for this recent kidnapping? This situation evolved because our so called leaders chose the part of thoughtlessness and lack of consultation in their operations. Chinua Achebe's, 'The Trouble with Nigeria,' written in 1987 could be seen prophetically today. He categorically stated that, "The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership."²² Citizens of Nigeria have been asking the question, "why should Nigerians be punished with incompetent and thoughtless leaders who choose politicking over effectiveness, pettiness over responsibility."²³ We really have to ask Jonathan Goodluck what he did with the people's mandate given to him and what Buhari is doing with his own, for we cannot presently deliver any vote of confidence on his leadership. Governance is not a matter of faith but of facts. The government if it is to earn the trust of its people must be seen to be working. Nigeria is in very deep trouble: "we are cursed with leaders who cannot see beyond their nose, captains with no capacity for visions."²⁴ In the area of security, Nigerians desperately need their leaders to lead. They will have no peace until they do so.

Chude Jideonwo in his contribution to democracy implied that, a strong, disciplined and professional military, is required for a successful democracy. He holds that democracy must be backed with common good tangible dividends. He is convinced that the leaders should ensure security of everything.

Ajayi, T.A. and Ojo, O.E. (2014), These writers in history and international studies, expressing themselves in their write up, 'Democracy in Nigeria: practice, problems and prospects', painted a very gloomy picture indicating that, though democracy is a universal concept, the way of acquisition, disposition to power and institutional arrangement perculiarises it. On this ground we can talk of American democracy, Canadian democracy, Britishdemocracy and so on. In all these democracies, the common feature is inequality between the elite leaders and the masses, particularly in Nigeria where the gap between the two are becoming too prominent. The provision of the 'political good,' that is, the pursuit of the general welfare of the people ameliorates the imbalance and should be the epicentre of democracy. Nigeria,s brand of democracy is the government of the cabal by the cabal, for the socio-economic benefit of the few cabals.

Outrageous budgetary and extra budgetary allocations are made for state governors, their wives, ministers, several dozen advisers and personal assistants to political office holders, members of parliaments, commissioners and local government Chairmen and so on. Funds in Nigeria are allocated cyclically on the same projects yearly and are sparingly used for the benefit of the Common man.

The basic amenities that should be provided by the state like: water, security, education and so on, are now being provided by the individuals- those who can. All manner of security to life and property, food, job etc have become an uphill tasks for the citizens to provide for themselves.²⁵

The clear fact is that the welfare of the masses is neither the primary preoccupation nor the cardinal objective or the anchor of Nigeria democracy.

Violence exemplified by Boko Haram and Joint Task Forces- JTF, illiteracy, road accidents, poorly equipped hospitals, hunger, poverty, frustration are some of the lot of Nigerians. The elite leaders who care nothing about the life of their brothers do not hesitate to sympathise

with the President of America on any accident that caused the loss of life of an American.²⁶

They are not their brother's keeper, like Cain, because their brother's life is worthless. Nigerians have not been able to institutionalise democracy, "this, involve the development and strengthening of the legal/rational structures that will invariably strengthen and solidify democracy and the rule of law."²⁷ What regularly leads to the failure of democracy in Nigeria and its breakdown all over Africa is for the fact that military coups are rampant in the states where democracy has not been institutionalised.

Supporting the above view, Diamond Plattner in his thesis insisted that, "because of pathological corruption, prevalent poverty, endemic economic and political crises, the intervention of military in democratic processes, sometime receive standing ovation and widespread support."²⁸ Quoting Adiele Afigbo, to express his notion, Diamond indicated that, "because democracy is foisted on us from outside and did not evolve on the basis of need, explains why democracy in Nigeria has constantly failed."²⁹ He contended further that, democracy, "has no ancestors or parents in indigenous Nigeria culture. Its sponsors were the Western bourgeoisie who introduced it and retreated beyond the shores of Africa."³⁰

This study might agree with Adiele that Western democracy came from outside, but entirely reject his view that democracy 'per se' has no ancestors in the indigenous Nigeria. For instance, consensus form of democracy is as old as the settlers in the Eastern part of Nigeria; older than the introduction of Western democracy at independence in Nigeria. The Igbo tribe has been practicing the direct and the representative form of democracy, where the elders and or title holders are chosen by the various clans or kinsmen to represent them in tackling knotty issues whenever they arise. In the old Oyo empires for instance, the Basoruns played a balancing or checkmating role to the Alafins, who must not arrogate too much power to themselves as the legislators are supposed to be doing presently.

In the traditional Igbo process, even when solutions on knotty issues have been decided upon by the titled men and or elders, the kinsmen have to ratify or reject the choice or decision made, indicating that the sovereignty lies with the people. So the issue of the absence of democratic ancestor or parent being responsible for the breakdown of democracy in Nigeria cannot be sustained; rather the non institutionalisation of democracy can be accused. According to UNESCO; “for democracy to take root in any society, it must be anchored on a genuinely institutionalised culture of humane debate and dialogue.”³¹ This is contrary to what happens in Nigeria presently. It has always been acrimonious debate. Nobody wants his views to be countered.

The greatest problem threatening Nigeria democracy is corruption which appears to have been institutionalised. This malady appears to have taken root in Nigeria prior to 1952 when the emir of Gwandu moved a motion in the house for the fishing out and punishing of corrupt Nigerians. In Awolowo’s assessment of Nigeria’s first year after independence, he accused the newly independent country to have taken:

a dangerous decline in moral values where honesty was at a discount and corruption and mediocrity had a high premium. A large percentage of monies which were voted for expenditure on public projects found their way into the pocket of certain individuals.³²

The individuals of course are those in high places. Corruption has ensured that: power generation capacity, without which there will be no development is miserably low, thousands of Nigerians die in road accidents because of the poor state of the roads; the absence of qualitative education, social and medical services, high level of poverty in the midst of abundance. Inability to conduct a competitive free and fair election in Nigeria is another problem facing Nigeria democracy. The only way Nigerians participate in democracy is through election and the process here can hardly be described as free and fair; it is rather characterized by violence, manipulation, malpractice and fraud. This has been as old as

Nigeria independence. Despite these disappointments, the desire for democracy in Nigeria is still very high. This is demonstrated by their active participation in democratic processes. Nigerians have also realised that the only acceptable and popular means of acquiring political power is through the ballot box. Nigeria political history is replete with failed electoral processes, a cyclical failure that returns the country to the scratch each time an attempt is made at making democracy get off the ground in the country. While at independence Nigeria was seen as a beacon of hope: more children go to school, the government care for the sick and so on, this cannot be said of the present day Nigeria. Democracy today is no longer beneficial to the common man in Nigeria. Though, there is no perfect democracy anywhere, that of Nigeria is very scandalous, but all hope is not lost as indicated above in the Nigerians eagerness to participate in democratic processes.

They, Ajayi and Ojo contributed to democracy by insisting that democracy should be perculiarised. It must not be the Western democracy which takes care of their needs, that is also adopted in Nigeria. They drew our attention to the fact that the equality refered to in democracy is not equality in wealth acquisition but equality of votes, implying that the elite leaders should care enough for the well being of the citizens.

Amaka Anku on the 3rd of March, 2015 approached the topic “Democracy in Nigeria”, by attempting to expose ‘The real problems with Nigeria’s Democracy’. He started by analysing the outcry which followed Nigeria’s electoral commission’s postponement of the keenly contested election between the incumbent President, Jonathan and former military dictator, Muhammadu Buhari from 7th February 2015 to March 28th 2015, “to allow the army complete a military offensive against a terrorist group- Boko Haram.”³³ Some called it a blow against Nigeria Democracy, some, a coup against Nigeria democracy and so on.

Anku indicated that this is not the problem but in seeing two major political parties whose only political philosophy appears to be Machiavellian-attaining and maintaining power at all cost, at each other's throat. The two parties PDP and APC have not articulated a clear governing philosophy but simply tabled: "Security, corruption and job creation."³⁴ These are exactly what Jonathan had pledged to do four years earlier but to no avail.

These pledges she indicated are good but should not be a political platform but rather desirable developmental outcomes. "Real political platforms are based on a coherent vision of how these ideals can be achieved, coupled with a principled basis on which compromise and tradeoffs should be made."³⁵

The salient questions are:

how will corruption be ended? will fund for welfare programmes be raised through increased taxes on those already within the tax regime or by cutting government spending? If so, what government spending should be cut and why? What roles will Federal and State governments play in ensuring security and or job creation?³⁶

Ultimately, the essence of democracy is the people's power to determine not only specific socio-economic outcomes but also the means used to achieve them. Without more clarity on the means by which each side's platform will be realised, true democracy in Nigeria will remain elusive.

Anku further contributed to democracy by insisting on the need to articulate a meaningful and problem solving manifesto, indicating what is targeted and how it could be politically achieved. He insisted that policies require clarity and well defined plan of achievement.

Chinedu ArizonaOgwu, I. on 23rd March 2015 caused his essay, 'The implication of Nigeria Democracy History Essay' to be published. He is dismayed by what goes on in Nigeria by the

name of democracy- where the masses hardly set eyes on their representatives. He defined democracy in Nigeria as the “government of ghost by ghost, for ghost.”³⁷

The political party called ‘PDP,’ use the words ‘power to the people,’ to deceive the people, while their leadership have nothing to do about the people and with the people. Democracy in Nigeria is being held by a cabal as demonstrated by them on the bringing home of the corpse of the former president, Shehu Musa Yar’Adua when he died overseas. By their action, democracy is better renamed ‘Secret Society’ considering the level of secrecy displayed. All these happened under Goodluck Jonathan who then was acting president, the ministers were virtually sworn to silence except Prof. Dora Akunyili who was very vocal about Yar’Adua’s death and with that, attracted the anger of the Northern ‘Lords and Masters.’ PDP as a party of cabals, a party of chop and I chop, a party of lets share the national cake was not helping matters.

Chinedu insisted that the major reason why democratic systems fail in Nigeria was the incessant military coup. It requires a disciplined and strong military to counter the coups and yet a strong military can take power any time they like. A delicate balancing of power and strong constitutional check is therefore a required alternative. Another factor, though arguably recent is insurgency. “The activities of the JTF and Niger Delta Militants produce domestic anarchy which challenges the government’s legitimacy.”³⁸

Opponents of democracy doubt the possibility of the people’s ability to forge what is good for the country and what can serve the tenets of Nigeria democracy. They insist that the tenets of Western democracy are unNigerian. This study thinks that by their arrogant stand, these opponents of democracy are questioning the capability of the people and arrogating to themselves the knowledge of what is good for the indigenous people. Despite all the discouragements and negative remarks, Nigerians are still very eager to understand and

practice democracy. The much they heard and know about the democratic debates and discussions embodied in the democratic process, the uncensored information and objective analysis which it guarantees, seem to enhance their appetite for democracy, as it is indicated to be the practice of a civilized society. The ideas of representative government, human rights and the rule of law are very attractive. The question of the representative privileges and freedom which it guarantees are welcomed with enthusiasm. However, the duties of those who will be responsible for the realisation of these appreciated factors attracted a lot of thought. When one has been bitten by a snake, one becomes afraid of even ropes. When somebody has suffered the consequences of bad government, he fully concerns himself with the theories of good government. Unfortunately, Nigeria “despite its abundant human and Natural resources, fail to live up to its early promise as one of the most energetic and fastest developing nations in Africa.”³⁹

It has earlier been pointed out that the military is one of the greatest problems democracy in Nigeria has. To keep the military out of governance in Nigeria, the international communities need to warn of a drastic economic pressure on the Nigeria military if they dare take over governance, so as to keep them at bay from taking over power; and when they have done so, to force them to hand over to the democratically elected representatives of the people. The military and their police counterparts need to be closely watched during elections, to prevent the police from truncating the civilian elections in favour of the military. INEC needs to be made to favour civilian parties than the militarized parties they have been known to favour. The media houses too, should be seen to be speaking in favour of civilian democracy and not be apologists to the military. A situation where the military backed candidates will take control of polling booths violently and force the masses to vote for them, while INEC looks the other way, will never aid the growth of democracy. In the 1999 elections, the above mentioned did happen: ballots were tampered with-, stolen, ID cards were faked and

ballot boxes found in unauthorized hands; indelible inks were missing in Wuse (FCT) creating room for some voters to cast more than one vote, polling stations were suddenly changed; valid electoral lists were missing, preventing the legitimate voters from voting, others complained of polling booth officers telling them that other people have cast their votes for them. In some cases, the polling booth locations were not known. All these were ignored by INEC.

What Nigerians need to defend the young democracy is courage and patriotism. “The Nigerian military remains a vital national institution in this regard. It must be helped to restore those core values of: cohesion, hierarchy, discipline, esprit de corps and respect for constitutional order, these are the hub of their professionalism.”⁴⁰ Investment in the professionalism of the military is an investment in democracy. Rogue military regime, detract from the military professional development. Death squads as we witnessed in Nigeria’s political arena during the 1990s, destroys democratic institutions and structures. It destroys life and bastardizes law and order, without which democracy cannot thrive nor grow.

The corrupt practices (black market and prostitution rings) of our army mission commanders should be curbed, as they militate against the success of the mission. If democracy is to institutionalise and thrive in Nigeria, Nigerians must have to fight the internal enemies of democracy, overcome the military godfathers and move toward genuine democracy.

Chinedu contributed to democracy by insisting on the freedom of expression. He insisted on the checkmating of the military by a very strong counter force Constitutionally backed. He indicated the value of debates, uncensored information and objective analysis in the democratic progress. He also emphasised the importance of democratic theories and stipulated that the agencies responsible for electoral conducts like: the police, INEC, the media offices, and the judiciary must effectively do their jobs for the success of democracy.

Ethan Pitts, a contributing editor for Thornton, Co. of Odyssey media group Inc. 2017, writing on democracy in Nigeria', pointed out that, "the Federal Republic of Nigeria has emerged as the continent's largest economic power, oil is the main driver behind Nigeria prosperity but it was only recently that the country has been able to expand its economic success into political realm."⁴¹ Nigeria has been battling the problem of coup and counter coup since independence in 1960, leaving the polity very unstable. It was not until 1999 till now that Nigeria democracy has lasted so long at a go. Ethan divided Nigeria history into three: pre-colonial era, the colonial era and the modern Nigeria.

The pre colonial era was the period in Nigeria when Nigeria Chiefs, kings, Obas, Emirs, Ezes and so on were traditionally and superstitiously ruling. They ruled their towns, villages and mostly their tribes. The war like and powerful ones have empires and kingdoms which they acquired by the means of violence like king Jaja of Opobo. These type of rulers are usually autocratic, tyrannical and draconian. While some achieved greatness for themselves and their tribes, some others use brutal oppression of their people to selfishly acquire wealth. Most of these rulerships are hereditary and all of them are fetish. This was the period when barbaric sacrifices are made and superstitious believes hold sway. The common factor in all these rulership is that they all know that they were holding sway for the gods and for the people. There are usually institutions by these rulers checkmating them to ensure that they do not arrogate too much power and authority to themselves. They are forced to tread carefully because of the dire consequences of contrary conduct, which is mostly death or banishment. All these bear testimonies to the presence of strong democratic factors

The colonial era is the period the Europeans from different parts of the world took over the educational, political and economic way of life of the Africans. During this period the black man experienced a lot, some good and some bad. The moral and the superstitious ways of life of the Africans in general and Nigerians in particular under went serious transformations.

For instance, education was no longer limited to informal education but now included formal education though tailored to the masters' need which is mostly clerical and message delivery. The colonial era also brought to an end to human killings and human sacrifices. For examples, the killing of twins, the killing of any child who germinated upper teeth first and the throwing away of any man suffering from the elephantiasis of the stomach, were all stopped. Unfortunately, the evils of slave trade that became popular in the colonial era are still believed to be undermining African fortunes, in development and leadership for instances. This colonial era is the period that prepared Nigeria and Nigerians into what they are today. Therefore, whatever Nigeria is going through today, politically, educationally, administratively and economically are accused to have originated from this era.

Modern Nigeria could be defined as from the day of Nigeria independence, to the present day. Unfortunately, except the practice of democracy which we have been trying to finetune and terrorism which is a modern scourge, there is nothing so wonderfully modern about the so called modern Nigeria. It is the most populous country in Africa and a supposed stupendously wealthy country at that, yet, up to 80% of its citizens live below the poverty line, due to high level of corruption, poor leadership and mega economic mismanagement. Development is still a far cry from Nigeria hence it is counted as a third world country. Its intolerant religious practice, tribalism, regionalism, are in no way helping its democratic and other noble aspirations.

A particular question that featured so much and should be given a brief attention is, what gave rise to the dichotomy between the Northern and Southern Nigeria. We have these to say: Uthman Dan Fodio and his Islamic jihadists overran the Northern part before the colonial masters came in 1860. Christian missionaries came soon after and took over the Southern part. The presence of timber, palm oil and other natural resources in commercial quantities in Southern Nigeria drew and sustained the attention of the British colonialist and explains the

disparity in the two regions. British activities led to the introduction of more powers in Nigeria. Its elites encouraged the seeking of personnel benefits from government, which endures till date. Christian missionaries were allowed to establish western style primary schools till 1934 when higher educational schools were established. 1948 saw the establishment of the first Nigeria University. All these were concentrated in the South, marginally preventing Northerners from receiving western education, exacerbating the gap between the two groups. When the colonialist was preparing to hand over power to its colonies, the South was prepared to take over but the Northerners were not, never the less the two sides were to stay together as citizens of one country and share power to politically run the country. These very situations stagnated the growth of the country and from the obvious lack of mutual understanding mistrust soon developed complicating the situation and invariably widening the gap between the two groups, the more. The coup and counter coup that saw the death of many Easterners heightened tension along geographic, religious and ethnic divides. The consequent civil war did not help matters, nor did the tension and distrust that resulted help in the political unity of the country and has been affecting its democratic aspirations.

Contributing to democracy, this philosopher Ethan Pitts indirectly emphasized the importance of education for the workability of democracy, the extinguishing of corruption for the effectiveness of democracy. He categorically stated that violence, hostilities nor distrust do not help democratic growth

These writers, Ejovi Austin, Mgbonyebi Charles, Akpokilie Okiemute Raymond, in their book, 'The Problem with Nigeria,' approached the problems of Nigeria democracy from the angle of corruption. According to them:

given the notoriously recurring character of corruption as a social phenomenon in Nigeria polity, from colonial times to the present, it is my humble opinion that the enterprise for the study, analysis, explanation and solution of the persistent and progressively worsening problem is too serious and important to be left alone to social scientists, historians, philosophers and lawyers.⁴²

The white man's imposition of his lordship over the natural resources of Nigeria kick started and maintained corruption which has refused to give way and is infecting and stunting every other progressive or developmental agenda in the country. Toward the period of decolonization, 'the white installed some indigenous Nigerians as bourgeoisies, who became ministers, chairmen and members of public co-operations, with power limited only by the veto power of the colonial masters.'⁴³

All these new roles in the public domain, opened the door to the new form of corruption and substantial capital accumulation to major members of the Nigeria ruling class as opposed to the pre- decolonized era, when, because of their marginal position in the scheme of things, they had several limited access to corrupt accumulation.⁴⁴

These forms of corruption are enhanced by the presence of economic power in the hands of the multi- nationals in the country. This is not the case when the colonialists were still in the seat of power. The entry of the military era systemized corruption all through the line: 'from Aguiyi Ironsi to Gowon, Murtala to Obasanjo, Buhari to Babangida, Abacha to Abubakar. The entry of Babangida brought corruption to its highest level (1984 to 1999).'⁴⁵

These writers Ejovi, Mgbonyebi and Akpokilie helped in highlighting one of the major problems militating against the successful practice of democracy in Nigeria by unequivocally pointing out that corruption which was enthroned by the white man and sustained by him, with the making of local bourgeoisies; and by encouraging their private accumulation of finances and leaving their own nationals in control of the multi-national

businesses implanted corruption in Nigeria and fertilized it during the decolonization era. This corruption has remained with Nigerians till date. This is one of the structural inplants that have prevented the growth, development and harvesting of the benefits of democratic essences.

Contributing to democracy failure, these writers insisted that the problems of democracy should be the concern of all. Corruption is here seen as one of the greatest problem of democracy and must be prevented if democracy is to thrive and grow.

For this constitutionalist, Edo Aikhionbare, in his writeup entitled, 'Constitutionalism and the Future of Nigeria', contained in a book, 'Problems and Prospects of Sustaining Democracy in Nigeria' edited by, Bamidele A. Ojo, approached Nigeria's democratic problems from the angle of our leaders' inability to do anything right, bad governance and poor statesmanship. He holds that "Nigeria has arrived at a constitutional cross road."⁴⁶ Every day, the country grows more impotent and her people more discontent. There are those, both at home and abroad, who prophecise her down fall as a nation. WHY? This is "because since independence, the country has been plagued with crises of governance, lack of statesmanship and any deep commitment by successive regime to simply do the right thing."⁴⁷ Nigeria must come to grip with the ultimate question of whether to institute real democratic institutions that will sustain the nation now and in future. Edo cites Ronald Reagan, former president of America as saying that, constitution is an "impassioned and inspired vehicle by which (nations) travel through history."⁴⁸ By this he simply means that, without law jealously guarded, no nation would survive. This author therefore, contributed to the exposition of the problems with Nigeria, by accusing crises of governance, lack of statesmanship and lack of commitment to do the right thing, as being among the factors preventing our institution and practice of appropriate democracy and reaping the benefits

there in. He contributed to democracy in Nigeria by stipulating that without law judiciously guarded Nigeria democracy or Nation will not survive.

The Intellectual resources of Ado Musa, accessible through adorimayemusa@yahoo.com, expressing a view on 'Democracy in Nigeria and Nigerians,' indicated that,

Democracy is built on the equality of citizens, the freedom of these citizens to associate with one another for the realisation of their ideals and the defence and promotion of their interest and the freedom of these citizens to choose between the different political platforms of various political parties and candidates and see to the actualization of the platform they have voted for, if their choice wins.⁴⁹

In Nigeria, this is a different ball game. People get disenfranchised by their circumstance on one hand and by their leaders on the other. "Nigeria democracy has reached the point where it is being practiced without democrats and elections conducted without caring whether the electorates voted."⁵⁰ The whole system of election is becoming too much for the citizens to handle.

The Nigeria ruling class has not been able to build a strong social system that encourages the taking root and flourishing of democracy, they rather deliberately promote social fragmentation that creates, feeds, and reinforces religious and ethnic identities against national identity. It is important that national identity and integration, the legitimacy of authority and transformation of Nigeria society into a true political community need to be urgently and decisively addressed. There exists also the unquestionable need to establish, resourceful economic management, broaden educational opportunity, ensure food security, reduce absolute poverty, ensure security of lives and properties, promote real (not imagined) economic growth; fight corruption; provide employment and equal opportunities. "It does not make sense and it is anti-democracy when treasures are looted and people in responsible

positions of authority demonstrate lack of self control and are intolerant of others in team work.⁵¹

The time for the blaming of the failure of Nigeria democracy on the colonist and the military are over. The hiding behind the term ‘Nascent democracy’ can no longer hold. We need to successfully banish poverty, want, ignorance and disease. In an environment where corruption has become pandemic, executive impunity fashionable, and the rule of law only chanted at official functions without a dint of intention to implement it, that environment is heading toward closure.

Nigeria has seen all the enviable characteristics of democracy betrayed, these need to be re-cultivated. The promised dividends of democracy like good roads, healthcare, electricity supply, good governance and so on need to be delivered. The masses have lost hope on our institutions ability to deliver. Institutions like INEC, the Judiciary, the National Assembly, the Police and so on have demonstrated mind boggling ruts. For instance, how has the voter’s registration exercise and other equipments necessary for credible election fared? What of the role of security agencies during elections? They run far short of expectations.

Our leaderships have been characterized by Ethnicity, religious intolerance, incompetence, greed, insincerity, insensitivity and so on. Institutions like the stable political parties, the legislatures and judiciary which are the bedrock of democracy are being systematically destroyed. The National Assembly has abandoned their constitutional roles and has become praise singers to the executives and rubber stamp legislatures. They utterly abandoned the people to the whims, arrogance, highhandedness and corrupt practices of the executives.

The high level ignorance, brainlessness and corrupt practices of our politicians have been dramatised by the past CBN governor, now the Emir of Kano, Lamido Sanusi; when the National Assembly summoned him for daring to accuse them of allocating to themselves 28%

of the nations budget on top of the kick-backs they get on their oversight functions from ministries and parastatals. Nasir Ahmed El-Rufia has also demonstrated how the above allegations are true of our National Assembly members.

No policy comes from the people we elected as representatives that have wholly the interest of the masses. Time has come for the people to reclaim their sovereignty. The masses must ask the question of the policies formulated for them in terms of education, healthcare, infrastructural development, integrity of election and the legitimacy of authority in all the three tiers of governance. Do the educational curricula in all our institutions of learning reflect African cultures and values in relation to responsibility, truthfulness and integrity?

This political philosopher Ado Musa, contributed to Nigeria democracy by insisting on the equality of the votes and freedom. He emphasized on the national identity and legitimacy of authority being urgently addressed for democracy sake.

Ajayi Amos Kenny, analysing the democratic practise in Nigeria in the fourth republic, has this to say:

Liberal democracy is very popular in this age of globalization. Democracy has to do with consolidation and good governance. Despite the efforts made so far, it is yet to be attained in Nigeria. It is also a system of government where opportunity to participate in the authoritative decision making is open to all who are willing and interested to share. It recognises individual rights, a system of representation, recognises the system of one man one vote, one vote one value.⁵²

Military dictatorship in Nigeria gave way to representative system of governance in 1999. Elections in the fourth republic have been characterized by monumental irregularities with the magnitude increasing with every election. More factors still confront the practice of democracy in Nigeria despite the years it has been practiced. They include corruption- Nigeria was rated as the 2nd most corrupt country in the world by the Transparency

International in its 2004 perception index CPI. The candidates elected into offices were chosen for the masses by the political elites and not by the people. The candidates bought their way into the various offices with stupendous amount of money, inducing INEC into announcing results of votes not cast. The stalwarts of the ruling party, usually connives with INEC chairman and official to steal such mandates and share the loots.

Next is electoral malpractices, political intolerance, economic mismanagement using political office as a gateway for personal enrichment, political thuggery, lack of intra party democracy, insecurity, manipulation along religious and ethnic lines to achieve selfish political ambitions and so on. Poverty is another great factor working against democratic consolidation. Nigeria is ranked among the world poorest in the midst of plenty as indicated by the United Nations Development Programme in 2009. Data published declared that about 80% Nigerians are poor and cannot afford the basic necessities of life like good food, education, medical facilities and so on. The consequences of these are, the poor masses are easily brainwashed, manipulated in their right of choice, induced into various wrong decisions and so on. Insecurity- ethno-religious crises which include Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen/ farmers' crises, Yoruba/Hausa Fulani disturbance in Shagamu in Ogun state, Aguleri, Umuleri and Umuoba Anam of Anambra state and others.

If democracy is to be consolidated and thrive in the country, the war against hunting of opposition, poverty reduction, food security, educational sector overhaul, provision of basic necessities like healthcare, shelter, water etc. must be intensified and sustained. There is also urgent need for political education for Nigerians, to improve their electoral participation, improvement of Nigeria Security Agencies, enlightenment of religious organizations by NOA, putting in place enabling laws for the punishment of electoral offenders, establishment of strict electoral guidelines, putting in place strong, tested and

proven men and women of integrity, as leader of Independent Electoral Commission- INEC must be pursued vigorously.

This philosopher Ado Musa, contributed to the Nigeria democracy by emphasizing on the need to discuss issues and not fight over them, the requisition of one man one vote, the right of individuals to express themselves, the need for elections and not selection, the need by Nigerian elite to overhaul educational curriculum and so on. We must stop the persecution of opposition. These factors encourage democratic practice. He also rooted for the punishment of the offenders and the improvement of the security agencies.

Cyril Udebunu approached his writing on 'Nigeria Democracy' by musing on 'How Democracy can be Africanized'. He indicated that with his experiences in the Western countries and their diligent practicing of democracy with the attendant restrained conducts even among the 'skin heads,' he was truly desirous of its replication in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. Unfortunately, after witnessing massive failures of democratic practices in Africa, he gave up hope and have been wondering whether democracy cannot be lived another way.

Despite Plato's description of democracy as being inferior to monarchy and aristocracy, it without doubt upstaged Communism recently. Though, Plato saw it as "the worst of all good governments and the best of all bad polities,"⁵³ democracy has been gaining world wide acclaim; further more, he points out that democracy is good, because its authority is vested on the rulers by the people through election. Plato argues that those who know how to manipulate the masses and win elections without knowing how to deliver the promises and needs of the people, vitiates the good and wonderful qualities of democracy. Unfortunately, it is these winners that democracy celebrates rather than the needed quality to govern the

society. Democracy is also “fraught with distrust and violence”⁵⁴ in many parts of the world and this is the major problem in Africa.

The issue of post election violence is exemplified with that meted out by Boko Haram in Nigeria. Udebunu indicated ethnicity as another road block to Western democracy, as seen by the North voting for Buhari Muhammadu and the South voting for Jonathan Goodluck. These types of Western democratic impediments are observed all over Africa and are often exploited by politician to cause mayhem and achieve their aims witnessed in 1994 Rwandan Genocide. Nevertheless, Francis Fukuyama rooted for this same Western democracy and its acclaimed affiliation to industrial development, to the point where he wants all Africans to jettison her cultures and embrace the Western culture and democracy as the messiah to its numerous developmental problems. However, this researcher sees this stand as neo-colonialism.

The problem with the practice of democracy in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, is from the misconception that democracy can be imported wholesomely from Western system to any part of the world without tampering with it to make it culture friendly. “If we do not consider indigenous cultural values, multiparty electoral politics will continue to degenerate into source of communal conflicts.”⁵⁵ According to Offor,

democracy is desirable and can be made to work in Africa, but only if the indigenous contents of the democratic heritage is explored, and those ideas that define good governance are brought to bear in evolving a kind of democracy best suited for resolving Africa’s peculiar problems.⁵⁶

People place so much value on democracy that, despite all the misery the practice unearths, it is still widely endorsed. The explanation is simple, the dominant idea of the present age is liberty and this happens to be the pillar of democracy. Since the collapse of communism which was the greatest competitor with democracy, it (democracy) has taken the centre stage

and become the rave of society the world over. The factors working in its favour include: freedom of the people to participate and choose, power that is publicly owned and could be taken back, the existence of a constitution that safeguard human rights even in the face of the power, the decentralization of this power that used to be in the hand of one man in other governmental systems, and the availability of fora encouraging discussion among various view points. Democracy encourages public discussion. This issue of discussion or talking out, belongs to African system of running community affairs. For example, in the Igbo tribe of the Eastern Nigeria, representatives of the various groups in the community, continues talking until a consensus is arrived at, representing the views of the majority and minority. As pointed out by T.U Nwalia, “Unanimity and all the rigorous processes and compromises... that lead to it are efforts made to contain the wishes of the majority as well as those of the minority. In short, they are designed to arrive at what may be abstractly called the ‘general will’ of the people of the community.”⁵⁷ Another feature of African democracy is “that kings and chiefs rule by consent.”⁵⁸ That is to say that, the kings and chiefs hold their power on trust from the people, who can in turn depose them. Even where kingship is hereditary, the king must rule in line with the wishes of the people or be removed. In Ghana, a king or Chief could be removed on a number of grounds, which include: self opinionating, oppression, arbitrariness in governance, corruption, neglect of the people’s affairs and so on. This is African way of locating sovereignty with people and it ensures accountability. Africa therefore has elements of democracy and values in their style of rulership which are entirely neglected in the reportage by Europeans on their perception of African government.

The Commonwealth of Nations meeting on the importance of democracy held in Harare, 1991, acknowledged the fact that democracy and democratic practice cannot be wholly uniform the world over but peculiar. Their common ground might be in the area of “respect in the rule of law, freedom of expression, independence of the judiciary, transparent and

governmental accountability.”⁵⁹ Ironically the Europeans even acknowledged the need for African peculiar definition of democracy as reflected here:

Africans need to define for themselves the meaning of democracy in their own historical and cultural contexts, drawing on their participatory traditions and the experience of democratic societies elsewhere. Free market capitalism and multiparty systems are not synonymous with democracy. Grassroots popular movements offer new hope for truly democratic structures in Africa.⁶⁰

“No ideology or set institutions alone can secure freedom, and make democracy possible without reference to the local conditions.”⁶¹ Working and successful democracy is a mixture of universal ideologies and local contents, culture, history and values. The Universal and the peculiarities ensure stability in a polity. The challenge for African countries therefore, is for them to “bring their various traditions and culture into a meaningful working relationship with European democracy.”⁶²

Africa nations are multi- ethnic in constitution and this, the politicians have been exploiting against the masses. Unless this fact of life is officialy brought to bear in the African peculiar democratic formulation, it will continue creating difficulty in democratic practice in Nigeria and other African countries. Overlooking or proscribing ethnic or religious politic in order to play the universal democracy will be living in a fool’s paradise. Ethnic or religious politics will need to be incorporated into our democratic formulation, since it is part and parcel of our social life but should be incorporated in such a way that it does not threaten our social co-existence. One way of doing this is, to establish

a kind of political arrangement in which power is sufficiently decentralised, to allow for a significant degree of regional and local autonomy in Africa’s multi ethnic states. This kind of arrangement would allow for political representation to be structured along lines that would allow each ethnic group to develop according to its value, culture, historical experience and aspirations. Also, it would prevent a situation in which some people see

themselves as (owners of the country and some) permanent outsiders to the state.⁶³

Liberal democracy favours multiparty system which deals with majority rule. African system of election, vote according to ethnic affiliation, where the minority tribe feel as outsiders in political activities. This is part of what gives rise to conflicts. It is a question of injustice, the claim of majority rule and the claim of injustice in which the minority appear to be marginalized out of political affairs in their country. “The minority tribes fear democracy, the majority fear justice.”⁶⁴ To solve this problem, some writers have recommended ‘consensus democracy’ where we do not need to vote but simply continue discussing until a consensus is reached, accommodating everybody’s view.

Western democracy is majoritarian, while African nations are multi-ethnic in nature and so the majoritarian rule cannot succeed in Africa without facing the issue of justice and social conflicts. The tribal and religious dimension in African polity can never be wished away or proscribed. For solution, we must look for a “democratic system that favours the devolution of power which allows.....for a reasonable degree of regional and local autonomy in African multi ethnic state, such that each ethnic group, develops in relation to their cultures, historical experiences and aspiration.”⁶⁵ This will create a sense of belonging among them. There is also need to institute a power sharing constitution in such a way that, “no particular ethnic group can feel permanently excluded from government solutions.”⁶⁶

This philosophical writer- Offor, contributed to Nigeria Democracy by insisting that the only source of legitimate authority comes through election by the people; on the need to constantly deliver the promises of democracy, he insisted on customized democracy which recognises the history, culture, tradition, values and needs of the people. Offor insisted on the need for vibrant constitution, the decentralisation of power, freedom to choose, the availability of fora for discussion.

This unknown writer was reflecting on 'the 51 years of Nigeria independence: the practice of democracy and governance in Nigeria'. This writer approached this from the angle of Niger Delta, that is, what democratic practice in Nigeria has achieved in Niger Delta since independence. He insisted that democracy is not a right 'per se' but a responsibility. In political terms, once a leader has had the sovereignty of the people delegated to him, he has the responsibility to deliver to the state: education, healthcare, infrastructure, public service, good governance, protection from violence, crimes and so on. Gaining independence is one thing, meeting the responsibilities that follows is another. Inability to meet the responsibilities of a state results in state failure. The indices on the ground raise the question of whether Nigeria should be counted as a failed state. If hope for a better tomorrow, will make it to be counted as having not failed, so be it, for Nigerians have an unimaginable quantity of it but if not, we will count it as having failed and our so called leaders are announcing this anticipated failure with glee. A hasty assessment of the above stand might lure one into wondering whether this researcher is pro democracy in Nigeria or against it; the fact is that at independence, the bondage of colonialism is broken, leaving Nigeria free to practice free will and to determine its own fate. What has independence produced in Nigeria after 51 years? In Niger Delta region, it has produced citizens paralysed by the presence of multi-national oil companies that enforce its citizens' movement even within its community.

Following this line of thought, Amnesty International insists that oil companies treat community residents as risk, not as stakeholders with concerns about the impact of oil operations. This generates animosity when the community protests this alienation by the oil companies even without violence; nevertheless, government usually responds with a disproportionate use of force on the community. This does not show accountability of a delegated people to the masters. With the trend of democracy in the Niger Delta in Nigeria since independence, traditional livelihood has been destroyed and the population

disenfranchised by lack of access to the elected officers and election materials as to reclaim their sovereignty and recall the unworthy representatives. Local governments were meant to take development to the grass roots but the reverse is the case in Nigeria. The representatives sparingly make contacts with their communities and those few times are by proxy until election approaches. There is no transparency in their budgetary allocations and the projects do not reflect the need of people, moreover, the Niger Delta regions suffer from severe underdevelopment despite the billions of Naira they generate in revenue. Environmental degradation has crippled the development of infrastructure, water supply, sanitation, lack of educational and health facilities have severely stunted human resources development of the citizens.

The conditions described above confirm that Nigeria is a weak state leaning toward failure. As a state, it has failed to meet the basic human needs of its population, it lacks transparent and accountable political institutions and it has not produced sustainable or equitable economic growth. Freedom and true independence will be achieved when the citizenry has been empowered economically, politically and socially. Without rectifying these issues, post independence democracy will simply be neo-colonialism, where a few benefits and the masses suffer.

This unknown writer contributed to Nigeria democracy by directing that democracy is not a right but a responsibility to deliver the needs of the masses, for instance: Education, good road, good governance and so on. He insisted on the need for the citizens to be economically and politically empowered.

In trying to look at the bane of democracy and governance in Nigeria, this other unknown writer indicted corruption and ethnicity as the major problems in Nigeria polity. According to him, in their desire to spur development and gain the support of voters, politicians began

dispensing “favours.” This is the first step toward corruption which no Nigeria regime has been able to overcome. When it also became clear that Nigeria will become independent, the common Enemy-Britain was abandoned and their internal differences- tribal, took the centre stage.

At independence, Nigeria system of democracy was parliamentary government, but differs from British classical form, in the sense that it was a federal system in which the national government shared power with the regional ones; first, three- Eastern, Western and Northern regions; later, four- Northern, Western, Eastern and Midwestern regions which coincided with the geolocations of the major tribes or ethnic groups in Nigeria. It was termed true Federalism, in the sence that the the centre shared powers with the regions and allowed them to grow at their own pace and needs. Thesuccessof this practice must have been part of what led tothe changing of our parliamentary democratic sytem to the Presidential system of government. The entry of Nigeria army into governacewhich saw the changing of this system for their convenience and in line with their administrative system, abrogated this wonderful arrangement that assured peacein the polity. This signaled the earlier recognition that this multi- nationcountry,cannot not be properly articulated from the centre without fanning ethnic tension. The abandonment of this arrangement is part of what is creating the present ethnic tensions

Classical Parliamentary system works in Britain because the sitting government and theirpolitical oppositions know that the ideologies are the same and that they cannot shape the legislation. Theirs is to vociferously criticize the government in the hope of turning the table against them. This is not the case with Nigeria, here, the debate is acrimonous.At the beginning of its self rule and political journey, comments profess hope of good performance for the new regime; later actions and reflections show no performance by the regime, yet,the incumbent do not want to loose to the opposition for fear of being kept out of power forever

and the opposition resent their powerlessness and want to change the status quo by all means. While this political battle is going on, the differences are being heightened and as already pointed out, politics in Nigeria are severely ethnic based. Each faction fight brutally to control the government, so that it can distribute the lion share of the available resources to itself and its clients and not as to work more for the masses whose mandates they are bearing.

Only one thing makes sense to these politicians, the acquiring of power and more power. Big time politicians become enthralled with the wealth, status and privileges the various offices provide. Yes, the North dominated politically but because of their cultural tie which is linked with religious belief, very few children attend school, and women are not included in civil and economic life, moreover their conducts and utterances give the impression of the rejection of modern society. The flamboyant life styles of the politicians generated criticisms, especially from Chief Awolowo and eventually brewed crises in the West, culminating in the vote of 'No confidence' on Akintola and the eventual arrest and detention of Obafemi Awolowo.

The census crises of 1963 did not help matters. Since number is used in allocating representation in the parliament, it is mostly bloated, not meeting with government acceptance. The attack on the life style of politicians by Awolowo is still going on, the elections in the West, which is about the only competitive ones in the entire country are overtuned. Evidence shows that though Awolowo's AG won, Akintola's NNPD was sworn in and Akintola began meting out assassinations and other forms of violence on opponents. The trio of Akintola, Ahmadu Bello and Tafawa Balewa were killed by the coupists, Kaduna Nzeogwu and his group on the 14 January 1966, marking the death of the first republic.

The second republic started with the military giving politicians only 3 months to register with FEDECO, organise and establish national offices and so on. Because of time factor, only five

of the fifty parties that indicated interest were licensed: NPN, UPN, NPP, PRP, and GNPP but they were still tailored along the tribal parties of the past. The politicians and the contractors continued to bribe, steal, smuggle, speculate and accumulate vast illicit fortunes and displaying them lavishly in stunning disregard for public sensitivities. These led to the fall of the 2nd republic, taken over by the military in the midst of the legal battle over who the real winner of the election is. The voters' registration list was bloated by 34%. There were also disappearances of registered voters' names in the different regions.

Any country's political culture reflects the impact of its history on the way people think about politics and their society as a whole. In the case of Nigeria, the disunity which showed from the time of independence continued to manifest. The actions of elites since 1960 left the country alienated and paralyzed. This is not how it has always been. In the earlier days, Nigerians have greater sense of nationhood than any other countries of the third world. In 1962 greater percentage of the people have no problem thinking of Nigeria in national term. More people believed that Nigeria is making progress and will continue to do so, but the whole country has turned cynical from the experiences with politics and politicians. Mostly these problems and divisions are coming from religious and ethnic lines.

While some Nigerians think of themselves as Nigerians, their ethnic identification is a source of pride and hatred- (we Igbo, you Igbo). The three major tribes have nothing in common and only the Igbo tribe for commercial purpose bothers to travel all over the country, live with and learn about the others. The Hausa tribe do travel out, but not as much as the Igbo tribe, The Yoruba tribe hardly travels out nor bothers to learn much about other tribes. This is not to detract from what National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) has achieved. Interest is more in the colonial language and subjects. In the few cases where the three tribes live together in an environment, the emphasis is on dycotomy. This is attested to by such sign posts as: Hausa street, Igbo market, Yoruba District and so on.

The issue on the basis of religion is even worse, particularly in the North. In the South, religious differences is not pronounced, it is not even noticed. The Northerners from inception refused to 'westernize.' Their women were not allowed to vote, further more their insistence to use Sharia or Islamic law held up the reviewing of the constitution in three republics.

Another obstacle is the question of regions. The North is suspicious of the south and vice versa. The North nurses the fear that the Southern cultural values and economic practice will undermine Northern ways of life. The South is afraid that the Northern majority will leave them perpetual political underdogs with no power to decide the affairs of government. The politicians who fan the flames of: ethnic, religious and regional hatred, also fail to address the country's real social and economic shortcomings. So, it was just a matter of time until the violence engineered by them starts breaking out among the embittered people.

Most Nigerians live in abject poverty. This is the one thing which most Nigerians share in common. This is aggravated by the politicians who have carted away public funds to support their lavish lifestyle. In Nigeria, the political and economic elites are those whose wealth emanate from their control of the state. This has given rise to a category of political and bureaucratic officials popularly known as 'lootocrats'-those who use their official positions in government for tremendous personal gains and like European bourgeoisie, have been able to protect these wealth and power under any rule with the aid of ethnic, religious and regional appeal

This unknown author contributed to Nigeria democracy by insisting that transparency and accountability are necessary for democratic growth. He also insisted that the press and private organizations help to project and expose the failing of our leaders, which is an indirect projection of the right way for democracy.

Each of the reviewed authors have salient points that will make the practice of democracy in Nigeria better but since the thorough analysis of all their views ball down to the short comings of leadership; their lack of the primary rudiments of leadership which include self control and the simple acknowledgement of the servitude in representation, from which every other democratic sicknesses are emernating in Nigeria, this studyis contributing that the urgent and proper institulisation of democratic leadership development programmes in Nigeriawill better its status and generate the much needed dividends of democracy to enliven thelife of the sufferingmasses of Nigeria and bring them fully back to the discipleship of democracy.

This study therefore wants to fill in the gap of bringing to the fore of the electorates that: as long as they approach the issues of election with sentiment, tribalism and religious affiliation and not the clear mindness and knowledge of the qualities of good leadership which it deserves, and voting accordingly, so long shall we continue to get it wrong. Therefore, anybody coming out to vye or be presented for political office, should be somebody knownfor adherence to proven track record of conducts embodying good leadership qualities, not the pseudo leaders we have had the misfortune of witnessing on the democratic stage of our life,those who begin to do good as soon as they conceive the idea of lootocracy.

Qualities of good leadership include the following: honesty and intergrity, good decision making capabilities, good communication capability, ability to insipire others, the zeal for enviabile delivery on the peoples' need, commitement and the passion to deliver on promise, responsibility and accountability, ability for delegation of authority, empowerment of others, creativity and innovation, sound moral foundation and judiciousness.

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CHAPTER THREE

ESSENCE OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY

It has been earlier indicated that the word democracy, is Greek in origin and literally translated means, 'power of the people.' Under a democratic form of government, which is based on the principles of rule of law, people have the power to enact laws and decide how they will be enforced. Not every democracy is alike, as culture and society influence people's democratic ideals. However, the fundamental principles of democracy remain consistent in every form of democracy and they clearly indicate that every activity in a democracy must follow the rule of law. This is the only way the freedom, equality, fairness and rights of all persons in a democracy can be guaranteed. It stipulates how laws and policies are to be made, laws on how the processes and elections are to be conducted, laws on offences and punishments, income and expenditure, laws on all aspects of peoples' democratic life. We make haste here to inform in this chapter that, we will simply expose the essences of democracy; assessments will follow later. Democracy has these essential characteristics:

3.1 Citizens Rule

“In a democracy, citizens share the power and civic responsibility to make decisions on how they are governed.”¹ This is usually done through the voting process from the age of 18 years upward, when the citizens are deemed to have become eligible in most countries of the world. At this age, voters elect representatives in an indirect democracy to speak for them in decisions involving government of their country. “In an indirect democracy the representatives are accountable to their constituents.”² Though the representatives decide how they carry out their responsibilities, they are expected to frequent their constituencies to get the inputs of their people in the affairs of their government.

In this principle, it is like indicated, the citizens rule not sojourner, not those who have landed properties, nor those with lots of wealth who know how to manipulate the poor masses nor those who know how to usurp power but have little or no knowledge of how to deliver the dividend of democracy. Those whose only stock in trade is lootocracy- those whose only concern is how to loot the common good and not how to use the common good to provide for the masses nor abide by the law. Such rulers can only be justifiably said to have power but no legitimacy or authority because their being in office is not by the freely given will of the people but could be said to have stolen the mandate by trick. This particular principle in democracy was instituted so the citizen who is part and parcel of the community, who know the problem of the community will be at the helm of affairs in working with the community to solve the people's problem and providing what the people basically need and not what they appear to need or what will make them look great, while they are grooming the most basic wants.

3.2: Majorities and Minorities

“Within a democracy; the majority rule, but not to the exclusion of the minority rights.”³

The majority can rule but the minority must be allowed to have their say. In enacting laws, a democratic government strikes a balance between the majority and the minority interests. If a legitimate decision is made by a majority of the people, but that decision negatively affect the fundamental rights of a minority of the people, that decision must be adjusted to reflect what is favourable and equitable to all the citizens. The several tiers of government, federal, state and local, should ensure that every citizen is represented.

The needs or wants of various groups or communities are not homogenous as also in the numerical strength but they equally have contributed to the existence of government by handing over their rights to a man or group of men. They are equally desirous of the peaceful and commodious living. Since the majority have been made the pillar or measuring rod for

deciding who take the mantle of leadership, the minority inclusion should be used as the measuring rod to judge the totality. Hence their plight, need, view, and comfort should be all subject of inclusion in any democratic gathering or government. This particular principle gives a human face to what would have been considered another subjugation of the individual in the presence of the majority, hence not individual friendly but have been thus rescued.

3.3: The Principles of Protection/Political Liberty

‘‘A true democracy upholds the basic human rights of its citizens, as outlined in its laws, agreement or constitution.’’⁴ These rights include freedom of religion, freedom of speech, equal protection under the law, the rights to a fair trial and a right to privacy without unwarranted intrusion by the government and right to vote and be voted for, right to free association and so on. ‘‘In different countries, people have their other rights such as: the right to education, medical care, old age care, right to assemble and the right to publish their opinions in prints.’’⁵ They are also protected from discrimination based on their sex, race, religion, disability. Recently some countries are beginning to add protection based on lifestyle, in relation to the same sex marriages.

The protection here considers not whether you are wealthy or not, whether you are a muslim or Christian, whether you are Fulani, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, or any other tribe. Government exist because living humans exist. If no living humans is in existence, no government will exist.that is to say that democratic government or any other type of government is predicated on human being. This may explain why most important of any government is the securing or protection of life and property. The failure of any government to do this is considered the failure of that government and have no basis to exist and should be sacked as matter of obligation.

3.4 Limiting the Law Makers

Lawmakers are human beings, subject to the frailty of humans. The electing masses have no way of discerning the minds construction except what is said which could be poles away from what is intended or what will be resorted to later. Change, be it in humans or other things is constant. Just as absolute power corrupts absolutely, assured longevity can breed great impunity. The masses only legitimate weapon against it is the limitation of the tenor of law makers. Not by indicating how many times he may run for the office but by having the power to vote him or her out of office, even in the middle of the tenor. This might explain why elections are conducted at regular intervals, so that even when the representative has bought or danced his or her way into the hearts of his colleagues in the assembly and succeed in constantly oneway or the other truncating his recall by his constituency, there comes a time, during general election, when he will not enjoy such protection from his or her colleagues but is wholly at the mercy of his or her constituency members. At this point, his or her services can be limited with the votes.

The pro'Government officials holding posts in the different branches of government are subject to term limit.'⁶ Election is held on a regular basis and citizens have the opportunity of electing new people to government posts. Citizens are guaranteed that these elections will be free and fair and every one who is eligible to vote will have that opportunity of voting and being voted for if he desires and can fulfil other requirements stipulated.

3.5 Popular Sovereignty

'This means that the highest power and authority in a democracy resides with the masses.'⁷

It is never handed over to the representatives. It can only be delegated to the representatives, so, the representatives or government is the servant of the people. When the servant misbehaves, he could be recalled or sacked. The recalling can only be done by the person who

has the power and authority to do so and that is, the masses. The representatives are therefore elected because the masses know that it will be unwieldy for all the citizens to be there at the seat of power at the same time. The elected are therefore the servant/mouth piece of the sovereigns

Any person or group claiming that having been elected by the masses to represent them, the masses transfers their sovereignty to them (the representatives) clearly manifest the lack of understanding of what democracy is all about and is out to instil. As indicated earlier, democracy is purely Greek in origin and simply means, 'power of the people' and not of the elected or representatives. It therefore means that the masses never relinquish their sovereignty. The masses can only lend the image or copy of their authority to the elected to act on behalf of the masses or sovereigns and be able to speak for the masses, after first seeking the view or opinion of the sovereigns on an issue.

3.6: Free and Fair Election

You do not have a democracy just because you have election now and then,

Government leaders are selected in a competitive election and it has to be meaningful. The citizens have to have the authority and power to select the people they want to represent them in government decisions. This can only happen in a situation of free and fair elections.⁸

There should not be undue influence or pressure. The voting has to be freely and voluntarily carried out. And the people so selected should be the people allowed to serve the citizens.

Where the process is tampered with or carried out in duress, it is no longer a true democratic process.

The masses' volition must be seen to have been freely given and not coerced or bought. Free and fair elections are the only legitimate means of authorizing another to use the

commonwealth for everybody's good. There is no barring of anybody who has reached the requisite age of voting or being voted for, if he or she desires to vie for a seat.

3.7: Freedom of the Press

In a true democracy, very high quality information is vital and the press should in no way be coarsed or muscled. People have to find out about modern ways of playing politics, 'about their leaders, about the general conditions in their country, so as to know what they are voting about.'⁹ People need to know what their leaders are doing with the common wealth. The press themselves have to investigate issues thoroughly before reporting, because press reporting has a lot of influence in peoples' perception and their choice decision and rejection because the masses believe that the press report the truth, thus their information has a lot of effect on the masses view of anybody or group being reported about in press. It therefore becomes necessary that the press fundamentally investigate properly before reporting any issue to the public, for fear of its outcome.

3.8: Good Governance

In a democracy, 'the policies of government should reflect the will of the people'¹⁰ and not the will of government or that of a section. These policies must be of benefit to the people and not anti people policies. 'It is indicated that in a democracy, majority rule but any majority policy decision which will negatively affect the minority, should be adjusted to include the minorities stand.'¹¹ The desired problems solution should be the concern of government. The elected representatives should be in tune with their constituents as to reflect their views and mood in government decisions. Government policies have to be effective, accomplishing what they are meant to accomplish.

Odock, sees good governance as,

“a system of government, based on good leadership, respect for the rule of law and due process, the accountability of the political leadership to the electorate as well as transparency in the operations of government.”¹²

Transparency, as stipulated by Odock, has to do with the leadership carrying out government businesses in the open, easy to understand and explicit manner, such that the rules made by government, the policies implemented by the results of government activities are easy to verify by the ordinary citizens. Accountability as a component of good governance refers to the fact that those who occupy positions of leadership in government must give a good and honest account or subject themselves to the will and desire of the society and the people they lead.

3.9 Political Equality

“This means that everyone should be equal in the eyes of government; we should not have a situation where some people have more vote value than others or some people’s votes are regarded as being weightier than others.”¹³ It should be an equal system of one man one vote, and each vote should be made to count equally. A situation where the eligibles in a section are disenfranchised, to favour a candidate in another section, should never be entertained. Only those who are eligible to vote as stipulated in the constitution or any other agreement and accredited in the process, should vote and not under age or those not qualified in any other way. Any body who can vote should also be considered eligible to be voted for, if he or she so desires and fulfills the requisite requirements. Everybody is considered equal in the eyes of the political law and also political views so considered if cogent. No political view on the same issue and of the same expression should be considered weightier than the other.

3.10 Separation of Powers

To avoid a situation where too much power will be concentrated in one hand, the powers of government are divided among the three arms of government. The representatives of the citizens who are the law makers are in the legislative arm of government; the executive arm, are supposed to implement the policies; while the judicial arm has the responsibility of interpreting these laws to the legislatures, the executives and the masses. The judiciary is also seen as the defenders of the common man, in the sense that the law is made not to know neither the rich person, nor the poor. They are all equal before the law. When the rich person tries to oppress the poor with his wealth in an unjust situation, the rich person is prevented from carrying out his intention, by the judiciary. The masses can even sue their elected representatives while they are still in office, to prevent them from continuing their irresponsibility in office. The different arms are so empowered and arranged to be able to checkmate each other as to prevent the over bearing wielding of power by any of the arms. This is for the fact that absolute power intoxicates absolute and need to be curtailed as not to become terror to the masses.

3.11: Constitutional Government

Every true democratic government must be based and governed by law. The constitution stipulates the responsibilities of government, their authority and powers. In the same vein, it indicates the scope and limitations of government. The basic rights of the citizens are not to be trifled with, rather, they are to be guarded jealously. The constitution also has a standing mandate on the period of election. The law also prescribes what constitutes a majority in an election and how an election is to be conducted. It also stipulates how a dispute over the outcome of an election should be adjudicated – legally, by the judiciary. Some of the economic and financial life of the democratic setting is also stipulated in the law. Any

activity of government not already covered by the constitution and those covered pass through a process that brings them to the eyes of the law. This explains why coups enthrone government structures that by everybody whenever it stumbles into view.

3.12 Human Rights

There are many basic human rights prescribable in a constitution. These rights can only be realized and protected in a democratic setting, where people are seen to be equal and are part of the law makers. The most basic of these laws are the ones that ensure the security of life and property. This law particularly is the reason for any government and a strong point or factor in the basic human rights. These rights include the: the right to life, to private properties, to family, to freedom of association, to movement, to education, to health, fair hearing and so many others.

Another of the basic human right is the right to fair trial. In every society, there must be sanctions to punish offenders, hence deter and guide them and others as to preserve the society from disintegration. Some of these sanctions might be legal, while some are customary. While the principle of legal system may differ from country to country, with some holding their suspects guilty until proven innocent, others hold them innocent, until proven guilty. The common principle however, especially in a democratic setting, is the right to personal defence and legal assistance. Nobody is to be judged and sentenced without first of all being granted fair hearing and fair trial. It is a right, not a privilege.

Demonstrating freedom of association in a democracy, political parties are allowed as a platform for the people of the same outlook to recognize and project their desires and instrumentality to the masses, who have to align themselves to the party they think their interest will be best served. The masses backed by law are free to associate with any group or party that will help them attain their objectives. A civil society is replete with associations and groups projecting interests. Be they religious, educational, agricultural, industrial,

political and so on; the citizens are free to join any one, as long as it is a legitimate organization and must never be pressured into any.

3.13 Private Organizations

Private organizations are important factor in democratic practice. They play important roles in the growth, development, entire economic and social life in a democratic setting. They get involved in the open and need area, instead of leaving every thing in the hands of government. Private organizations are better at managing businesses and creating private wealth. They can partner with government to ensure the success of a venture and its profitability. Private organizations are more astute at harnessing the experiences and initiatives of the citizens and they can direct governments in the right direction of investment. They also serve as veritable pressure groups that forces governments to perform creditably. In the life of private organizations, government role is to institute a level playing ground.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

It is necessary to point out here, that this chapter will be looked at from the angle of the characteristics of democracy, to note how the practice of Western democracy by Nigerians tallies or deviates from the known characteristics. This is to help us determine whether we are practicing it appropriately or not and if not, what are the problems? How and where are we getting it wrong?

Nigeria gained political independence from the United Kingdom as a Commonwealth Realm on the 1st of October 1960 with Nnamdi Azikiwe as its maiden Governor General through the coalition of the parties. It was not until 1963 that it became a Republic which could mean other things but today, it is often referred to as a representative democracy with an elected head of state such as a President, serving for a limited term. The head of government, if it is a constitutional Monarchy is appointed by the elected representatives. Having become a republic, Nnamdi Azikiwe was also Nigeria's first President.

Typical of any democratic environment, its elections must be arranged along party lines. In Nigeria, political parties are majorly established along the dominant ethnic lines. The existing parties at this period were:

Nigerian People's Congress (NPC) dominated by the Northerners and those of Islamic faith; National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun (NCNC) dominated by the Igbo and those of Christian faith led by Nnamdi Azikiwe. There was also Action Group (AG) dominated by the Yoruba led by Obafemi Awolowo.¹

The cultural and political differences between Nigeria's dominant ethnic groups; the Hausa (Northerners), Igbo (Easterners) and Yoruba (Westerners) are sharp and have remained majorly so, till date. Presently, 'Nigeria is a Federal Republic modeled after the United States of America,'² with executive powers exercised by the president. It is influenced by the

Westminster system modeled in the composition and management of the Upper and Lower Houses of the bicameral legislature. This bi-cameral chamber has the business of making laws. “The President is both Head of State and Head of National Executive. He is elected by popular vote to a maximum of two 4-years terms.”³ The third arm of government is the judicial arm, and has the duty of interpreting laws and using it to adjudicate controversial issues.

The Presidential powers are checkmated by a Senate and House of Representatives which are combined in a bi-cameral body called the National Assembly. The Senate is a 109-seat body with three members from each state of the Federation and one from the capital region of Abuja. Members are elected by popular vote to a four-year term. “The House of Representatives contains 360 seats and the number of seats per state is determined by the State’s population.”⁴

Nigeria government is divided into a three tier government of: Federal, State and the grass root government called the Local Government and there are about 701 local governments in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. “Nigeria’s three largest ethnic groups, the Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba have maintained historical pre-eminence in Nigeria politics. Competition amongst these three groups have fueled corruption, graft,”⁵ and other societal ills that do not help the common good nor the realization of the essence of democracy.

A lot of criticisms have been marshalled against the governmental system called democracy. These critiques could be called pro-system philosophers. The pro- people philosophers consider the wellbeing of the people, their expression, participation, and values in the system. It is because the nature of democracy incorporates and allows these important expressions, human right values and objectives to play, that explains why it is preferred to any other governmental forms.

When democracy and its rules are followed faithfully, the results attained witness to the true nature of democracy. When this is not done for some selfish reasons, myriads of problems are detected, as is the case with Nigeria. This is not to say that democracy can not be sincerely perculiarised to reflect the culture, history, tradition and needs of a people; but the behavior of our leaders and what they do with the massive powers in their hands, have made many to wonder what form of government we are really practicing: monarchy? oligarchy? diachy? or outright tyranny? A philosophical look at the practice of democracy in Nigeria Viz a Viz the true nature of democracy contained in its characteristics will expose properly the democratic challenges. Before we do this, let us take a very brief look at the history of democracy in Nigeria, to acquaint ourselves with the span and age of the system here.

The History of Western Democratic Rule in Nigeria

The history of Western democratic rule in Nigeria is a checkered one. After the gaining of political independence in 1960 that saw Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as the Governor General and Sir, Abubakar Tafawa Belewa as the Prime Minister, and later as a Republic in 1963 with Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe briefly as the President, the rulership of the country was hijacked by the military starting with General JTG Aguiyi Ironsi. This General took over power due to a failed coup by Ifeajuna, Kaduna Nzeogwu and their cohorts in 1966. Except for a brief interlude between 1979 and 1984 which saw Alhaji Shehu Shagari as another democratic president, the military Juntas have seen not less than thirty (30) consecutive years in office as military heads of Nigeria.

Democracy came back to reckoning in Nigeria in 1999, when PDP's Olusegun Obasanjo, a former military junta, was elected as the new civilian president of Nigeria. The elections that brought him to power for the first and second terms, were seriously flawed and categorised as unfree and unfair. His reign came to an end in 2007 and 'he foistered another PDP

man, Umaru Shehu Yar'Adua on Nigerians to replace himself as president of the country, in an internationally condemned process, in the same 2007.”⁶

“Yar'Adua died on 5th may 2010 and his vice president, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, was sworn in as his replacement on 6th may 2010”,⁷ in accordance with the constitution. “A Former Kaduna state governor, Namadi Sambo, on Jonathan's nomination was confirmed on 18th may 2010 by National Assembly to be Goodluck Jonathan's Vice President.”⁸ Jonathan served as Umaru Yar'Adua's replacement till 16th April 2011 when he was elected as a substantive president in a general election carried out on the 19th April 2011, on a Peoples' Democratic Party, PDP ticket. “The election was seen as relatively devoid of much violence and voter fraud by the international observers.”⁹

In the March 2015 general election, Muhammadu Buhari on an All Progressive Congress, APC ticket, defeated Goodluck Jonathan as the new democratically elected Head of State. “International observers generally praised Jonathan for conceding defeat, thereby limiting the risk of unrest.”¹⁰ As in many other African countries, prebendalism and high rates of corruption, continues to constitute major challenges to Nigeria democracy. All major parties in Nigeria have been involved in vote rigging and other means of coercion to remain competitive. In 1983, after assessing the electoral processes and the elections that took place that year, the policy institute of Nigeria in Kuru concluded that “only the 1959 and 1979 elections to date were conducted with minimal vote rigging.”¹¹

We will now look at democracy in Nigeria from the angle of the essences of democracy.

4.1 Elections

The essence of democracy clearly stipulates that only free and fair elections can be used justifiable as instrument by the masses to pick who represents them in governmental decision makings. Elections in Nigeria are never free and fair. This prompted our honoured policy institution in Kuru to draw the conclusion that only “in the elections of 1959 and 1979 did we witness little violence.”¹² What this means is that, there were violence, unfree and unfair elections, but not to the magnitude of the others. This was because the former was midwived by the whiteman and the later by a not yet highly politicized military.

It should be recalled that the actions of the “wild, wild west” was one of the events that precipitated the first coup d’ etat in 1966. The elections that brought Obasanjo to power in 1999 and in 2003 were totally condemned to be unfree and unfair by local and international elections observers. The elections which Obasanjo midwived in 2007 which installed his handpicked successor, was equally fraudulent. Acknowledging this himself in a television interview in 2007, he said, “if Nigerians do not like the victory of my handpicked successor, they would have another opportunity to vote again in four years.”¹³

The conducts and utterances of Obasanjo manifested impunity and utter disregard for the rule of law. The elections that enthroned Muhammadu Buhari were nothing other than a display of gross fraud that saw children below the voting age of eighteen exercising franchise and the Northerners threatening of ethnic and religious massacre of other tribes staying in the North if Buhari did not win. First hand observation showed machets being shared among the Northerners in Suleja, Niger State, in preparation for the massacre of the Igbo people and Christians from other tribes if Buhari did not win. Obasanjo’s statement about “handpicked successor,” is the application of the right words to what happens in the country in virtually all the so called democratic elections. The stalwarts of the ruling party, in collaboration with the

electoral officers impose whomever they want on the people in disdain of the people's choice.

In democracy, the will of the people expressed with the number of votes cast for a candidate is supposed to stand, but in Nigeria, the so called political leaders truncate the process, the choice of the masses were never allowed to stand, unless that choice tallies with what and whom the few cabals wielding the 'king making power' want. Sometimes, results of the yet to be conducted elections are written long before the voting is carried out, as did happen in Imo State and many other states of the Federation in the 1983 general elections, when the National Party of Nigeria, NPN, wanted to unseat Sam Mbakwe, the then incumbent governor of Imo state from APP, African people's party. It was a clear demonstration of the cabal's secret joke, 'let the people decide whom to vote for, while we (the cabals) decide who will win.'¹⁴ However, they did not succeed in the case of Mbakwe, because he knew what they knew and how to play it in Nigeria. He was able to counter them and beat them at their game with the help of Arthur Nzeribe, the then rigging marshal in cohort with the state INEC officers.

What also played out in Peoples Democratic Party, PDP, in the 2015 general elections, clearly demonstrated the 'Cabalistic powers' of some of the PDP members, who crossed over to APC against the decisions of the majority of Nigerians. They hijacked the instruments of the elections and turned them to their selfish, religious, tribal and ethnic interests thereby overturning the true decisions of the masses.

In the 2015 general elections, ethnicity or tribalism, regional, religious sentiment, and other factors had to be brought to bear to 'cut down' the incumbent. The abuse of many electoral laws, including the tacit support of the electoral umpire- INEC Chairman, prof. Jega, procured by foul means, including treat of family extermination were rumoured to have been used to

achieve the fit- defeating an incumbent in Nigeria. This is against the run of political plays in Nigeria. The APC party and its members were desperate to win and were ready to do anything, just anything to obtain what they want, Buhari and the Northern people were acutely desperate to be in power for religious and tribal reasons.

Again, how can elections be free and fair in Nigeria when, for instance, the constitution declares Nigeria a secular state but our Northern brothers believe that rulership is their birth right and will invoke or employ any means to obtain and retain power, thereby thwarting the constitution, further more, trying to make the country reflect their religion and dictate the country's leadership, culture and tradition. As far as they are concerned, only their sect members are fit to rule the country, with what qualities, this study may want to know? This is against the constitution which states clearly that every eligible Nigerian can vote and be voted for, if he or she decides to contest. These are some of the factors fighting against free and fair elections in Nigeria.

4.2 Majority Rule and Minority Rights

In a true democratic state, majority rules, while the minorities are not denied their rights, the minority rights are protected. The choice of the leaders and the taking of decisions are based on the principle of majority votes and rules but the rights of the minority are also not denied. They are allowed their say and in policy implementations, their desires are balanced. No side is left to feel cheated or hurt.

Democratic constitution ensures that the individuals' basic rights are not taken from them. These rights include: the right to life, the right to freedom of speech or expression, the right to freedom of assembly, the right to freedom of religious worship, the rights to the freedom of movement, the rights to fair hearing and so on. In Nigeria, democratic practices appear in different forms. The majority do not rule no matter how numerous the number of votes cast

for a choice candidate, if he is not the choice of the cabals; rather the few selfish power brokers, the few godfathers whose arms sometimes masquerade as state organs, ensure that the results end up re-written to favour them. This was the case in 2007 general elections, when Olusegun Obasanjo, his so called Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) chaired by Prof. Morris Iwu and a few power brokers foistered Umaru Shehu Yar'Adua on the country. 'He confirmed this by saying that if Nigerians do not like his handpicked replacement, they will have opportunity to vote again in four years time.'¹⁵ Obasanjo's utterances and conducts smacks of an absolute monarch who does and says whatever he likes with impunity.

When the popular decisions or wishes of the majority are disdained, the rights of the minority dare not be mentioned at all. In Nigeria the minorities have to hide behind the majority to survive. They have no rights, should not benefit from any democratic dividend for not voting for the incumbent enmass. This was trumpeted by Buhari when the representatives of the Igbo ethnic group paid him a curtesy call, after being sworn in as the President of the country in 2015. He made it clear that the Igbo tribe should not expect patronage from him, for failing to vote for him 'enmass'. Another set of the Igbo APC party stalwarts had to visit him to clarify the situation. His threat was still reflected in his appointments.

In Nigeria's democratic practice, who says that the individual's rights enshrined in the constitution are to be upheld? For our cabal surrogates, Presidents, Governors and others, the statements in the constitution are just that, constitutional statements. The judicial arm of government that are supposed to uphold this prescription in the constitution, are easily compromised. The helmsmen of the law enforcement agencies are appointed by these cabals and their surrogates and do easily and conveniently forget their duties to the nation when directed to do so, to the convenience of these cabals and their friends. For instance, the actions of the 'first watchman of the society,'—Inspector Generals of Police, in the cases of the

kidnappings of underage girls on the approval of the Emirs in the North are points at stake. In such matters and situations, the complainants are often treated as if they are the culprits and are usually detained to scare them away from ever coming forward to demand for justice, this way, hounding them into silence.

The individual's rights include the right to life, freedom of speech and expression. Recently, the Fulani herdsmen ran riot in every part of the country, massacring thousands of Nigerians and are still at it. The President whose tribesmen they are, was not noted to have done anything worth his position, to discourage such nefarious actions; yet, he is the Commander In-Chief of the armed forces. For carrying placards and demonstrating peacefully in the South East, seeking for the independence of Biafra, innocent children and women were gunned down. That is your freedom of speech and expression. A committee of inquiry has been set up, to what end? At an international court, the whole incidents were denied, until a private recording of the incidents appeared, confirming the nefarious acts to the International community. In Nigeria, the voices of the poor are the voices of the dead. Poor, hapless, innocent lives were of no value, unless you have a voice among the Cabals. Nobody listened to the complaints of the people in Niger Delta until they started blowing up the oil pipelines and rigs— 'big men's source of pocket money.

What of the freedom of religious worship? This is another gray area where democracy in Nigeria is having a serious setback. Nigeria has been defined by the constitution to be a secular state, that is, a nation without national religion, a country where everybody is free to approach God through any means and object and by any name; as long as, it does not impinge or infringe on another's right or the faithfuls becoming private or public nuisance. A section of the country has been fighting assiduously to make themselves arrow head of God's wisdom, determining which religious direction the rest of humanity must follow. They have constituted themselves into mega nuisance in every way imaginable. The baffling thing is

that, the God that clearly enshrined in His 'Decalogue;' that nobody has the right to kill another human being, is purported to be filled with blitz whenever this group kills a Christian or even a Moslem under whatever pretext and have given them the injunction to kill for Him and receive reward of twenty-one virgins in Paradise. What they never revealed is, what He expects them to do with those virgins in heaven, since there is 'no monkey business' in heaven or are they allowed to 'do'. All that they insist on is that, 'by fire by fire', their religion's rites and rituals must be seen as the light that scares the darkness, not the other way round.

People are afraid of this sect, not because of the presence of an awesome God that solve problems and effect miracles or that can even fight for itself or manifest virtues in its human followers but for latent violence, dismation of life at the slightest provocation. Some are very peaceful though. But the question that needs an answer is, who are the major members Boko Haram and what is their mission in Nigeria?

This is the altar, on which some of our so called leader's worship with glee. The recent promulgation by El-Rufai, the governor of Kaduna state, in this millennium, trying to ban freedom of worship in public, trying to ban preaching in the streets of Kaduna, leaves a lot to be desired. This definitely has impinged on the freedom of worship of those religions that engage in "morning cries"-a religious exercise that seek an early morning spiritual reflection on one's moral standing with one's object of worship, for the betterment of one's spiritual life that may translate to one's better productive and honest relationship with others and the nation which should be encouraged as long as it has not become a nuisance. We might ask, why? Is it no longer good to appeal for good citizenship, for the wellbeing of the individuals and the nation? What of our Northern brothers who do and have been doing the cries, morning, afternoon and night and are still at it? What we are saying is that, this motion which appears sponsored by El Rufai himself, if passed into law, is discriminatory and is hampering

some of the citizen's right of expression. It should be reviewed to have democratic and universal outlook not as if instituted to pursue a hidden agenda- Islamisation of the whole of Kaduna.

Then, we will make haste to ask here, do we have freedom of movement in Nigeria? Are we free to move to any part of the country and settle without molestation, or paying dearly with our life? If we have, what is "quota system" for? The point is that we have wittingly or unwittingly enshrined divisive principles or laws into our constitution and what of the recent pronouncement asking the whole Igbo nation in the North to go, just because they effectively celebrated the memorial of their relations that died during Nigeria/Biafra war, whom the federal government refused to include in their recent memorial celebration.

Recently, because the Igbo tribe declared a successful seat at home in Eastern Nigeria, to remember the soldiers of 'Biafra' extraction who lost their lives, during the Nigeria/Biafra civil war, the Arewa youths gave a deadline- 1st of October 2017, within which all the Igbo people residing in the North must leave the Northern part of Nigeria, and their property which are the main target of the banishment call, back to Eastern Nigeria, for good. This aberration is supported by some Northern Elders without counting the consequences which will be bloody on both sides. Does this manifest freedom of movement or action? The big puzzle is that the Federal government has not been forthcoming with the expected reaction, like the arrest of the protagonist of this dastard campaign. How can democracy thrive, grow, not to talk of consolidating in this type of environment?

What is the benefit of government claiming ownership of all landed properties in Nigeria and yet in the forms we are made to fill, we are asked to indicate the tribe we come from, through the question of local government and state of origin instead of being contented with the nationality question?

We have indicated earlier that the rights of the individual who has no 'big man' to speak for him/her can not be guaranteed. The same applies to the minority. The people of Ogoni land have been crying for attention for ages, as a result of the devastations caused in their ecosystem by companies exploring for oil in Rivers and Bayelsa states, from where the wealth of the nation used in developing other parts of the country is gotten. The democratic 'majority' are simply enjoying the 'milk' from Niger Delta, without caring a hoot whether the Deltans drown in the sludge left by the milk. It required the Ogoni people's destruction of the Nigeria oil pipelines, for reasonable attention to be paid to their cries. This is not democratic prescription. Democracy stated clearly that the minority must be given a sense of belonging in policy implementation. This is not being done, the majority rather tyrannise the minority. This will not help the practice and attainment of democratic benefit in Nigeria.

4.3 Political Parties

Democracy stipulates the establishment of political parties to make the issue of competition and election that will enable for the choice of the best candidates for office an organized one, yet it typically recognizes the minority in the independent candidacy. This independent candidacy is not yet being practiced in Nigeria, perhaps, because of the capital outlay but was discussed though not conclusively in 1979, when Tunde Braitwath wanted to contest on the independent platform. The discussion was on the ground that Nigerians are not yet experienced and mature politically to practice independence candidacy, if it is allowed and the candidate wins, he or she will see his or her winning as personal victory and uncontrollable by party officials. He or she will claim to owe no allegiance to any party, will do whatever he or she likes. More over, it will not be democracy that is in practice, since democracy stipulates that it must be practiced on party basis.

Party membership does not mean wholly compartmentalized interest. One may be a member of one party and still vote a candidate in another party based on personal conviction and strong belief in the candidates' track record of performance and the presented agenda. What this means is that a party might float the right agenda but does not have the right and trust worthy candidates to implement them, if the party wins. For the purpose of accommodation of all interest and freedom of association, it is better that no number of parties be stipulated for registration by the electoral umpire. Capabilities and abilities will stream line, re-align and naturally eliminate the incapables without grudges or litigations.

In this area, Nigeria has respected the principle of democracy with new parties coming into the streamline every general election and the moribund ones naturally deleting themselves based on the conditionalities and capabilities in the political play. The known democracies of the world with apparent very few parties started this way, and natural process has made its choice of current survivors and eliminated the incapables.

After an election, if a single party has the requisite majority votes, it forms the government. If, however no single party has the majority votes, two or more parties can, by coalition, form a government like happened in 1959 in Nigeria's first election and later, in 1983, during Shagari's reign when National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and Nigeria People's Party (NPP) coalesced to form a government but the coalition soon after broke down due to greed. NPN was accused of not keeping to the terms of the agreement. Considering the type of people then in NPN, one could say that the collapsing of the agreement was tactically planned to happen, even before the coalition.

One good thing about democratic coalition is that, once the government has been formed, even when one of the parties feels aggrieved and walks away, the government still stands. That the coalition is engineered to collapse shows the level of greed and

untrustworthiness of our leaders, which has today given birth to high level of corruption and other societal ills. Some of these political parties are simply ‘spoilers.’ Knowing that they do not have the muscles to win any election, they are there to pander to the dictates of the highest bidder. They are often used by the cabals to divide the votes of a strong contender to an office, so that their own candidate will win. Often times the cabals front somebody to register more than one party for this purpose.

In the developed countries, political parties aid in ensuring that their candidates conform to the electoral laws and behave honourably. In Nigeria, their conducts are questionable. Many of the time, they are the plotters of disgraceful conducts to the chagrin of the candidates. Their demands on the candidates, most of the time, bothers on the avaricious and lures the candidates to embezzlement. For instance, in a situation where the organ that should wield the cane is the one suggesting the maneuver, the candidate susceptible to compromise makes it a ‘field day.’ The role political parties should play in standardizing and helping democracy to grow is not yet understood by the politicians in Nigeria, hence, democratic practice in Nigeria requires concerted political education and orientation.

4.4 Independence of the Judiciary

This organ is acclaimed as the hope of the common person. This is to indicate that when the poor or common man is being oppressed by the well to do, the highly connected, or even government, the judiciary which is supposed to adjudicate issues blindly and judiciously even when its lord and master is involved, will always handle the case without bias; for everybody is equal before the law. In a democratic setting, human right laws, insists on the equality of rights and fair hearing.

However, the situations we have witnessed numerous times in Nigeria, manifest the dependence of the judiciary on the national budget and whatever the Executive approves for

them. The Chief Judges of the Federation are usually appointed by the President and ratified by the National Assembly. Where the party that produces the President also has majority in the Assembly, whatever the President indicates is what is approved or upheld in the House, aided by 'Ghana must go' This was introduced by Obasanjo during his reign and remained prominent during his time on the seat. It was under him that the bribery of the National Assembly members was at its heights

If efficiency is to be attained in the judiciary, funding of the Judiciary should come directly from the consolidated National fund. The same should apply to Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) their funding should never come from budgetary allocation. In Nigeria, INEC's funding is from the consolidated fund but that of the Judiciary is budgetary. It is known that 'he who pays the piper dictates the tune.' For fear of losing their jobs, many of these Chief Justices dance to the tune of the President and his favourites. Under this circumstance, politicians have been known to obtain court injunctions in the middle of the night and on a non working day. This is highly irregular and undemocratic.

In Nigeria justice has been known to sway in favour of the guilty, because of Executive interference. For instance, the 'Money Lundering' case against James Ibori, the former governor of Delta state, is known to have been influenced by Obasanjo. The grossly guilty has also been known to receive very light sentence, as in the case of 'Police Pension looter'- Ahmed Inua Wada. A democracy whose judiciary is not wholly independent, cannot claim to be so, for the rights of the individuals against the government itself cannot be ensured.

A situation where the Federal high courts will be passing contradictory judgements on one issue, because of the interest of the 'master;' does not speak well of the judicial arm of the government. The judiciary should do a rethink on their dispensation of justice and improve

on the tempo and objectivity; as it enhances their independence. The independence of the judiciary is a key ingredient for the survival of democracy.

4.5 Separation, Checks and Balances of Power

This factor of democracy should be guarded jealously. There is no doubt that, human beings by nature can indulge in a lot of excesses in the absence of a checkmating organ. Power must be checkmated, for 'absolute power intoxicates absolutely' and 'power without control is useless.' In a democracy, the separation of powers among the executives, the legislatures and the judiciary, ensures that one institution does not become the prosecutor and the judge in a case. These separate parts of a system have various functions to perform. In this case, these parts make up the system called government. Each carries out different functions, and also checks and balances the usage of power available to the three arms of government. Each ensures that no one arm of government dominates in the governmental process. None of them can be above the law.

However, in Nigeria democracy, one wonders especially, whether the executive arm of government is not performing and using all the government three arms powers. This is for the fact that it gets whatever it wants from the legislatures and judiciary without much ado and sometimes without even presenting a justifying argument. Sometimes the executives are given what they should not get. This was constantly in display during Obasanjo's regime. He is known to ride rough shod over the legislatures, as regards their functions and oversight functions, and also turns to dictate to the judiciary, and gets away with it. He prefers the use of absolute power and therefore did not welcome the checkmating by the National Assembly. Sometimes, he is simply tyrannical. To have his way, he resorted to the dirty game of "Ghana must go," to remove any 'obstacle' in his way. The then Senate President, Wilberforce

Okadigbo was a victim of this ploy. Senate Presidents and House of Representative Speakers who questioned his activities were removed from office. No such development however was witnessed during the reigns of Yar'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan.

It is unfortunate that because of the high level of corruption in the country, the legislatures and the Judiciary are constantly pandering to the will of the Presidents; to attract executive patronage. Many of them simply sell their conscience to greed. Example of such gutless and lily livered Senate President was late Evan Enwerem, who allowed Obasanjo whatever he liked unchallenged; even when it goes against the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This situation led to Obasanjo carrying out certain activities that seem to place him above the law. This situation was not noticed anywhere during the reign of his successors, Yar'Adua and Jonathan. Buhari appears not to want to tangle with the house members, perhaps because he knows that he is incapable of contesting with them. Even when he might have good reasons to contend with them, like when he disagrees with them on the issue of the 2019 election time table for instance. They have cooked up the game of padding our annual budget. Padding is a good system in budgeting in the disciplined and developed countries of the world, for it is used to shore up the unexpected price rise in an important and urgent project; If however such development do not arise, that is price of items did not rise, the money will be ploughed back into the consolidated revenue, but in Nigeria, the fund will be embezzled or misappropriated. In 2016 and 2017, they toyed with and delayed our annual budget implementation till the middle of the year. This study held his breath to notice any checkmating, none was noticed. The factors of separation and checkmating are very important factors of democracy which Nigeria legislators have not mastered how to handle. It is therefore affecting the development of democracy in Nigeria

4.6 Private Organizations

In every country, individuals and private organizations are expected to engage in many social and economic activities in which government only set a level playing field and do not play nor control, except in those activities that are highly strategic to the life of the nation, like oil, power and steel. Of all forms of government, democracy is known to be more supportive of small scale businesses, which are privately owned businesses. This inclusive policy in democracy encourages the citizens to contribute to the developmental processes of the country. Those with bigger capital engage in those big businesses the government and big corporations engage in, even in those big investment areas, government is only a share holder, albeit a major share holder as to exert influence in policy implementation when the need arises.

Organizations like Newspapers, Magazines, Media houses and others are mostly privately owned and managed. The trade unions are run by and for the benefits of workers and not the State. These trade unions are strong pressure groups that can force governments to play certain role for the benefits of the common person or be impeached. Obasanjo's administration did everything within its power to emasculate them, without much initial success. He eventually used the Evan Enwerem's Senate to clip the wings of organized labour so as to have his way as far as the pricing of the petroleum products, the excess revenue from oil and the question of oil subsidy. He may have promised them increase in remuneration, because a short time after, the take home of the National Assembly members increased astronomically.

At the end of the day how much excess revenue accrued and how much subsidy was paid, no one ever got to know. They were never accounted for and it was about this time that the history of Cameroun refinery and Bakassi oil well started. What is undisputable is that private

organizations are strong government partners in development and employment. They generate more jobs than government and should therefore be encouraged.

4.7 Freedom of Press

This is a very essential element of democracy. The press is the fourth estate of the realm, that is, the press comes after the executive, the legislator and the judiciary. Since democracy is founded on the will of the people, and the representatives are expected to proffer solutions to the masses and nation's problems, which will entail diverse knowledge of life endeavours, the masses are obliged to know what is being voted for, the requisite knowledge and/or experience needed, as to know who to vote for and what is being done by the people they voted for, to manage the affairs of the state. To achieve these fits, high grade information is needed. The organ that makes this information available is the press. They are expected, on their part, to process and thoroughly confirm information before disseminating them. The press is a serious pressure group, because their views influence the way people vote, furthermore, it bring governments programs and activities to the people. It has been known to cause the impeachment of many governments.

Some regimes in Nigeria have tried everything to 'muscle' the press without which democracy cannot work well. This has led to the recent passing into law, the freedom of information. This law allows easy access to any other information except those classified as highly strategic like defence information. It authorizes government organizations to make information available to the mass media, just for the asking. The percentage of press freedom in the country can be put at about 45% during the Military era. Buhari in his days as a military head of state, did not have it well with the press, because his style of leadership was draconian. In the campaign that preceded his election as the present civilian President, he was therefore dissected and x-rayed by the press, particularly AIT which was the mouth piece

of the opposing party, PDP. He threatened hail and brimstone and even tried to muscle AIT but was seriously warned against such move. Rumour has it that the harassment of the high chief Dokpesi, the chairman of AIT, was partly for his role in the expositions of Buhari during his campaign days. The bill for the freedom of information was signed into law by Goodluck Jonathan, thereby, increasing the freedom of the press to upto 70%. Obasanjo's regime was noted for blatantly refusing to sign the freedom of information bill into law and was known to have outrightly hunted and closed down newspaper houses. Pressmen were known to have been killed during the military regimes of Babangida and Abacha. While press freedom could be said to have improved recently, it is not yet 'Uhuru'. No democracy can work well without the freedom of the press.

4.8 Constitutional Government and Basic Human Rights

Democratic governments are based on law; a written constitution arrived at through a Sovereign National Conference. The constitution states the powers and duties of government, not this government but the office of government and the limits of the powers of government. How laws are to be made and enforced are also stipulated. Democratic constitutions have details of bill of rights that describe the basic liberties of the people and forbid governments from violating those rights.

Unfortunately, Nigeria's constitution was not a product of Sovereign National Conference. The best National Assembly could do on its own amounted to National Conference. The sovereignty remains with the people but the Nigeria National Assembly claims that it is with them since they represent the masses. For this study sovereignty is always with the people and only delegated to the representatives. It is never the same as having been totally handed over. For instance, when the master sends a servant to an errand, the master is still himself but the servant could be treated with some of the respect due the master because he represents

the master. This is what our so called political elites failed to understand. This was why the sovereign national conference scheduled to take place during president Goodluck Jonathan's reign could not hold rather a national conference was held. However, far reaching decisions were arrived at but, typical of Nigeria, its white papers were never published, not to talk of being implemented. The National Assembly people might insist that they are elected by the people to represent them, true, but, if we may ask, who elected the President? Why was he elected? If the members of National Assembly insist on having their way, we might want to know who recalls the other when gross abuse is perpetrated by a representative.

Moreover, it goes without saying that most of the House Members do not represent the people in the true sense of the word. For instance, how many of them use constituency fund to execute projects for the people in their constituency? How many times in a year do they even visit the members of their constituency they claim to be representing directly to know their problems or their views on an issue? The best most of them do in this regard is through a proxy. They are mostly Abuja Senators and House Members.

Yes, the constitution stipulates the function of each governmental post and that the President chairs his cabinet. This researcher does not seem to remember where the constitution indicated that the president may be at the same time a minister. It indicated that if a minister is inefficient he should be replaced, and that in war time, a committee headed by the president or his vice can take care of the critical ministries and infrastructures, not that the president will also be a minister. The post of the President is cumbersome enough. What has become fashionable in Nigeria is double posted Presidents. They do not assume the role of the minister of labour and employment, it is always the President and Petroleum Minister, the portfolio housing the chance for easy money.

During Obasanjo's regime, petroleum proceeds were never fully nor properly accounted for. The big question is, is it not to correct the petroleum ministry anomaly of non accountability that the President also became the petroleum minister? Since there was no improvement in this area, what was the president's mission in the petroleum ministry, to amass money for personal enrichment because it is definitely not for national use? Presently, Buhari has done the same thing irrespective of his not being healthy enough to be just the president of the federation. Emphasis should be on the diversification of the economy from mono-economy (petroleum) to multi-economy base (other minerals, Agriculture, Industry); instead of becoming the president and economic diversification minister; he has taken unto himself what the law did not stipulate. It is only in the times of emergencies that the law stipulates that the President or his Vice can be Chairman of the committee taking care of the airline sector and other critical ministries. Here, these laws and many others are being misinterpreted and misused without the law interpreters or executive checkmats batting an eye. The judiciary went to sleep and reneged on their duty.

Basic human rights are being violated every day by the same governments who are mandated and who swore to uphold them, not violate them. During Goodluck Jonathan's regime, how many of public funds embezzlements were swept under the carpet? Especially, when it concerns Dikdik, a one-time oil minister?

Policy implementations are embarked upon without proper consideration of its consequences on the masses. Recently, President Buhari acknowledged that, bad advisers told him that Nigeria has enough rice to be self sufficient; and without first confirming this claim, he banned the importation of rice, an action that has multiplier effect. What is the major consequence of this rash decision on the masses? Many Nigerians are dying of starvation, because, on the scarcity of rice, the prices of rice, rice components and other food stuff skyrocketed out of the reach of the common man. What did Buhari do as the President? Nothing!

He rather announced more days for the importation of rice, instead of government taking charge and correcting its mistake effectively, he embarked on this laughable solution- more days for the importation of rice. This action will rather encourage hoadersto intensify their hoading, for the more profitable rice scarcity days ahead and that was what happened. What he again started romancing with is, the setting up of price regulation Board. What a clear manifestation of leadership incompetency.

Rights are trampled upon with the devil may care attitude. Even when the courts or the judiciary play their role, the Presidents or their ministers, most of the times blatantly refuse to abide by the courts' injunctions and nothing happens. These types of development were more rampant during Obasanjo's regime. For instance, in his pursuit of vendetta against Tinubu- the former governor of Lagos State, he vehemently refused to abide by the courts judgment regarding local government creation and release Lagos state money he was holding. How will this type of situation help democratic growth and consolidation when somebody who has sworn to uphold democracy is the one carelessly standing against it?

What of his imposition of whomsoever he likes into the position of political leadership when it is the duty of the masses to delegate whomsoever they like to lead them? Laws have stipulations against such action but he rode the nation like a sturd. What of the sharing of national assets with impunity as if it is a personal asset? This was at its height during Goodluck Jonathan's reign. He paid lips service to the fighting of corruption but did everything to entrench it. In this state of the flagrant abuse of the laws and constitution of the nation, how can democracy thrive, not to talk of growing? These are among the factors that create democratic problems in Nigeria.

4.9 Good Governance

In a democracy, there must be good government policies which reflect what the people need. There is no doubt that, this is why people setup government, any form of government. The masses fundamentally handed over their rights for the security of their life and property. This security initially was limited to the provision of: road, water, school, hospital, defence, law and order. Presently this has grown to virtually everything including food, jobs or employments, movement, right to marriage right to having children and many other rights

Nigerians are so wonderful in articulating great policies that can solve all their problems when conscientiously handled. Unfortunately, it is at the point of implementation that we fail woefully. This has been attributed to a number of reasons: tribalism, nepotism, jealousy, misplacement of priority, misappropriation, embezzlement, corruption, poor leadership quality and so on. For instance, is this not the country that stipulated that its development and economic growth depend on the establishment and development of Ajaokute steel rolling mill? Instead of approaching the project with all the priority it deserves, spread the development over twenty years; while in between, wasting time and fund on ventures like FESTAC and ego feeding project like the national stadium?

This is a nation that exports crude oil, but has no functional refinery, rather imports fuel and kerosene at cut throat prices; a nation that subjects its citizens to days of sleeping in filling stations, to get fuel for their vehicles. Is this not the country that never bothers to build a petro-chemical industry nor gas extraction industry when it is aware that billions of Naira is wasted daily through gas flaring? Is this not the country that abounds in every other resources like: gold, limestone, salt, bauxite, precious stones, iron ore, and many others; that has fertile agricultural land and other money making enterprises, who preferred to use petroleum

only, as the nation's main economic stay and financier of development and growth, a situation that depend on the temperament of the international communities and market Vagaries?

A country with enamous wealth that, has no consideration for the health of its citizens – no hospitals, no adequate health centres and no health care programme. The National Health Insurance Scheme, NHIS, can in a sense be described as a programme instituted by government to enrich hospitals' managements. The so called hospitals can best be described as 'prescription centres,' further more, only out dated drugs like chloroquine, Aspirin, and some other minor drugs, are available in such centres; no other drugs are ever available for NHIS subscribers. In some cases, where hospitals exist, there are no hospital facilities, not to talk of trained or well trained medical personnel to take care of the sick.

The development of a nation is said to start with the development of the mind of its citizens, this is because, it is in the mind that all the processes of development and their foundations are forged. A country that is not interested in the academic betterment of its citizens, or that filled its schools' curriculum with Art subjects when it is planning for development, instead of the requisite Sciences and Technological subjects needed to fashion and forge instruments of development is moving in the wrong direction. 'Omne agens agit propter finem.' This can be translated to mean, all actions are directed to aid what one wants to achieve. This whole rambling in this paragraph could be interpreted to simply mean, if you want industrial development, lay the right foundation, if not, you are trying to reaping where you did not sow. When people are not considered in policy articulation nor carried along during the befuddled implementation, how can you expect them to understand the policy, its objective and pragmatics. The unfortunate situation in Nigeria is that policies are articulated for the financial gains of the people in power. They are not articulated to succeed but as an avenue to enrich themselves. For instance, when a policy of sharing money to the less privileged is put in place, hoping to implement it with the highly corrupt politicians and civil

servants, it is a clear indication that, the policy's failure is built into its planning. It is therefore bound not to succeed and is therefore not intended for the benefit of the less privileged because they will never get the money. It will be embezzled by the powers that be in the polity. So in Nigeria democracy, policies abound that reflect what they want, but unfortunately, most of these policies are not intended for the benefit of the people; they are just the 'voice of Jacob but the body of Esau.'

The level of corruption in the country has gotten to the point where the people do not benefit from even the good looking policies. These anomalies and practices hamper the growth and development of democracy in the country. Further more, since democracy promises to better the living standard of the people and they are seeing nothing, how can they support it?

The primal way of life of a people, culminates in that society's culture and this influences the peoples' actions and writings, peoples' history and perception. Noting the peoples' background and the colonial overwhelming influences, it is not surprising that our political leaders turned out the way they did. What is however surprising is, for so long? Rather than reforming, the situation is getting worse by the day. Hermeneutics sees the erroneous practices as arising from the equally erroneous foundation and the misleading inferences drawn from the colonialist nefarious practices in Africa. The importation of Western democracy and its imposition on Africa, without even the applicable educational orientation, nor the better format of incorporating the culture, history, tradition and need of Africans in its formation and forging or formulation, faults the whole system.

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CHAPTER FIVE

PROBLEMS OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

The problems militating against the proper practice of democracy in Nigeria are numerous, but could broadly be divided into four: structural, psychological, economical and moral reasons. This could also be further broken down into other factors. May we first take a look at the possible psychological trigger.

Nigeria was colonised by the British people who, from all ramifications, manifested superiority, pride, contentment and confidence and are therefore objects of ambivalence - objects that arouse love and hate, admiration and resentment. These are normal human reactions in certain circumstances.

The colonizers, sticking to their warped philosophy and policies, having no desire to unmask their mystics by teaching Nigerians what they need to know to make them equally enlightened and polished, decided to keep them where they were: mere instruments of service, beast of burden and message harbingers. The servant's desire to be like the master and even surpland him is again, a normal human tendency but here, it transcended the normal level to the psychological crisis point. It became neurotic, may be, because of the way the master|servant relationship played out, coupled with the coloniser's intension and the eventual type of formal educational foundation.

It is therefore not surprising that, when the master eventually stepped aside, the servant wanted to be everything like the master and more. The sacrosanct appearances of the masters' living quarters, GRA Ikoyi for instance, first, became the battle ground. The level of the masters' virtually limitless wealth, can only be attained through corruption and because the masters do not want us to be truly independent, self reliant and developed, do not feel any

compunction about their nefarious acts and their obnoxious outcomes, they encouraged corrupt practices, insensitivity to the needs of the people, and so many other societal ills. Some of these practices attract disdain for the politicians but the presence of financial means appears to mitigate the outward demonstration of these resentments by the people. Unfortunately, the proceeds of some of these practices can also ensure for the politicians lavish life style, self preservation and purchase relevance in the society. To these practices, the former servants applied themselves whole heartedly. The living above the law, the haughty displays which manifest total disregard for the masses' desires or feelings and other misconducts became psychotic simili, to mimick the absent masters' way of life. These neurotic situations may also have endured and transmitted somehow down to us through history and the structural intricases of language.

It is an accepted psychological fact that human behaviours are mostly influenced by the unconscious. This means that, even when we think we are in control of a situation, the unknown or the unconscious determines and controls our control of the situation. When a habit has been formed of a situation or a way of life, making it compulsive, one tends to think that without the action or ritual, one may not succeed. One therefore becomes a slave to one's actions. This explains why some people steal compulsively, even when they do not need what they are stealing, as happens in Nigeria, when the stickenly wealthy still rob the till for little sums of money.

This analysis may be a fallacy but could easily be the root of the societal ills which Nigerians seem unable to jettison. After all, every language contains some psychological intricases that make even a stranger speak, virtually reason and behave like the owners of the language.

Looking at the structural angle, we consider the factors or components of democracy. Democracy as presently practiced in Nigeria in particular and Africa in general is Western democracy. The Westerners considered their culture, history, values, tradition and needs in forging their democracy. It was not imposed on them from outside by outsiders. Nigeria like some other countries of the world is an artificial polity. However, that of Nigeria is more complex. While the various groups, states or tribes in these other countries might have their various dialects, they have their central language which they generally speak. In Nigeria our central language is English, but most of the numerous tribes in Nigeria cannot speak the English language because it is imposed. It is not our mother tongue. Culture and traditional values also differ. Democracy is multi-party in nature, but Nigeria is multi-tribal in nature. If this multi tribal component is not therefore considered in the forging of Nigeria democracy, it will be incomprehensible to the average Nigerian, hence impracticable.

In the economic sphere; except humility, poverty has never been known to support any virtue or value system and definitely not democracy. The high level of poverty in Nigeria has pinned the pre-occupation of the masses to primary needs. This situation leaves the people wide open to exploitation by the elite leaders, who know how to manipulate them to sell their conscience for mere porridge. Under this circumstance, it is no longer democracy that constitute of free choice, but one that consist of paid concensus.

A good moral foundation has a way of sharpening a man's sense of right, justice and fairness to the appreciation of even the deaf and dumb. A man who is versed in the right ways of doing the right things, always make every of his actions a 'universal rule.' Where a man is morally bankrupt, selfishness defines his summary of other men's need or desire. 'Interest they say, can draw a sheet over the eyes so tick that blindness itself can do no more.' Let us now take closer looks at other problems militating against the practice of democracy in Nigeria.

5.1 The Westerns Forging and Fomulation of Western Democracy

Democracy, as being practiced all over Africa, is Western democracy. This democracy is nurtured and forged, based on Western culture, history, tradition and needs. This is the system which is imported and imposed on Africans in geneal and Nigerians in particular, without as much as, 'by your leave.' Africans are not considered capable of reasoning, not to talk of practicing democracy; yet, western democracy is imposed on us inspite of these. For the colonialist, the outcome is alreadyknown. It is even indicated that there is nothing in African history, culture or practice that has any resemblance or that can serve as foundation upon which democracy could be mimicked but that is an already identified falsehood that could not be sustained. The fundamental problem is that a system that is alien to the Africans' way of life and reasoning is imposed on her without due orientation.

When this Western democracy made its grand entrance into Nigeria, it gave the promises of enhancing the material and abstract needs of the suffering peoples' standard of living, dignity and self esteem. No iota of these promises has been fulfilled, years into the practice. A hungry and dehumanized man cannot reflect or intellectualise.

Americans have gone above worrying about primary needs. Their economy is big enough to absorb the many imperfections and dysfunctions of democracy.They can afford to be obsessed with the intellectual meaning of democracy and can also afford to wait for the many years of democratic gestation period. Nigeriaand Nigerians cannot afforded this luxury; for it is a developmentally challenged country. Many of the nuancies of this Western democracy cannot be understood by the people. For instance, Western democracy extols those who can win elections, even when they have no idea of how to deliver the dividends and desires of the people. While the African system wants to continue discussions until a concensus is reached, the Western system will prefer voting with its dysfunctions to resolve the problem.

Western cultures, history, needs and practices are without doubt quite different from that of Africa. Westerners fashioned their governments and aspirations accordingly. The requisite orientation, knowledge and attitude are institutionalized before their democratic practice started yielding its present dividends. It goes without saying that before any form of government can operate or work well in a foreign environment or community, it must involve an interplay of the culture, the appropriate history that reflect the life needed to be portrayed and the system that embodies the solution to the need sought. It must provide concrete solutions to the abstracts and material needs of the people.

The much known histories of African countries are some of greatness, though yielded nothing thereafter; most of them are of servitude, slavery, savagery and colonization. During colonization and decolonization, the history turned into the history of a people who have nothing to offer in terms of development, the history of a people needing salvation, then salvaging others. Even when claim is laid to the cradle of civilization, as in the case of Egypt, nothing further is shown to be the outcome. Africa therefore, becomes defined by the Westerners, as a continent with developmental challenges. African countries can claim to have been decolonized but have serious political and governmental problems. All indicated above about Africa are very much applicable to Nigeria.

Nigeria leadership problems, which include their inability to deliver the dividend of democracy, culminating in developmental challenges, which heightened poverty in the land, pegging our needs to mundane things, here dictates the survival and growth of democracy. Since Nigerians are trapped in this primary need area, they have no time for the intellectual phase of life, which is part of what democracy really requires to thrive and grow. In line with her need level, Africans' yardstick for democratic measurement of whether democracy should be welcomed and supported depends on whether it can provide solutions to these material and sometimes abstract needs. So long as the solutions to the material needs are not forthcoming;

so long will democracy not make any head way in Nigeria and other countries with similar problems in Africa.

Democracy is a very costly form of government to operate and maintain. Poor countries find it hard to practice and sustain. Some of the dysfunctions of democracy are its claim to promote equality but trives better in a capitalistic environment,it also claps and hails those who know how to win elections but do not know how to deliver the dividends of democracy. Furthermore, a capitalist community is a class society, mostly devoid of the robust middle class;the saturated presence of the middle class is an indication that the society has room for the development and growth of its citizens. In Nigeria the middle class is almost wiped out, what is predominant in Nigeria, is a few elite wealthy people and the numerous impoverished masses who are always the target of manipulation by the elite politicians.

5.2 The Shift from True Federalism

Federalism is a system of government in which government powers that exist in a country are shared between the central government and its component regions. It is also defined as the system of government in which government powers are shared between the centre, that is, the federal government and its components. This arrangement as seen in Nigeria, allow the other components to grow at its own pace with the resources generated within their region. They are expected to contribute a certain percentage to the centre for its administrative| supervisory role; under this arrangement, the centre is structurally and economically very weak and therefore not attractive for economic\financial embezzlers or misapropriators. In a sense true federalism can be used to control corruption at least at the centre. As Soon as the nation restructures, most of the 'lootocrafts' operating the national stage will disappear from there and move closer home where if a strategy is put in place alerting the masses and opening their eyes to the indices of corruption and how to checkmate them with traditional disgrace

that will prevent their being given places of honour at public gatherings and chieftancy titles, corruption will at least reduce. This might be among what led to the maiden Nigeria political restructuring. Perhaps, soon after independence, Nigeria realized that the parliamentary system of democracy will not give it what it requires from democracy considering the multi-tribal nature of the country and the likely consequences- unbridled corruption. The elites were aware that the only governmental arrangement that will work well in the country is the arrangement in which each region of the country is allowed to grow at its own pace. Our political elites therefore changed the system of democracy on ground, from parliamentary to the Presidential form, infact Americans' Presidential type, which support decentralized system of government. When therefore the powers are allowed to be excised by the components, Nigerians call it true federalism. Parliamentary system of democracy as obtainable in Britain is a centralized form of government.

Unfortunately, when the soldiers struck in 1966, with the first coup, General Aguiyi Ironsi took over and centralized the system of administration in line with the military system. When democracy was eventually restored some thirty years later with the ascension of rtd general Olusegun Obasanjo into the civilian presidential seat, for some corrupt reasons – high concentration of power and finance in one hand, the centralized system of administration was maintained. It became therefore, presidential by name but parliamentary in practice. Due to the nature of Nigeria- strongly ethnic, tribal and regional, they could not work for the common good, which is the main root of democracy. What it means therefore is that, if Nigeria do not restructure, even after Nigerianising democracy, it will still find it very difficult to properly practice democracy beneficently, since the citizens and the leaders cannot work together for the common good of the citizens in the presence of the enduring high level of corruption.

5.3 High Rate of Corruption

In the state of nature, the most fundamental instinct is the instinct of self preservation. This can even involve the taking of another's life to achieve. Dishonesty, corruption, greed, and other societal ills are part of the natural outcomes of this self preservation. Corruption is, simply put, an illegal and selfish conduct, especially of people in authority for the purpose of financial gains or other personal benefits. It is therefore clear that its common object is the self; the consequences are many of the time very unpleasant. For instance, it required the presence of the Leviathan to tame the various products of this instinct in Hobbe's state of nature. Nigerians in whatever form must have indulged in the self preservation but also escaped from the state of nature like other mankind with the coming of civil society. However, the coming of the colonialists with their unabridged selfish interest, looting and pillaging, may have also resurrected this obnoxious instinct of self preservation in Nigerians, where by, national or common wealth is seen as an object of scramble, embezzlement and misappropriation for self preservation and relevance in the society. As if to make a case for this, "Zik faced the Foster Sutton Tribunal of inquiry in 1956, for diverting the Eastern Nigeria Government funds to his bank."¹ Awo in 1962 followed the same line of action.

Certain events in the country aggravated the already bad situation. Again for instance, the nature of the amalgamation that gave birth to Nigeria and the events of the Nigeria/Biafra civil war in no way engendered oneness among Nigerians, rather it reinforced the need for self preservation. The claim by a section of the country that they were "Born to Rule", when they were the section the colonialists found not ready to take over the rulership of the country with their Southern counterpart during the decolonization era, now claiming that they were born to rule and ironically and selfishly supported by the same people who found them not even capable of pairing with others in the rulership of their country calls for more worry and fear; therefore more urgent need for self preservation instigating more corruption. If the requisites

qualities for leadership or rulership are not on ground and there have been no known action that generate transformation taken, does it not amount to the blind insisting that he must lead the clear sighted, even in the night. The outcome is already known – disaster and therefore calls for caution. The implied insult is also very eloquent. These stipulated factors encouraged corruption whose economic gains, ironically enhances self preservation and national recognition. These approachesto self preservation and societal relevance appear to have filtered down even to family politics.

The level of corruption in Nigeria is noted to be very high even from the First republic. As pointed out above, “Zik faced the Foster Sutton tribunal of enquiry in 1956 for diverting the Eastern Nigeria Government funds to his bank, the African Continental Bank (ACB), thereby enriching himself substantially.”²

Toeing the same line:

in 1962, G.B.A. Coker commission of inquiry into six Western Nigeria Public Corporations, revealed ingenious and brazen devices by which Awolowo and his colleagues in the leadership of the Action Group government of Western Nigeria enriched themselves and their party fabulously at the expense of the accumulated funds of the Cocoa Marketing Board, property of the whole people of Western Nigeria.³

Plundering the wealth of the nation, is a major factor in intensifying and embittering the contest for political power along ethno-regional lines,

a process whose high points were the Action Groups Crises (1962), Census crises (1962 – 1963), Federal Election Crises (1965) making the country more or less ungovernable; culminating in the Kaduna Nzeogwu’s Military coup d’etat of January 1966 and the tragic and disastrous intrusion of the Nigeria Armed Forces into the political life of the country.⁴

The outright looting, embezzlement and misappropriation being instigated through contract inflations which culminated in the disappearance of Umaru Dikko in 1983 with the huge

national wealth meant for him to import rice for the starving people of Nigeria, came in the Second republic. The crises of Alhaji Shagari's second term as president and the heightened profligacy which almost closed down the country, invited yet another military coup.

Obasanjo's civilian regime, which could be described as an exercise in wastage, massacre, thuggery, political manipulations and impositions, embellished with 'Ghana must go' politics, was the third republic. His experiences as the second time president; first as a military junta and now as a civilian president, made him more deadly, vengeful and a manipulator. His wealth of experience in the first and second time in office –as a military junta later as a civilian president were almost totally lost to Nigerians. The little he allowed to be established, were suffused with selfish interest. Adam Smith will call that selfish interest, the 'invisible hand' that moved beyond the selfish boundaries to benefit the masses. More over, Obasanjo was said to have built a refinery in Cameroun but he could not refurbish effectively any of the ones we have in the country for the eight years he was in office, rather Nigerians were heavily dependent on the importation of petroleum products in which all the members of his family were businesswise involved. The salient questions here are: the monies he used in building the refinery and activating his oil wells in Cameroun, where did he get them? This is for the fact that his salaries even for twenty years will not be enough for these projects.

The discoveries of the uses to which the recent 'bail out funds' given to the state governors by the Central bank of Nigeria to pay their states' mounting salaries and pensions arrears show that some of them collected and pocketed such fund, while others simply used it to buy houses in choice locations in choice countries of the world, not using it for the purposes it was provided for. The amount involved is in billions of Naira.

The cases pending in our various courts are cases of the misappropriation of billions of dollars meant for various contracts and recently for the procurement of arms for the prosecution of the 'Boko Haram's declared war on Nigeria. Our hapless gallant soldiers who were not properly armed were commanded to their deaths by their corrupt and conniving generals. An authentic story from a reliable source has it that these army generals collect money from 'boko haram' insurgents, to betray their wards.

Rtd general Babangida, a former military head of state, was alleged to have pocketed 12.5 billion dollars- 'oil wind falls,' on the day he was 'stepping aside' from office. How did rtd general Obasanjo get his farm land in Otta during his military days?by deception. Why is the president of the senate presently in court? What of the former head of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Who was allegedto have looted the organization's funds? What of the former Inspector General of police, Balogun? What of Dasuki – the national security adviser to president Goodluck Jonathan? What ofgovernors Amaechi of Rivers state alleged to have used state fund to sponsor Muhammadu Buhari into office, Rochas Okorochoa of Imo state, former governor of Lagos state, Tinubu? What of president Buhari who knowingly took campaign money from the known robbers of the State fund? What of the billions of dollars being dug up in various grave yards? Septic tanks, luxury apartments, warehouses, bank accounts, and so on. All the members of the National Assembly, who presently take home about ₦30 million every month? All these are high level corruptions perpetuated by our leaders, who appear to have engineered same in the citizens giving birth to unmitigated corruption in the citizens.

Corruption has become a way of life in Nigeria and might require radical surgery and spilling of blood to tame, because our national psych is no more or has been destroyed. The end results of these situations are that, the dividends of democracy are no where to be seen or experienced in Nigeria. No economic growth, no development,increasing rate of

unemployment, increase in crimes and criminalities, poor health, poor education to mention but a few, because the financial resources to carry out these programmes have been embezzled or misappropriated lawfully or unlawfully, through budget padding or in the cause of the oversight functions of the National Assembly members and other government functionaries. In any environment where corruption exists, democratic practice finds it very difficult to thrive, not to talk of consolidating. This is one of the major factors militating against the deliverance of the dividends of democracy and democratic practice in Nigeria.

5.4 Winner Takes It All

In the developed countries, various political parties might slug it out during elections for the various offices, but when the elections have been lost and won, appointments are made from the various credible parties' members. All join hands to ensure the progress of the nation. Allegiance is to the country and not to the party members or ethnic groups. In Nigeria, that is not the case. Here, winner takes it all and the loser is out in the cold. He is seen almost as an enemy, to the point that his views are not appreciated even if he is known to be an expert in the field. The situation becomes even worse if it is coming from the other ethnic groups, regions or the other religious affiliation. Even when a party wins an election, other members of the same party from other tribes, region or religion are treated with suspicion. Sometimes they are treated as outsiders. The situation becomes more complicated if the Presidential candidate is tribalistic, like Buhari who was declared the winner of 2015 Presidential election and he started by threatening to sideline the Igbo tribe for not voting for him enmass.

The game of politics is played on party basis. In a democracy, opposition parties through their criticisms point the reigning party in the direction that requires attention. The oppositions could be described as 'partners in progress.' In actual fact, as soon as an election is over, the elected, if he is a president, should see himself as the president of all, and has virtually no party in a peculiar sense. The officials in the administration should be chosen

from the capable hands irrespective of party affiliations. A situation where the candidate that wins, finds it difficult to even reply the greetings of the electorate and party supporters make proper party faithfulness and growth of democracy impossible. In an environment where ‘the winner takes it all’ is practiced, part of the result is that, expertise and the nation suffers. For instance, in the current Buhari’s regime, strong oppositions are hunted down and imprisoned, known criminals or misfits are appointed to positions of trust, as long as they are members of APC and have not been indicted by our equally corrupt judiciary. For instance, Amaechi, the former governor of River state, is a known embezzler and his former colleagues and officials who should know are pointing the facts out to the President, to no avail. The clear case of his presidential sponsor of Buhari was not seen as a corruption case to Buhari, the benefactor. It should be remembered that fighting corruption to a stand still was the major campaign point that brought Buhari into office, but now that he is in office, he is condoning it, because he is the recipient of much of the product of this corruption. What a double standard.

The minister of interior is heavily rumoured to have received a huge sum from the security fund meant to purchase arms to fight Boko Haram insurgents from Dasuki; though concrete evidence has not been presented, the testimony from his last watch in the military could serve as a circumstantial evidence corroborating this allegation. It was also rumoured that he collected #21000000 (twenty-one million naira) to accept the shameful travesty called Civil defence 2017 promotion as ok, when every rule guiding promotion was broken in the exercise that saw the staff of Civil defence protesting. While one may not put much onion on rumour, there is no smoke without fire. Nonetheless, in line with Nigeria’s justice system- no one is guilty until proven guilty; yet, it is human beings that proffer the information that prove guilts, the witness may not have the courage to make an open testament or may have been

compromised. Based on this, some security information could be accepted and covertly investigated for confirmation.

Experience has shown that as soon as a Nigeria leader gets into office, his first line of action is to find a way of hunting down his political opponents into cell, even with trumped up charges. Many of these times, state organs and security agencies are used, discrediting the normal honourable jobs of these agencies. For instance, the former president Olusegun Obasanjo used EFCC and ICPC to carry out the financially related types of dirty jobs. Buhari is doing the same currently with EFCC and ICPC. This has the effect of silencing the much needed voice of opposition, leaving the sitting government to do whatever it likes; including the raping of democracy. All the active voice PDP used to expose Buhari's past misdeeds, have been hunted down and on the charges of one thing or the other are, in the various prisons or detention centres. Under this situation, how can democracy that harps so much on freedom of expression, achieve this characteristic in Nigeria?

5.5 Ethnicity or Tribalism and Regionalism

The very factors that initiated the diverse scrambles for self preservation are also in various degrees present in the problems of ethnicity and tribalism. These events brought to the fore distinct suspicion and hedges. In reality, ethnicity or tribalism is an aspect of security and self preservation. For instance, any close watcher of events in Nigeria will discover that the call for more states was noticed to have become more stringent after the Nigeria/Biafra civil war. Reviewing the events of the war that looked like 'ethnic cleansing,' other ethnic groups were alarmed and knowing that they do not have the muscle and the scenerio to enact another secession, started calling for states of their own, in the hope that common origin, culture and language will be among the major determinants for the creation of more states, so that the states with common background can build a form of hedge to preserve themselves, achieving

the same objective which the gun have not yet availed the agitators of Biafra. Even those in power feel threatened explaining why they usually infuse the agencies and organs responsible for the security of the country with their tribesmen, thereby indirectly ensuring the safety of themselves and their tribes. Sometimes the question of marginalization is an attempt to self protect, as to remove threat to their persons, tribe and loved ones. The issue of quota system in civil service and higher institutions admission that created room for mediocrity, stem from this situation. The over all consequences of this type of situation, have never been wonderful for any country that practice it, this is not the way we should go, for it is very destructive, not good for the citizens and not good for democracy.

It is unfortunate that Nigeria still emphasise ethnicity and tribalism and not nation- hood. Regionalism has the same effect as tribalism and ethnicism. Nigeria was initially divided into two regions: Northern and Southern regions. Later three regions were created: the Northern, Western and Eastern regions; later the fourth region was added, Midwestern region. When it comes to political issues, our Northern brothers would want a straight line North and South division, because it gives them the advantage numerically. Not being from the Northern or Southern region in Nigeria is like being pronounced an alien. The Northerners are afraid of the South, because they feel that the Southerners social and economic way of life will destroy their religiously based way of life. The Southerners themselves are afraid of the North, because they feel that Northern numerical strength will keep them permanently out of political power. So they view each other suspiciously and will do anything to thwart or jettison the political idea or view of the other, irrespective of how wonderful such views may be. This, in no way, helps the endurance and growth of democracy.

We have often wondered whether we still have national leaders like: Azikiwe, Aminu kano, late Yar 'Adua and lately, Goodluck Jonathan. There are many leaders but few have been found to resemble the description of a national leader. Experience has shown that being the

President or Head of state of Nigeria, does not, patriotism wise, qualify the occupier of the post as a national leader. This is because some of the occupiers' loyalties are first and foremost to the ethnic groups they are from, then to their religious ideology and lastly to the country. For instance, in this Buhari's regime, all the heads of the critical ministries and parastatals are his tribe's men and religious associates. The remaining ministries are still heavily tilted in favour of the Northerners, and he has not stopped short changing other parts of the country to still install his tribe's men. Somebody called him, 'the Nigeria president of the North'. In his first coming as a military junta, he displayed the same trait. The power he wields that enabled him to do whatever he likes explains the 'do or die' jostling for the executive arm of government; this trait is mostly typical of Presidents of Northern extraction. They often hide under a trump up charge of the past President's marginalization of the North. This claim has never been supported by any fact.

Then, we come to the issue of encouraging innovations from other tribes. The problem of tribalism has become so gross in Nigeria that inventions meant to move the country forward are discriminated against to their non implementation. The various countries of the world developed from the innovations of their private sector. The age of the industrial revolution in Europe did not come from governments' stables but from the private sector. The advantages of such innovations are what developed Europe and other parts of the world. But in Nigeria, because the innovation is not coming from the President's tribe's men or women, it is killed or discouraged with smirking remarks or simply ignored. For instance, where is 'Bongo motors,' an indigenous technology that produced the first Nigeria car; or the mechanic who used vesper engine to build what flew up on its own like a helicopter in Aba, Abia state. Where is the Biafria Ogbunigwe (mass killer) and other war inventions. Necessity they say is, the mother of invention. Where are the inventions by other tribes in Nigeria?

Where is the cure for AIDS invented or discovered in Nigeria by Nigerian – doctors Abraka and later Abdulahi Jacob. The scourge of ethnicity and tribalism and professional envy denied the victims of the dreaded disease, these possible cures. This national aberration has numerously robbed this country of good governance, self development, self actualisation and other wonderful goods encouraged by democracy. A professor from Cross River state was responsible for Ghana revitalizing her economy. Every technological advancement anywhere in the world, starts with theoretical analysis. He was first noted in the Western world; Ghana eventually invited him to direct them on what to do to revive their ailing economy. They are happy they did, many countries of the world have benefited from him but Nigeria, his home country never even recognized his existence. He was a visiting lecturer to Harvard University. How can the dividends of democracy come about if we are concerned with the pulling of each other down and blocking the seed with which great nations are built?

5.6 Non Accountability

We have pointed out earlier that certain events in the life of Nigeria created distrust and suspicion among the tribes. Political offices are seen as instruments of equalization and opportunity. Any tribe that goes into political office is seen to have been given the opportunity to balance things for his tribesmen. Accountability requires the strict application of the rules and bowing to the wishes and desires of the electorates. This does not give room for ethnic or tribal interests. We have discussed the issue of self preservation and relevance in society which brought about corruption, greed and selfishness. The politicians therefore prefer to stay with non accountability, it is more profitable.

The politicians voted into offices are supposed to be the servants of the masses who elected them, and not masters. The sovereignty is supposed to remain with the electorates and not the elected people. Here in Nigeria, the elected people claim to have the sovereignty and no longer the masses. As soon as a candidate is elected into office, he begins to act like the

master of the universe, accountable only to himself, his party, his tribe, his cronies, and if he is a moslem, his religious sect. The people that elected him become non existent. The electorate clamour and express themselves to the deaf and to their detriment, as we witnessed during Obasanjo's regime and now Buhari's.

The legislatures who are supposed to represent their constituencies at the national political arena never bothers to visit home, not to talk of hearing their own peoples' view on an issue that concern them. Every year, these representatives are given constituency allowances - monies to be used for projects at the constituency level, to aid grassroot development but these funds are never used for the purpose they are provided for, by some of the representatives. The monies are perennially misappropriated. The constituent members only get to see their representatives when the next election is approaching. On this ground, this study blames the self sacrificing attitude of the constituency members. They are made to continue suffering this way because they want to protect their brother who does not care a 'hoot' about them. If one of these so called representatives has been thrown out through the ballot box, the others would sit up and represent his constituency better.

Governors have been heard threatening their voters with the stoppage of the benefits of democracy if the voters annoy them, as if the resources that generate these dividends are their own personal resources. They embezzle and misappropriate funds with impunity. They are technically defined as lootocrats; the looters of State resources for selfish gains. How can democracy function well if the funds meant for the execution of the states' obligations and projects are constantly embezzled or misappropriated or legitimately siphoned away for the use of other countries in their developments while their own countries are reeling in squalor.

5.7 Constitutional Breaches

Most of the problems encountered in the democratic practice in Nigeria are at the Federal and State levels. This may be because the local government councils level have not been given much chance to operate independently or because of their locations- the hearts of the tribes or people with common backgrounds.

Human beings the world over treat with distrust and suspicion any law they or their representatives did not participate in making. Nigerians have never had the opportunity of making their constitution. The one that came close to wearing this 'brows' during President Jonathan's administration in the form of national Convention has not yet seen the light of the day. Considering also what we discussed about the educational level of an average Nigeria politician and their level of ignorance, laws, except the laws that gives them more power or protects them from being accountable or responsible for their actions at least immediately, are considered an encumbrance to what they want to do.

In the case of Obasanjo, the breaches which he constantly perpetrates, could be said to be deliberate because he was closely associated with the 1979 constitution, which the National Assembly in 1999 claimed to have amended under him. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan encountered no difficulty in obeying the constitution which Obasanjo constantly trifled with claiming that he is still learning the democratic processes, having come from the military.

The constitution or law serves as a democratic bible that defines the rules, roles, human rights, offices, scope of offices to mention but a few, in a state. For instance, the rules for electoral processes and the obligations of the body incharge of these processes in relation to the citizens are contained in the constitution but the threats to the fundamental human rights of the citizens during political campaigns, elections and after elections, are monumentally challenged. The rights to life of many political opponents are truncated for political reasons.

The country is replete with stories of political assassinations that thwart full expression of people's democratic will. For instance, Bola Ige was brutally murdered for his political conviction and intended action during Olusegun Obasanjo's regime. Any situation that detracts from the fundamental rights of speech, movement, assembly, life, dignity of the human person and fair hearing before and after elections, remain veritable threat to democracy.

The stories of the breaches of fundamental human rights are all over the place in Nigeria. It even appears as if our political leaders are vying for who should have the greatest number of these breaches. These breaches are recorded more when retired soldiers are in the seat of power. These incidences were seen more during the political leaderships of retired soldiers like: Obasanjo and Buhari. It appears that while they swear to uphold and protect the constitution, they are actually operating by another hidden law book. They approach every programme or project relating to the human person as if executing a war plan. While the constitution preaches the approach to human issues with a humane spirit, they employ the 'extreme prejudice' approach – outright elimination. There is no doubt that some of the citizens are no more than the lower animals in their conducts, yet, there are constitutionally stipulated ways to resolve such issues that concern the human person and not the often witnessed violent approaches that are contrary to constitutional stipulations. These are deadly challenges to democracy and we should endeavour to stop them.

The constitution defines the different offices it recognizes and whether they should be budgetarily considered. There is no mention or recognition of the office of the 'First lady' in the constitution, not to talk of her budgetary rights. This is an office imposed on Nigerians by the ubiquitous past military junta, rtd general Babangida in his military junta days. The shameful fact is that, the supposed protectors of the constitution - our representatives in the National Assembly, do not have the gut or courage to question the constitutionality of

establishing such an office and allocating our commonwealth to its illegal operations. While they are corruptly enriching themselves, they have no moral justification to question its existence and so, they allowed the existence of the conduit being used by the various past administrations to illegally syphon Nigeria funds abroad. They may justifiably assert that the office was established by the military but no constitutional 'watch dog' has ever questioned its constitutionality. Perhaps, its existence has been found very convenient for their illegitimate operations and so, they conveniently look the other way. This is a constitutional problem that demands the attention of the National Assembly and they should do their jobs without fear or favour.

The rule of law is one of the major pillars of democracy. It also defines the powers and limits of government, thereby ensuring equity, fairness, and justice in the polity. What is prominent in Nigeria is that, even when leaders transgress the law, they act as if they are above the law. They want the law to always bend to their desire and favour and never to question their actions.

Every major programme in democracy is guided by law: the expenditures and incomes are all guided by law. But a Nigerian leader will prefer dipping his hand into the 'till' whenever he wants to spend money, without recourse to any law. When they are angry, the object of that anger should immediately be arrested and incarcerated without question. For instance, we witnessed a lot of this above the law act, during the reign of the former president, Olusegun Obasanjo. He spent money as if there are no rules guiding such exercise and transgressed many impeachable rules pleading learning of the democratic practices. Even when invited by the court, he most of time refuses to attend.

The glaring truth is that, most of the Nigeria leaders do not even want guidance by any law and so have total disregard for the law. In an environment where this kind of impunity exists,

democracy finds it very difficult to trive not to talk of growing. The unrestrained use of power exhibited in the form of raw force by governments or their agencies against the citizens still pose serious treat. The invasions of Oodi and Zaki Biam by the Government forces during Olusegun Obasanjo's watch which generated serious loss of lives, detracted from the concept of democracy.

The forceful demolition of houses in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja, despite the fact that some of them have genuine papers and some may have been tricked and given fake papers by the same government Officials demolishing their houses, does not speak well of the democratic government in power; the consequential homelessness of Nigerians activated by El Rufai's operation, directed by the Obasanjo's civilian regime without compensation or alternative accommodation in many cases, could be seen as an, extravagant use of power which reinforces undemocratic norms. Nigeria leaders are so unsurpassable in their highhandedness toward the citizens. Often times, one wonders whether these people being so manhandled are the same people who sacrificed all to ensure the existence of the civil society and the enthronement of the government in question, the major shareholders of the commonwealth, the owners of the mandate the political leaders are enjoying, the real sovereigns. How does it happen that the servants are now manhandling their masters - the owners of the mandate and powers they are exercizing to victimize? The citizens are so harassed that they forget the existence of the laws they could use to attempt fighting back for their rights. A situation where the masses are afraid of their political servants does not engender hope for the continued existence of democracy. Experience has shown that Nigeria political leaders and their ministers are in the habit of over stepping their bounds whenever they are on national assignments. For instance, El Rufai, the former minister of the Federal Capital Territory Abuja, under Obasanjo's regime, was known to have over stepped his assignment by demolishing some areas not included in the initial demolition plan. We

obtained on good authority that an area like Gwagwa was demolished to punish a royal father in the town, who was not in good terms with El Rufai's royal friend in a nearby town. Under this circumstance and this type of exhibition, how can democracy be expected to thrive and grow?

5.8 Cabalism and Godfatherism

The world over, no businessman involves himself in any type of business for the fun of it. He joins a business to make profit, if possible, a wide margin profit. He usually will calculate the risks involved. It is known that high risk businesses bring in high profits. Where possible, he will try to stabilize the factors that will ensure the success of that business. In the developed world, efforts are made not to create problem in the business and all the partners work hard to ensure that the business succeeds and has long life span.

In Nigeria the sponsors of a business try to ensure that all benefits coming from it is extracted within the shortest possible time, even at the risk to the partners and the business life. This is more so in political sponsorship. Most of the Nigerians so called businessmen are simply traders, lacking patience, understanding and the technicalities of business exigencies. If it is politics, they want the capital in one year and the profit, as long as the term of that service lasts, even at the risk of making their sponsored candidate irrelevant by taking all the working capital.

Unfortunately, the democratic elections in any part of the world require candidate sponsorship because of the huge capital outlay involved in traversing the campaign areas. Large numbers of the people do tag along with party stalwarts to help in the campaign activities of their candidates. These activities do take large number of days and these 'volunteer helpers' will have to be fed. Fortunately, the fact that the candidate is perceived to be the representative of

a sediment of the masses, with their own view of the polity arranged along party lines and because of the nature of the governmental system in place- democracy, the masses are allowed to voluntarily shoulder part of the financial or service burden of the campaign of their candidate. This comes in the form of voluntary donations of money or services by the supporters of the candidate or the programme the party is fronting. This is the type of practice in the developed world and there is usually a limit to what can be donated. Most of the time, a simple letter of acknowledgment and appreciation is the only thing it costs the recipient.

But in Nigeria, it is the time the candidates are expected to buy the support of even party members anew. This stems from the fact that after each election, the elected candidates disappear from 'circulation' and if by chance they meet the electorate, may not even acknowledge greetings from these supporters. Godfatherism therefore becomes the 'in thing', to shoulder the huge capital outlay involved. This type of sponsorship is usually sought by the firsttime candidates or those who have been away from the scene for sometime and the honest ones. The second timers would have embezzled enough public funds to sponsor themselves. Godfatherism is in Nigeria mostly defined as the sponsorship of a political aspirant by a man of means, capable of doing so from the looted public fund in his pocket, at a future obnoxious price or interest.

In the developed world, 'robbing the till'- embezzlement of public funds and highly inflated choice contracts are not part of the deal. Here in Nigeria, on top of the highly inflated contracts which will be demanded; embezzlement of public funds and the nomination of the Commissioners of some key commissions must be added. These demands can make a stooge of the political candidate sponsored, as happened in Anambra State political landscape in the recent past; during the former president Obasanjo's reign.

It has been a re-occurring decimal in Anambra state until it got to Ngige's time. He accepted the godfatherhood of Chris Uba, one of the kitchen cabinet members in Obasanjo's administration, who presented him with the mind boggling terms of the sponsorship deal. When he got into office, he rejected the 'robbing of the till' angle and was severely punished for it under the supervision of the reigning president of the country, Olusegun Obasanjo, not for accepting such a criminal deal, but for failing to fulfill it. This tells you the level of decay in Nigeria political arena, where a seating President will sponsor or sits and watches the kidnapping of one of his governors, particularly one that refuses to honour a very bad deal. The president had earlier avowed that he will fight corruption to a stand still, and here he is witnessed, fighting an anti- corruption crusader instead, to a stand still.

After this episode, the political sponsorship landscape in Nigeria changed to cabal sponsorship. A cabal is a small party united for some secret design. This type of sponsorship is the concerted actions of a few power brokers. While the godfather is alone and could be out maneuvered, as witnessed in Anambra, the cabals are well connected in the corridors of power and will one way or the other have their way. These second operators are very difficult to side track and can make life very unbearable for their offender and also make worse demands than the godfathers.

5.9 Terrorism

Every form of vice has been seen in Nigeria's political landscape. The introduction of terrorism marks the heights of desperation and radical religious aberration. This denotes an attempt to take over the political leadership of a sovereign nation by selling to it the terrors of the systematic extermination of its people, if it refuses to assid to the terrorist's demands. This was clearly introduced and sponsored by the faithfuls of the same religion that professes intolerance of their religion to others in the political affairs of the country. It could be argued

that other religions' faithfuls were also discovered to be foot soldiers of the infamous group – the Boko Haram, but the big question is, at whose instance? Who are the sponsors? Which religious ideal is on the banner? And what is Boko Haram? These show negative religious indoctrination.

Nigeria is enshrined in the constitution as a secular state, but if the leadership is lily livered, considering the sabotage from the Islamic soldier faithfuls, Nigeria would have long become an Islamic state. This has not happened yet but the maximum leaders of this country from the sect are not leaving any stone unturned to achieve it.

The political problems of Nigeria have become very complex. In the past, Nigerians have been known to shoot off their mouths at a tangent and some are known to have been killed for that, but the introduction of terrorism to the equation is very scary. This situation is very democratic. It scares everybody: the sponsor, political opponents and business men alike. Even the recent past election of 2015 is being touted to have been won by Buhari because of his employment of terror threats and the display of dangerous instruments by his religious brothers. If this factor is allowed to thrive in the field of politics, political leadership in the country will soon be left in the hands of tyrants and blood thirsty dictators. Definitely Nigeria will become a real political pariah nation.

One may wonder why this study did not bring in the issue of Independent people of Biafra, IPOB, as another group of terrorists since they are also fighting on political line. The fact is very clear. Boko Haram has not up to date officially declared their reason for the mayhem they spread all over the land; they have even been requested to table their grievances to no avail. The only person they allowed near themselves is Muhammadu Buhari, the now president of the country and he was not forthcoming with any information. They were rather busy pounding the psychology of Nigerians with their ceaseless blood letting with glee or

perhaps consumed with trying to ‘deep the Koran in the Ocean’-, Islamising the whole of Nigeria, as directed by the Saduana of Sokoto, Alhamadu Bello to give word to their intent.

The case of IPOB is different. This is a tribe that is defending itself against what has the picture of ethnic cleansing, a pogrom intent at exterminating the Igbo race with a thrump up charge of retaliatory military counter coup. The military coup of 1966 that was indicated to have started it all, was not executed alone by the Igbo people, why was the retaliation not extended to other tribes? What of the killings of the Igbo people that have been going on in every major cities of the North at the slightest provocation by any Christian from any part of the world? For instance, Rushdee wrote a poem that was interpreted to be against prophet Muhammed in the far off Western country, Igbo people were being killed for it here in Nigeria; American business men planned, just planned, in conjunction with the Nigeria government to stage beauty pageant in Nigeria, during Obasanjo’s reign and the Igbo people have to be killed in protest, an Igbo man- Akaluka, picked a piece of paper being blown about by the wind off the street to clean his son’s anus not knowing that it is a Koranic paper, he was beheaded for it; recently, the Igbo people were asked to leave the whole Northern part of the country by some lazy miscreants supported by some misguided and blood tasty Northern elders who wanted to take over the properties of the Igbo people in the North. Is this a show of oneness? Luckily the federal government knows the dare consequences of such action- war of attrition and resisted the Northern elders vehemently. Feeling not welcomed in Nigeria, the Igbo people had decided to stay out of this so called country; this gesture was also rejected with extreme prejudice. What does Nigeria want of the Igbo man? Evidence has shown that the man is not a coward.

It is the same people that have been persecuting the Igbo people that quickly contrived to call IPOB a terrorist group. Fortunately, the international body whose view matters more in such issue, wholesomely rejected such label being forced down the throat of IPOB.

Presently another terrorist group, the Fulani herdsmen that have not been so named, may be because they are of the same tribe with the president – Buhari, are being used to continue the killing of Nigerians as did Boko Haram. More than one thousand people have been killed for daring to ask for the sanctity of their farm lands and products. Despite these massacres, they have not been found guilty enough and qualified to be called terrorists. It is the attempt by the armless people of Biafra to defend themselves against a planned extermination, that have been named terrorists activity. The nightmarish massacre of Nigerians and the gleeful videoing of these blood cuddling events, of both Christians and muslims by the Boko Haram members leave one wondering whether democracy can be played at the lower animals' levels. Every effort this study employed to understand the Northern peoples' reason for summoning these deadly tools into play refuses to infuse with any sense, moreover, it is their brothers, religious or ethnic, either on the side of military junta or plain cloth regime, that are most of the time in the seat of power. We want to think that it will be easier for 'brothers' to sort out their misgivings amicably, than people from variegated backgrounds. If this is generally accepted to be the case, doing otherwise is very animalistic, irresponsible and frivolous. This is for the fact that the standing ovation given to this terrorist group at inception, on the massacre of Christian faithfuls and fellow citizens, gave the terrorists' campaign a tribal and religious colouration. Soon after, what was given to the geese was also extended to the gander and eventually settled in the Northern theatre. Up to now, this researcher could not decipher clearly the objective of the terrorist's operations in Nigeria. If it is political, dialogue and the soliciting of the intervention of international friendly countries are the usual tool to sort out such matter. If religious, attempts will be made to eliminate only the faithfuls of the infidel religion, but none applies. Even their name of Boko Haram does not make sense, because all they have been using and are still using even in their miserable life and warfare are the products of the countries they profess to hate and disdain.

A lot of Nigerians have been kidnapped and many of them killed since Boko Haram terrorist group was unleashed on the country. Questions have been asked and doubt cast on the authenticity of the Chibok girls kidnapping, but the one that has attracted more questions is the recent kidnapping of the girls in Dapochi federal girls secondary school in Bornu state of the same North East region. The story has it that, days before the kidnapping of these school girls, the road blocks mounted all over the states, particularly near the school were dismantled. Days after, when curiosity seem to have abetted, the abductors came and whisked the girls away, one hundred and eleven (111) of them. Again days after the abduction and the little noise by the appointed government functionaries, the girls were sighted. When the army that went to the rescue tried to engage the terrorists in a so called shoot out, five of the girls were killed because the terrorists used the girls as live shield. The question this study has at this point is whether any forensic was conducted of the expended bullets to find out from whose rifles the killer bullets were from? Nigerians will be surprised what they will find out. One of the Christian girls perhaps in an answer to a previous question declared that she cannot deny Jesus Christ and was therefore withheld while the other girls were released, after a negotiation. Another question from this study is why do people in high places, especially in government, believe that the masses that magnanimously after understanding the intricacies of power delegated it to them have no brain and often inssaulted them with very transparent lies? Why add the religious colouration by withholding a Christian girl, to distract the Christians from the political objective? Analysing the political performance score card of Buhari, which he must have noticed himself and considering the answer he gave when asked whether he will run again for presidential office come 2019, one has no doubt that he was waiting for something very important before announcing whether he willrun or not. Soon after, the girls were abducted. Rumour has it that he was waiting for the staging of this abduction and its management. This study held its breath, believing that it will not be long

before the president – Buhari announces his readiness to run for the 2019 second term bid and it did not take long for him to come forth with the announcement and attention was being drawn to his handling of the kidnapping – a travesty and speedy recovery, showing one ever ready to secure his people. There might be questions as to why he is doing this? The political angle has been defined above and the financial angle will no doubt be to raise money for the election, so that he will still be the incorruptible Buhari whether he fails or succeeds in the second term bid. What this means is that the kidnapping was designed and executed by his self appointed hatchet men. Buhari values so much his incorruptible man record and will never stand for the kidnapping angle, not that he will not accept the tasty outcome. After all he accepted the result of the election posted for him by his highly corrupt sponsors. However, the revelation of the days to come will define how the cat lays. It will not surprise this study to discover that Boko Haram group has actually been sent to the grave, their orchestrated occasional attacks, is for the financial gain of some cabal. Some Islamic sects are still struggling to come into existence to no doubt operate like the Maitama Sule group of the past and Boko Haram. All we know is that wherever terrorists operate, democracy will be difficult to grow not to talk of consolidating.

5.10 Religious Intolerance

Religion is the belief in a spiritual being and the process of relating with that unseen being whom we are convinced have influences over our lives here on earth. How one efficiently carries out this relationship in the face of all the attendant rituals and abstinence, dictates how one fares in the hereafter. This relationship inhabits the emotional side of man which broaches no contradiction. Usually, the the object of man's action, ritual or worship is seen as God, He who has all the powers and knowledge and cannot be contradicted. Unfortunately, while other religions, Christianity for instance, hold strongly that God and or Christ are capable of fighting their faithfuls' battles and their own enemies, our Moslem brothers appear not to

have the same confidence in their own God and his prophet – Mohammed. For instance, you can say what you like with the name of the Christians’ God and Christ; do whatever you like with the Bible, with nobody telling you to stop. If God is aggrieved by any of these, He knows what to do and is capable of bringing it to pass. For our Moslem brothers, you dare not try any of the above, even if you are a certified lunatic, without literally loosing your head. This religion’s doctrine is married with the cultural, social, educational, economic, political and every other life of its faithfuls. It brotches no contrary view or discussion; its justice and legal system preaches ‘tooth for tart’ and bodily affliction for its sanction.

They do not cherish any contact with the Christian religion, nor the Christians themselves. The Christians dare not enter the Islamic mosque, befriend their girls, not to talk of marrying them. You dare not go to their house without prior clearance and chaperoned. On the contrary, they do these freely with Christian churches, brothers and sisters. Infact, their whole religion, life and culture, are closed books, reeking off intolerance. Their religion insists that they should always assume rulership and not the ‘Infidel’ (unbeliever) - hence the slogan ‘born to rule.’ This slogan is politically and religiously motivated, for they believe that they are the true believers, any other, is an infidel- nonbeliever and should be dead than rule. They also believe that they were brought into the world for the simple mission of ruling others. When you ask the question, based on what quality? You will not find a veritable answer to hold onto

Democracy is about the exercise of freedom and free will. How can a freely given mandate be achieved in such a closed up society where whoever to rule selected before hand not elected freely. This type of situation makes every election in Nigeria seem like a civil war, where they always invoke religious factor when they see that the quality and quantity of opposition is enamous. In desperation they resort to importing non Nigerians and underage children to vote for their candidates. Threat of violence if their candidate looses is often used, as seen in

the 2015 election, moreover, Buhari is known to have openly issued violent threat. Where all their plots fail and a Christian wins, they start up any of their obsolete religious programmes to make the country ungovernable. All these are because of their religious intolerance and desperation to always be in power.

5.11 The Ease of Compromise of the 3 Arms of Democratic Government in Nigeria

The Judiciary has been described to be the hope of the common man, for they are supposed to expedite justice dispensation and protect the common man against the unjust oppressions of the rich and the powerful. The legal principle of the country as enshrined in the constitution, declares 'every body innocent until proven guilty'; but when you listen to the stories of the innocent and what they experience in the hands of the organs of the judiciary, it is no better than what the guilty experience. It even appears that nowadays justice is for the highest bidder. What have been happening recently has shaken the faith of the common man in the judicial willingness to stand by him. The kind of judgements and injunctions being handed out by the judiciary is laughable. For instance, the privatization of NEPA or PHCN was in the hope that the private sector will be better able to deliver the expected services of the establishment. But since the privatization, what the consumers have constantly witnessed is tariff hick, without commensurate improvement in the services rendered.

In their recent hick, they were taken to the judiciary to call them to order; rather than do that, the judiciary told them to go ahead with the 45% hick of the already bloated tariff. What one wonders about is, for what reason should the hick stay when it does not need a microscope or expert view but life experience of the masses, including that of the judge, to attest to whether there have been improvement or not in the provision of light for the masses? Yet, without recourse to the experiences of the consumers, the judiciary told them to go ahead to continue their oppression of the masses, for the benefit of the judge, or what? This study is finding it

very difficult to aduce any other motivating factor for the unpopular ruling of the judge except the selfish one. This is inspite of the fact that the masses could easily be consulted, but no! the judge's personal interest will suffer. Is this how democracy will be advanced not to talk of consolidated? This is the same sordid way other landmark cases that would have popularised the judiciary were bungled for selfish reasons. The judgement and counter judgement going on in River State as regards the PDP convention in 2016 is point at stake.

When the judiciary can no longer be trusted, then, the country is in real trouble. In their handling of electoral cases, many of their judgements are questionable. During the reign of the former president, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, in the case that arose from the election that brought him back for the second term; the Supreme Court's judgement in the calculation of the requisite percentage was tilted to favour the ruling party.

Again, the very recent case involving the embezzler of pension fund was a celebration of disgrace. The judge's excuse of not having "legal precedence and adequate punishment" is plain rubbish. Since he is convinced beyond reasonable doubt of the guilt of the plaintive hence the ridiculous judgement and fine, did the law book indicate that the guilty should go with the loot? The more worrisome is the ease of compromise in the judiciary; this is posing a serious problem to the survival of democracy in Nigeria.

In October 2016, many judges were arrested by the department of state security (DSS), and are being queried for their involvement in various corruption scams and to explain how they come about the various huge sums of cash seen in their houses. National Assembly members and other legal associations have been crying fawl, but none have been able to offer enough explanation as to the legitimate sources of such huge sums of money found in the houses of these judges. The judges themselves have been filling our ears with fables as to why they are being arrested. This study thinks that their current shameful displays demonstrated with the

judgement and counter judgement on the National convention of PDP for selfish gains offer enough clue.

The National Assembly should be the hallowed law making chamber of the country and they should be the sticklers for right things being done but in a situation where they claim unlawful allowances, like the hazard allowance, which stands at about 1.6million Naira per month for each house member, when those who really deserve the allowances are not being given, negates the law of justice.

What of their function of checkmating the executive excesses? Their action in this area, is laughable. They should hang their heads in shame, for having failed the country woefully. Where were they when president Buhari without enough consultation and manifesting a clearly undemonstrated capability, cancelled the importation of food, particularly rice, on the claim that Nigeria is self sufficient in rice production. This irresponsible action has sky rocketed the prices of rice and other food items. The only things in Nigeria, whose prices go up and come down regularly, are the prices of pepper and tomatoe. In every other thing, 'the prices defy the law of gravity.'

The National Assembly members are recently, particularly on the 14th of July 2016, heard making noise about their determination to probe the governors who took and misappropriated the 'bail out funds' from the Central bank of Nigeria, supposed to be used in paying workers salary arrears. This study thinks that their grouse was because they did not get a 'piece of the action' from the governors, that was why they suddenly woke up to their oversight functions. As soon as they get 'a piece of the deal,' the Governors will be reported to have done very well, considering the circumstances. Only those who did not comply with the gratification demanded, will be made to face the wrath of the law. Those who complied will be tacitly encouraged to strike again. This type of the oversight function is more rampant during the

budgeting period. The oversight functions and budget padding are among the legitimate ways the National Assembly people 'skin' money off the national purse.

Nigeria was a theatre of shame during the 2016 National budgeting period and more now that the revelations of what played out during that time at the National Assembly is out in the open. Virtually all the so called 'Honourable men' are 'dancing naked' in public. With these kinds of problems facing Nigeria, who still wonders why democratic practice is not yielding anything positive in Nigeria, for the masses, who, dutifully, elected their representatives. Another question is why the 2017 National budget was delayed till the middle of the year, before it was signed into law.

The Executives are no less deceitful and untrustworthy in their actions. Infact, during the democratic reign of Obasanjo, the Executive President's office descended to the lowest level it has ever gotten since independence. The President is known to have backed the bad boys to destroy governance in some states. He is known to have openly bribed National Assembly members to truncate their functions for his gains by unseating members who did not allow him to have his questionable ways. He is known to have hands in the death of our noble and innocent citizens like Bola Ige. For those nefarious favours done for him by the National Assembly lily livered leaders, he allowed their salaries and allowances to be increased beyond imagination. The whole exercise during his reign within the three Arms of government who bowed to his inordinate ambitions was one of, 'I rob your back you rob my back.' Any sign of check mating is attended with removal from office.

The Judiciary were seriously cowed. For instance, it was the judiciary he used to scuttle a fine case of corruption built against his boy, the former governor of Delta State, James Ibori. The relation between the three Arms of government is one of unholy alliance which reached its peak during Obasanjo reign.

5.12 Military Coups

The first major challenge to the survival of democracy in Nigeria has been and remains military coups, as they always prevent democracy from rising above the level of a toddler since 1966. Democracy needs to be nurtured by deliberately establishing and oiling democratic institutions, not by truncating them through coups and counter coups. Where there are mistakes as there often are, Nigerians will do better to use all constitutional means to combat gross abuses of democratic processes, procedures and institutional deviations than allow coups as the necessary messianic option; otherwise, democracy will never thrive or grow, not to talk of consolidating in Nigeria.

Part of the complex issue that brings about this big problem is that, a section of the country thinks that the rulership of the country is theirs forever, so when they are unable to attain the throne through the ballot box, they bring in the military. This is the rumour making the round presently and Buhari has confirmed this by removing any person who has anything to do with the security of the country if he or she is not a Northerner

Buhari has been away from office for a reasonable number of days, due to ill health. As at the 5th of July 2017, Buhari was said to have been away from office for the above reason for the 59th day. The constitution stipulated a maximum of sixty (65) as the number of days the president of the country can be away from office due to ill health. Any day exceeding this, he should be considered unfit to continue in office. Rumour from the grapevine has it that since Buhari was not likely to beat the deadline the Northern politicians were plotting to bring in the Army to take over power, instead of allowing the vice President, Osibanjo, to take over power as stipulated by the constitution. Again, this same section of the Country, think it has the prerogative to violence. Any little issue between them and another tribe or religion, attracts violence. When the perennial victims try to 'throw one back', the security forces are

always summoned to quell the situation and experience has shown that these security forces come in and operate with bias favouring those that invited them- the Northerners and some of those times unwittingly unleashing the organ and instruments of coups – the military. Sometimes the consequence of such invitation is coups. Why? When a lion that has tested freedom and has fallen in love with it is unleashed, it spares nothing to ensure that the status-quo remains. One of the definite ways of maintaining this kind of freedom is, to usurp power. Any organ desperate enough to attain illegal objective, has the business of breaking laws.

One of the surest ways of preventing this type of history, from playing out and replaying is, to prevent the merchants of violence, from being unleashed. If they are let loose, the likelihood is that, ‘the fowl under the acute influence of alcohol, may meet a fox suffering from abject madness.’⁴ This causes blood letting, often attended by civil unrest. The coup plotters of 1966, cited the ‘wild West’s wide spread violence, that left behind a lot of deaths, as part of the reasons they struck. With this way of thought and action of our Northern brothers, how can democracy in Nigeria not be in constant trouble?

5.13 Election Malpractice

We have discussed earlier the Nigerians perception of political office as an equaliser and opportunity to ensure a better self preservation. Politicians are therefore not ready to take chances, either of being prevented by others from getting into the office or being removed before the two terms expires. They therefore do everything inside the electoral book and even more outside it, even killing, to achieve their aim.

Moreover, the trappings of office are so enjoyable; and power so sweet that they prefer to die trying to get there or staying there. Sometimes the sponsors of the candidates having spent so much in the campaigns, will stop at nothing to make sure that the ‘Business’ yields an

appreciable profit and this can only happen if the candidate wins. Where this is the case, how can democracy and its free and fair election stand. Religious interest as seen above and tribal encouragements can lead to electoral malpractice.

The next major challenge is Nigeria's inability to conduct free and fair election. Nigeria's first election in 1959 was said to be free and fair; perhaps, because it was supervised by the colonialist. The 1965 election which was midwived by Nigeria, threw up a lot of problems that culminated in the military incursion into political sphere of the country. Another election of 1979 was said to be good, perhaps because it was supervised by the military that has not yet had much romance with political power. The one of 1983 was so bad that the masses welcomed the military takeover with joy. 1999 saw the power drunk soldiers foisting Obasanjo on Nigerians. The travesty that was called 2007 Nigeria general elections, witnessed a lot of irregularities and malpractices. This election saw Obasanjo foisting the late Yar'Adua on Nigerians. The final report of the European Union Election Observers Mission (EU EOM) led by Mr. Max Van de Berg (Netherlands), member of the European Parliament, on the Nigeria's 2007 elections, revealed the extent of this major challenge when it says:

The team undertook observation of 33 out of the 36 states, plus the Federal Capital Territory (FCT)... The 2007 States and Federal elections fell far short of the basic international and regional standards for democratic elections. They were marred by poor organization; lack of essential transparency, widespread procedural irregularities, substantial evidence of fraud, widespread voters' disenfranchisement at all the different stages of the process, lack of equal conditions for political parties and numerous incidents of violence. As a result, the process cannot be said to be credible. Given the lack of transparency and evidence of fraud, particularly in the result collation processes, there can be no confidence in the results of these elections.⁵

The above summation of our 2007 elections by the EU electionsobservers mission, shows the enormity of this challenge. It was not surprising that the then president, late Musa Yar'Adua, set up the Electoral reform panel under the chairmanship of the former Chief Justice of the

federation, Justice Uwais, to make prescriptions for surmounting this malaise once and for all. The above election being reported on, was the election in which the former president, rtd Olusegun Obasanjo, hand picked Shehu Musa Yar'Adua and using every malpractice in the book, imposed him on Nigerians. This shows the quality of those who claim to be Nigeria's best leaders. The 2011 elections under Goodluck Jonathan are adjudged free and fair. The elections of 2015 saw the use of threats of violence, manipulations and under age children voting for Buhari in many of the Northern states.

The activities of political parties were far criesto the prescriptions of the constitution and pose a major challenge. Political parties and their members still breach the constitutional provisions with impunity. The constitutional provisions stipulate that: no association should retain, organize, train or equip any person or group of persons to be employed for the use or display of political force or coercion in promoting any political objective in a manner to arouse apprehension. Political thuggery and even political assassinations are still prominent features bedeviling Nigeria politics. For example, the EU EOM notes thus:

violence was a major issue of concern and incidents increased as the election draw nearer. Credible reports indicated that at least 200 people including candidates and policemen were killed in election related incidents. This is unacceptable not only with respect to the right to life, but also to the democratic process.⁶

This is the common practice of most parties in Nigeria, especially those with die hard political veterans or rtd soldiers as chief security advisers. In the developed world, political parties serve as a check to the utterances and actions of the aspirants. Unfortunately, in Nigeria, the reverse is the case. The political parties plan the criminal activities and some times hide it from the aspirants. The parties sometimes urge certain unwholesome utterances and actions on the aspirants.

Every political party is made up of the youths and the elderly. The elderly are presumed, particularly in Africa, to be the voice of experience and morality considering the notion that they are presumed 'on their way home' and need to be more atuned to God and the heavenly ways. However, experience has disabused this notion. Many of the Nigeria veteran political elders are unrepentant manipulators and unabridged opportunists, morally bankrupt. Political parties in Nigeria, as a matter of urgency need reform, if they still want to exist. It is only democratic form of government that can entertain the existence of political parties. What they are doing presently in Nigeria will lead to the extinction of democracy and surely the parties.

5.14 Bad Governance

This is the inability of the elected candidate to apply himself to the rules and regulations of the society, secure the environment, provide the enabling conditions for growth and self realization, ensure at least the basic needs of the people, protect the basic human rights and be accountable. This can be as a result of these factors: illiteracy, bad advisers, as is presently claimed by Buhari's government; insensitivity to the plight of the masses, intolerance to opposition or criticism, vindictiveness to a section, tribalism, unmitigated level of corruption and so on.

Bad Governance is a major challenge to the survival of democracy any where in the world. The widespread lack of basic infrastructure and pervasive corruption in Nigeria polity pose serious threat and challenge to democracy. When the citizens feel that appropriated funds are not well managed in the common interest, it discourages loyalty to the nation and kills the spirit of patriotism.

The citizens want to feel that their government is thinking and fending for them, is using the common wealth to provide the common good for all and not for sectional or individual good. The situation of things in the country presently does not give such confidence. A situation

where the citizens who are the owners of the wealth are wallowing in abject poverty; no hope of a day's meal, while their representatives, whom they gave the job of ensuring their common well being, is ensuring his 'personal wealth being'; wallowing in stupendous wealth: fat bank accounts in various local and international banks, beautiful edifice in various countries, 'state of the arts cars' and various good things of life; flaunting them with 'devil may care attitude' and crowning these situations with the daily advertisement of the embezzlement of the common wealth, can have only one ending – anarchy and blood curdling revolt. Is this what we want? Remember, the mob is a senseless animal.

We must remember that the democratic system of government was developed to overthrow and flushout the dictatorship of the tyrannical forms of government, to accommodate the views of the people in their governance and to accede to the will of the masses. Ironically, the democratically elected leadership of the country, manifest abject insensitivity to the cries of the masses. For instance, electric light may never be seen in a community for a long time, the citizens may have to trek many kilometers to get water or any other basic necessities of life, which are supposed to be provided by government but who has not bothered to do so. The so called leaders donot even care a hoot how the citizens fare. Some of our roads have become 'death traps', hence, thousands accidentally perish on a particular road and the leadership to manifest their insensitivity, may on the same day be flown to the airport by a helicopter, for a flight to America, for shopping; while the masses that gave them the job that brought the National or State 'till' within the reach of their unregulated clutches, are languishing in preventable mourning and sorrow. Not until one of their close relatives, is involved in a fatal accident along any of the death traps roads, will they realize that the deaths could have been prevented by putting the roads in order. Even then, only the one on which the accident and death occurred will be given attention;others may need to furnish their own fatal evidence, before being attended to. Not that the funds for the repair of the roads are not

provided for in the budget. The tradition is that they likely, may have been embezzled or misappropriated for the shoppings in America.

The kind of hell Nigerians go through in the event of fuel scarcity will propel any caring government to monitor and handle any problem from that sector with dispatch; but not the Nigeria government. PENGASSEN gave a warning strike in July 2016, the government was busy claiming that it has up to 30 days of fuel stock in its depots, instead of meeting with this senior petroleum workers body, to discuss and find a way out of another developing nightmare. When the 'push comes to shove', we may discover that government's claim of 'unfinishable' fuel storage, amounts to 'shooting from the hip,' and mere bravado. What happens if PENGASSEN makes its strike indefinite? Has the Federal government any answer to that, in the form of alternative supply? Non, whatsoever.

Democracy is dependent on the sensitivity, honesty, and common sense of those in government, because democracy thrive on the goodwill of the masses. Where this goodwill and their timely availability constantly generate peace; the constant patience and resilience of the people, should not be taken for granted, because one day, the patience will not surface and an angry mob will that day become, a time bomb.

The issue of majority rule and minority rights is still a challenge, as the ethnic minorities in the oil producing areas of the south-south geopolitical foreign exchange earners, have consistently cried out against overt and prolonged neglect of their region by the majority ruling the country over the years. Where this type of situation is still pronounced, as in Nigeria, it is an indication that the government is far from good. This might result in disloyalty to the government. Some disgruntled elements have even resorted to militancy, as a way to ventilate their grievances, thereby threatening the survival of Nigeria and its democracy.

Democracy requires a stable political and economic environment to thrive. Since the discovery of petroleum in commercial quantity in Nigeria in the '70s, the youths of the riverine areas mostly affected in the devastations following the explorations, have been restive, crying out for palliatives and infrastructural developments for the indigenes whose farm lands and sea life have been destroyed by the oil spillages, but no government paid them any attention. Having run out patience, they went into their trenches to disrupt government's economic 'milk flow.' It was not until the reign of Goodluck Jonathan, that they downed their arms and embraced peace. It was not because they love Jonathan. Rather, it was at this time that programmes were put in place to cushion their suffering and change their thought flow and mind set. General amnesty was granted them and generally accepted programmes put in place to rehabilitate them. The programme ensured peace around the 'foreign earning pot' of Nigeria.

The beffudling fact is that, it was the present government of Buhari that 'woke the sleeping dog;' that profusedly and infuriatingly went out of it's way to lodge an 'aggravating kick at the tail of the lion', despite all advice to the contrary, by it's pronouncements and actions. The government proscribed the widely advised programme in place, being used to rehabilitate the highly restive youths of Ogoni land who, grudgingly downed their weapons recently and from whose parlours, bedrooms, backyards and farmlands, the foreign earnings and the only organized wealth of the country is being exploited, without any tangible payback. The highly tribalistic government of Buhari rather, wants to establish a similar programme for his own brothers. The Ogoni youths have gone back to their trenches, started blowing up the oil pipelines and sacking foreign explorers. Presently, the Nigeria wealth is confronted by the world wide economic recession, the looting of the treasury, the acute scarcity of food and the abyssmal collapse of the Naira against other currencies of the world.

Can these blunderings entrench and consolidate our democracy? The problem is still deep leadership problem.

The militating problems in the democratic practice in Nigeria as exposed, when hermeneutically interpreted, show the level of the structural and foundational bereavement of our political leaders. This lacuna in the foundation of our leaders' behavioural outlook and personality formation, affects all aspects of our political life. This is more so in the face of the economic emasculating situations. Poverty has a way of making a man appear senseless and incapable of reasoning. This is for the fact that he is fully concerned with bodily survival than with creating intellectual and environmental well being.

Endnotes

1. Ejovi Austin, et al, *Corruption in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective, Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, www.iiste.org ISSN 2222-1719(paper)ISSN 2222-2863 online vol.3, N16, 2013
2. Ibid;
3. Ibid;
4. Ibid;
5. European Union Election Observer Mission (EU, EOM), led by Mr. Max Van de Berg, 2007
6. Ibid;

CHAPTER SIX

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Having come this far, after indicating the essence of this study, reviewed related literatures, exposed the control concept- 'Western democracy and its essence,' in the face of this peculiar study- 'Democracy in Nigeria, 1999 to 2018' taken a look at other pertinent issues in the ensuing chapters, all in the presence of hermeneutic methodology, time has come to evaluate the whole work and for this study to make its own contribution for democratic growth. This study wants to point out here, that for the avoidance of repetition, any issue that has attracted the critical edge of this study in the exposition, may no longer attract such peculiar attention here.

6.1 Evaluation

In the statement of problem, this study indicated the entry promises of Western democracy of which not one has been fulfilled more than half a century into its practice, coupled with the despicable display of our political leaders: their high level of irresponsibility, lack of consideration for the masses who elected them into office to represent them in political and governmental decision makings and implementations, the high level of corruption which they indulge in and other democratic and societal ills which becloud and militate against the realization of the enviable dividends of this Western democracy. Our political leaders have perennially displayed or demonstrated their inabilities to attend to the needs of the voting masses and are constantly befuddling us with their unbridled selfish pursuit. They have refused to do the right things, preferring to destroy the country, the future of their children and family by their conducts in which they erroneously think that they are providing for the future of their generation but are actually taking us back to the 'state of nature', devoid of any security and civility.

Our usage of the hermeneutic methodology in this study, gives us the opportunity to look at the democratic activities of each democratic regime in the presence of their peculiar circumstance and personality, to note how their actions or inactions supports democratic essence in the betterment of democratic practice in Nigeria within the indicated period and the deliverance of the dividend of democracy. This methodology helps us to interpret and compare democratic growth in the various periods indicated

The two corruption cases of self enrichment against Awolowo and Azikiwe in the first republic mentioned above, which were judicially investigated are not unique:

On the contrary, while the crises between Zik and Eyo in NCNC and the one between Awo and Akintola in AG parties, may have exposed these corrupt practices, the Northern and the Southern parties were still intact, though there were no insider information as to the internal goings on in the Northern parties¹

The first Republic ended with the wranglings in the wild West with the first army coup in Nigeria. The second republic threw up Umaru Dikko with the rice money embezzlement and other stupendous financial profligacies which ushered in the second military coup in Nigeria. In the third republic, no sooner was the Obasanjo regime's National Assembly inaugurated than they started fighting over allowances, the type of cars they will use, the housing and furnishing allowances, rather than first articulate their approach to law making, which is the objective of their election. These types of engagements consumed a good percentage of the year and were being watched on National Television. This unfortunate situation was exploited and sustained by the executive arm of government to the dismay of the populace. The result was that at the end of the first term of the administration, not much was accomplished that could be cited as democratic accomplishment of the House that is of benefit to the masses.

The level of corruption witnessed in this era can only be overtaken by that of Obasanjo's do or die attempt to enshrine illegality by trying to force his way into a third term. He swore earlier to fight corruption to a standstill, but under whom did son, daughter, boy friend of wife, hair dresser of wife, to mention but a few, own oil blocks in Nigeria? Who promoted National Assembly politics to 'Ghana must go' politics? Under whose reign was Nigeria's elections reduced to mere ritual? Who bestride the ministry of petroleum for years without giving account to anybody? Claimed to have spent colossal amount of money to pay oil subsidy without collaboration? Who built a petroleum refinery in Cameroun with Nigeria petroleum money loot but refused to refurbish the old ones nor built any new one in Nigeria? Who was rumoured to have guided Cameroun on how to take away Bakassi oil glut peninsula from Nigeria among other atrocious deeds without any denial? Former president Goodluck Jonathan was afraid to stop the scavengers in his administration during the fourth republic, he threw open the door of Nigeria treasury for his second term bid thereby ushering in an unprecedented looting of the national coffers, he refused to make the necessary changes in the polity despite the blank cheque given to him to do so by the national conference of 2014. Who do we discuss in this arena: rtd Cornel Dasuki Sambo, High chief Dokpesi, former Director of Police pension Esai Dangabari, former chairman of EFCC, Ibrahim Lamordi, President of the Senate, Saraki; Jonathan's attempt to buy votes from the royal fathers with billions of Naira? and many more.

Buhari came into power in 2015 with the campaign promises that he will rectify most of Nigeria problems within six months of his taking office. His anti-corruption race has already started, enthroned by official policy but what we are experiencing are mere change of names of the previous corrupt activities going on under the new regime. APC dollar subsidy had taken over PDP oil subsidy, APC dollar dealers, had taken over PDP oil dealers; from PDP poor screening for Federal employments to APC no screening for the employment of family

members, ethnic group and so on. This reveals that the corrupt level of our so called leaders, even from the first Republic seem irredeemable and have now become universal and a monumental cankerworm. Stepping back a little to Obasanjo's election travesty for instance; in the preparation for the 2003 election, the processes and the caliber of people put in place to guide the processes, their utterances and actions revealed them to be agents of the ruling party. In all the vital positions in the preparation processes were men of disrepute put in place to ensure the imposition of the political awardees of the ruling party, PDP, instead of arranging for the proper supervision of a keenly contested electoral process of the Nigeria citizens backed candidates. What the citizens read from all the trumpeted preparation was that it was going to be another game of vote whoever you like, INEC, the ruling party stalwarts and their Cabal will announce and impose whomsoever they want. In protest, many of the electorates did not turn out to vote on the day of election. The huge results announced all over the country as to impose PDP choice candidates, did not tally with the poor turnout of voters. River state in particular cried out, furnishing the list of its registered voters, to show that the announced number of votes over shot the registered list by more than a million. It is the lowest Abel Guobadia's led 'Independent National Electoral Commission' could drag democracy to. Alluding to this John Okwoeze, Odey cried out;

one of the greatest problems of our leaders in this country is that they fail repeatedly to learn any lesson from history, as a result of greed for material wealth and lust for power. If not for these twin cancers, I cannot understand why a person of president Obasanjo's standing could descend so low as to master mind the April 12th and 19th 2003 travesty that has turned our nascent democracy into a hollow ritual.²

'The third Republic' in Nigeria started with the National Assembly on allowances of not more than, two hundred and fifty thousand Naira per month. Now, they go home each with not less than thirty million Naira monthly, while the electorate that gave them the job are wretched, jobless, starved, disease ridden, uneducated, with no hope for a better tomorrow. If

you do not call it daylight heartless robbery of the National till and gross irresponsibility, we would like to know what these actions are. This study wonders whether our political leaders understand what democracy is or what the contract that brought it into being is all about. Their utterances and actions betray their lack of this knowledge yet they came out and vied and swore to carry out what they do not know.

In the definition of terms, democracy was acknowledged to have taken different forms under the influences of varying factors which may include: culture, religion and economic development or situations. Some of these factors and the type of democracy which they generate help in providing better representation and more freedom than others and in some cases, they themselves constitute stumbling block to the true democratic institutions and practice.

In direct democracy, all the eligible citizens are expected to participate in law making. This could be cumbersome and the number of people involved very unwieldy. The developments in democracy and its popularity is based on its accommodation of all eligibles without much problems. Direct democracy is very good if the number is not big but very problematic if the number is big hence unwieldy. For instance, council meeting which is a direct form of democracy is being used in Britain because local councils are not big.

In the representative democracy, the number of people voted for, in Nigeria for instance, to represent the millions of people which constitute the masses are few and are all picked through majority votes. They are supposed to convey to the parliament the wishes and views of their constituencies on issues of concern. It is easier to practice this form of democracy in developed countries of the world whose culture, history and need are integrated in the forging and formulation of the Western democracy. Unfortunately for Nigeria, many of these supposed representatives convey their own personal views and devote their whole time

fighting for their own selfish interests. Sovereignty, the power to elect and authorise representation and the power to recall is with the electorates but is rarely used, may be, because of the long processes involved and the probability that some of the constituent members may have been influenced or compromised. Poverty is one of the stumbling blocks to the proper practice of democracy. The poor are trapped at the level of primary needs. The politicians know how to exploit him at his level. The poor man is like a creature without common sense, any opportunity to take care of his/her primary needs or enhance his/her standard of living, traps his/her interest. Unfortunately, in Nigeria, a politician is often full of promises and no fulfillment and it is also at this type of democratic practice that we realize that some of the winners know how to win elections but do not know how to deliver the dividends of democracy, which is one of the major problems of democracy.

The parliamentary democracy is also representative in nature. The elected representatives, elect the Central Government from among themselves and can also dismiss it. The legislatures elected by the people serve as checks and balances. These are good features in democracy. However, the concept of "Loyal opposition" can easily be abused by the 2nd largest party, especially if it can get the legislatures to compromise as can easily be done in Nigeria, with "Ghana must go."

In the presidential democracy, the elected President serves as both the Head of State and Head of Government, controlling the executive powers. This concentrates a lot of powers in one hand, which can easily be abused, as is constantly seen in Nigeria. When the President and the legislature are also from different parties, the operations of the state are hindered or slowed down with unnecessary squabbles. When they are from the same party, they can activate any illegality and push it through and it becomes binding on everybody. This study thinks that in a semi-presidential system where the president has the executive power and the prime minister has the power of the head of state will help in reducing the concentration of

too much powers in one hand and can help in checkmating each other use of power corruptly, as is wont to in Nigeria.

“Democracies which combine elements of representative and direct democracy are called hybrid democracy, semi-direct democracy or participatory democracy.”³. countries with this system include Switzerland and New England, In new England town meeting is often used especially in rural areas to manage local governments this creates a hybrid form of government with a local direct democracy and a state government which representative.

Hybrid Democracy can be very useful. It gives the locals the opportunity of discussing government pressing issues and airing their own views directly, which could be more fundamental if it is a local issue, since they are closer to the source than the town living legislatures. If this hybrid is adopted in local governments in Nigeria, it will help the grass root democratic practice. It will aid people whose representatives hardly keep in contact with the constituency, to directly express themselves and put across their views from their local areas. This will even expose their representatives if they try to trade in their own selfish views later.

This system government will prevent the occurrence of a lot of ills like corruption, manipulation bribery and so on, for the simple fact that government issues are thrown open to the public and by so doing all known ways and prices for instance are xrayed, so that no one person will manipulate his or her way to the detriment of otherd for selfish gains.

In this system also, what everybody is doing in the name of the public is exposed and discussed, so that whatever needs to be done for public interest, so that whatever needs to be done for public knowledge of the state of things around them and how it is best handled for the masses security of life and property enhances their sense of security and increases their

feeling of being carried along which decreases the feeling of insecurity and enhance the feeling of wellbeing.

I therefore recommend the adoption of this hybrid system of democracy for the fact that long before the issue of representation and election, everybody knows everybody's view and how it might be articulated for public consumption and benefit.

In which ever direction you turn in Nigeria affair as regard the masses, it always devotail to the problem of leadership. Nigerian leaders will do everything possible to all view with the foreign rippers off to ensure that his or her selfish interest is cattered for to the detriment of the jobless others

In chapter two, John Odey's political analysis is rich and instructive. He raised a lot of questions on the activities of the different arms of government. The implications of these questions mean that these arms of government need to effectively carry out their statutory functions and stop looking elsewhere for the source of their problems else, all will share in the blame of the system failure.

This study wants to emphasize that until the rightful winner of an election has been sworn in, an election is not concluded. The undemocratic practice in Nigeria is to swear in whoever is the choice of the Cabal into office. The plan and practice of the cabal is to delay the judicial angle for sometimes up to four years before the rightful winner is allowed to be declared. The trio of INEC, judicial body and the cabal are joined in this type of game. The main target of this connivance is the 'purse' of the state. By the time the impostor is eventually eased out, nothing will remain of the resources of the state to pay salary, not to talk of executing projects. This type of situation is witnessed in several states during Obasanjo's civilian regime. This type of practice negates the essence of democratic constitution or laws.

Nigeria leadership problems are numerous, including: poor education, lack of patriotism, lack of sound moral foundation, high level greed, no sense of nobility, tribalism, corruption, lack of compassion for others, unmitigated selfishness, no sense of responsibility, poor sense of accountability, no positive desire for achievement, to mention but a few. The opposite of these are the characteristics of megalothymia, an aspect of thymos housing the noble qualities of leadership. What this means is that if the noble qualities of megalothymia are inculcated into Nigerians, the Nigerian leadership problems will be a thing of the past.

Taking a look at the views of Paul, T. Haaga and Kanu Ikechukwu A, Osa (2012) as regards democracy in Nigeria, we have these to say, while we might frown at the poor performances of our leaders and outcomes of democracy in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, it does not mean that there is blanket failure of good governance in Nigeria. The good thing is that these leaders know when they are performing far below average but their bottomless greed traps them to the disgraceful performance and unwholesome embezzlements. In line with this view, Rochas Okorochoa, the present governor of Imo State declared on his Wednesday the 14th of June 2017 AIT television broadcast, in defence of the Federal government against the marginalization accusation of the Federal government by the Igbo ethnic group as one of the factors prompting their desire to move away from Nigeria Nationhood under Biafra Nation. He declared that: "The Federal government brings what belongs to the South Eastern region and that it is only the South Eastern regional leaderships that embezzle the Eastern share of the Nation's cake. He indicated that the Igbo masses need to ask the right questions in the right quater, to get the right answers." This type of thing might be going on in other parts of the country, leaving the picture of a failed democracy. The fact before us is that in every regime, we are constantly abreast of the various states that enjoy the dividends of democracy from their governors even if for a term before they revert to their game of embezzlement for the comfort of their great grand children. The befuddling

issue is that, they know what is expected of them but preferred to queue on the wrong side of the masses expectations, like people trapped and pulled by fate and are inevitably helpless. What this all means is that, pushed in the right direction and faced by a good judge ready and willing to apply the stiff and appropriate sanctions backed by a detribalized and faithful Nationalist community ready to ask the right questions and demand the right answers, the leaders will no doubt wake up and live up to their responsibilities.

In some states, it is the same governors who are known to have performed above average in their first tenor, that are later seen to slide to the back seat of democratic performance as if under some 'will' sapping negative influence. Getting involved in very poor performance and introducing terrorism does not make sense, because, it is the little achieved and the citizens that might make things better, that are destroyed and killed.

Our leaders should realise that a 'bachelor who defecates in his house, locks up the door and goes away, will come back to behold what he left behind'. A sanction based on cultural stigma should be fashioned out as a form of punishment for corruption and good governance offenders. This will jolt our leaders back to their senses. A situation where we allocate front seats and places of honour to society embezzlers, we are simply hailing them and cheering others who have not, to ply the same trade.

In expressing himself as regards the failure of Nigeria leadership and this as the pivot of Nigeria troubles, Chude Jideonwo hit the nail on the head of why Nigeria democracy should be considered as a failed one. The primary reason why nations set up government is to ensure the safety of life and property. It therefore means that any government which is unable to provide security for its citizens has no justification to continue to exist. As a matter of fact, the masses have the right to withdraw their mandates, in fact they are obliged to do so and give it to another who can.

In Nigeria, Boko Haram started as a political project directed at creating political confusion during Jonathan's administration, it aided in testing his faithfulness and capability to the provision of security for the masses. And when it became clear he could not, Nigerians reacted appropriately by rejecting a government that could not protect them, the one that could not ensure the safety of life and property. But the question now is, after voting him out, do we have safety of life and property? The answer is still no! The Boko Haram insurgents may have been brought under control in a sense, but other forms of insecurity have been unleashed- serious food insecurity, which kills slowly but assuredly. Many have been reported to have committed suicide when they discovered that they have no answer to the food security situation of their families. The insecurity has even expanded to the insecurity of education, of justice and many others. Insecurity of job has become more acute when governments – state governments, for now cannot pay their workers salaries. Even the Boko Haram we thought has been brought under control still strike intermittently but devastatingly. In these, the elites in all field of endeavour are responsible for the failures. Our hermeneutical look at the whole situations leading to the failure of democracy in Nigeria points to the abysmal failure of our leaders, which Chinua Achebe bemoaned long before now and which we have not bothered to rectify.

Ajayi, T.A and Ojo, O.E, expressing themselves in their write up, 'Democracy in Nigeria' rooted for peculiar democracies. That is, democracies that are forged taking into consideration the ways of life of a people, their tradition, noting what history expresses of their past and their known culture, value and needs. Any form of government that overlook these factors, will never be easy for the people to adapt to, not to talk of practicing.

We should note that when democracy talks of 'equality,' it is emphasising the equality of rights before the law, for justice and fairness, equality of votes, equality to compete in an election if one fulfils the requirement and is acceptable by the masses; equality of right to

express oneself and so on, not the equality of wealth because that will amount to unfairness. The amount of wealth in any one's possession depends on capabilities, skills and other know-how required in building up that wealth. Wealth, under normal circumstances is according to the resources expended which entails a lot of things: energy, knowledge, even spiritual blessings and favour but because of the high level of corruption in the country, stupendous wealth are presently cornered by the privileged without expending anything, it all depends on whom you know. Bearing in mind the indication that some are by nature conditioned to be servants- 'fetchers of water and hewers of wood,' it becomes a truism which should be recognized and deliberate efforts made to bring about the sworn improved standard of living promised by democracy which will alleviate the inordinate sufferings of this class and enhance the common good of the masses. This also happens to be the epicentral concern of democracy. The notion of a few or a section is anti-thesis of democracy. In the real Greek sense, democracy means 'all', the majority and the minority. Democracy is not about the leaders, it is about the people, the masses, the citizens.

In Nigeria, the so called leaders spend so much on themselves and their comfort and far less on the masses- an aberration; a clear sign of the leaders having their priority wrong, a clear instance of misplacement of priority. How can a servant take more care of himself than his masters? This also signifies the disdain and the impunity with which elites perceive the masses and attend to their obligations. They deserve the same treatment Goodluck Jonathan was given, if it was freely given. Our application of hermeneutics methodology down the line exposes Nigeria leaders showing total disregard for the citizens. Under these circumstances, how do we think that these misguided leaders will do anything to uphold democracy, instead of looking for a way of imposing or practicing Aristocracy under democracy? In reality what we have in Nigeria presently is a mixture of Aristocracy, tyranny, autocracy, absolute monarchy, 'cabalacy' and diarchy

It has been stated that Nigeria 'poli-traditional' practices has rudiments of democracy or participative or consensus system of government in which every bodies' view is acknowledged and counts, from the angle of political history. What is required is the re-modification of Western democracy to reflect Nigeria needs, tradition, history and culture.

Corruption is known to be the bane of any societybut the worst is the type in Nigeria where the stinkingly rich misappropriates and embezzles with ferocity and impunity as if to make sure that the already poor becomes wretched. The elites steal what they do not need and take these resources away from the commoner's reach, to a foreign country, as if to make sure that his fellow Nigerians suffer everything bad to the advantage of the white strangers in whose countries these loots are usually started. They do not need the resources because they have already looted enough to last generations, they do not want it to be used to do anything beneficial to their brothers, their fellow owners of the common wealth. This therefore is not simple corruption but an attempt at the emasculation and possible genocide. The whole operation does not make sense at all. The despicable and frightening fact is that, there appear to be a scramble to join this nefarious group of potential murderers. Democracy virtually appears to have come to a crossroad in Nigeria. The masses are schuffling around bemused, perhaps hoping for the emergence of a political saviour. Our inability to conduct common free and fair election, make the appearance of this saviour in the horizon a farfetched dream. In spite of these frustrations, Nigerians are still filled with faith and hope for democracy in whatever form it manifests. Will the saviour ever come? Are we condemned to have perpetual looters than leaders? We must not loose hope.

57 years of keeping faith and hope alive that a political messiah will come to liven our democratic anticipation has not worked. This study tried to take stock of what democracy has achieved in Nigeria since she joined other African countries in the practice. For instance, what has it done for the Niger Delta people? Democracy in Nigeria is erroneously conceived

and practised, hence it is not bringing home the goods promised, rather it ushers in violence, corruption, religious intolerance tribalism and more. It requires utmost discipline, focus, sacrifice, integrity, knowledge and so on to succeed. Fifty-seven years ago, Nigeria was filled with pride, hope, confidence and so on; today, greed and corruption have made us neo-slaves to the national oil companies of the nationalities that made us plantation slaves. How then can we claim to have gained freedom, from what, for what? They still dictate to us as they did then. We still jump at their order and kill our brothers for them, even when our brothers asked a just question. The Nigeria Police do it constantly at the hope of any gratification. Infact, it appears to be one of their jobs- killing Nigerians for the 'Whiteman's gratification and for the fun of it.

With the trend of thing in the Niger Delta, the hands of some Westerners seem apparent in our electoral problems for whatever reasons. They have no regard for us and our brothers who are our leaders follow in their footsteps. Democracy relies on transparency and accountability but our leaders have rejected complying with these, hence, no development of any sort and no enjoyment of the essence of democracy for the masses, the real sovereigns. The masses languish in poverty in the midst of plenty. We are prisoners and slaves in our own house. While the elite leaders who kept us in all these bondages call it independence, the masses call it neo-colonialism. The painful thing about this is that, while the white strangers inflicted the first pain with reckless abandon for their motherland, our own brothers are inflicting worst pains of neo-colonialism. They are inflicting it with glee, pulling their iron barbed stud whips.

It is good to do good, but some goods are Greek in nature or like the 'Trojan Horse.' Moral philosophy could not resist making it clear that the intention behind an action can vitiate that action. Our political past heroes planted seeds that have refused to be supplanted. To win support in their political campaign they started dispensing 'Trojan goods' but those good acts

were vitiated by the intentions and to date have grown into corruption octopus that have become endemic.

The experiences of the past strictly indicate that centralised government is not agreeable considering the history and nature of the country Nigeria. Our leaders have constantly manifested lack of learning from historical analysis. The nature and structure of Nigeria need a decentralised government, but for some unknown reason, this was not instituted. It was long discovered that the regions are better when allowed to grow at their various rates, in line with their culture and tradition.

Politicians in Nigeria are interested in the acquisition of more power as to perpetually be in the position of dispensing and having the wealth of the country at their beck and call, not for the benefit of the masses that is why they have not bothered to restructure the country to reflect the above structure. The Northern politicians seem interested in acquiring power in order to stagnate the country. Their cultural ties with religious belief, do not allow their children to go to school, their women are not allowed to emancipate, they do not participate in election until recently. Their policies when in power, do not take serious cognisance of development, since their religious belief gives no credence to financial policies that have links with capitalist approach, this embodies profits, which draws in its wake, increase and development. Simply put, their religion has no accommodation for profit making but surprisingly, no manner of embezzlement passes them by; even the nature of their culture, encourages it. No wonder we are not making much headway in development, since they are most of the time in power.

Hermeneutics view of development policies in the country, and the way they collapse seem to have us convinced that they are engineered to fail. Nigeria politicians are hypocrites. For instance, Awolowo was on the war path on our politicians profligacy, but soon after, a panel

of inquiry found him guilty of the offense of a high level corruption and embezzlement. The high level of corruption, outright stealing, insensitivity and electoral violence are the main reasons why the 1st and 2nd Republic failed.

To date, Nigeria finds it very impossible to carry out her census because number is being used to allocate representation in the parliament and later, house of representative membership and resources. When the 'white men' are invited to carry out our census for us, they end up carrying out the agenda of their government by siding one tribe or the other. This is not helping in the planning of the human resources angle of development or infra-structural development and provision.

While the colonialist was in the horizon, Nigerians had a common enemy- the colonialist; but as soon as the Westerners were on the verge of leaving, the disunity rooted in ethnicism and religious differences resurfaced. While the fight against the colonial masters lasted, the sense of nationhood in Nigeria persisted, but at independence, that spirit died as if independence was a curse instead of a blessing. Part of the reason is because the Northerners from inception chose a closed society. They refused to Westernise educationally and developmentally.

The way politics is played in Nigeria, any tribe or region that acquires Presidential power, wants to keep it for life, making the others political outsiders and underdogs. If appointments are nationalistic or truly democratic, the much struggle for power at the highest level would have been less. There is no conscious attempt to rotate it. This generated tension and does not go well for democracy, its development and the furnishing of its expected benefits.

In their bid to acquire power at all cost, the Nigeria politicians mostly whip up ethnic, religious or regional sentiments; but it is the Northern politicians that turn it into a religious jihad whenever they see that the quality of opposition is not in their favour. When they get

into power, they fail to fulfil the expectations of the people and even their own electoral promises.

Up to 80% of Nigerians are live below Poverty level and poverty has never been known to support democracy. This form of government requires: articulation, knowledge, consultation, dialogue and debate; which consumes a lot of time and money. This cannot be done when one is majorly preoccupied with how to find food for the day. Most Nigerians live below the poverty line in the midst of great national wealth being looted by the elites. At this stage, they are easily manipulated by these stupendously wealthy few elites. This situation does not help in the proper practice of democracy. Most of the wealthy Nigerians are those who have at one time or the other, managed the state affairs and accumulated illicit wealth.

When in 2015, the slated election between Goodluck Jonathan of PDP and Buhari of APC were postponed, Nigerians cried foul. Amaka Anku, a philosophical writer did not see any problem in this but in the two desperate politicians at each other's throats, to win election. As far as she was concerned, these two have nothing to offer Nigerians, having articulated nothing. Indicating that you will provide Security, fight corruption to a stand still and soffuse the country with jobs, have not said anything about how these tasty issues are to be realised, which is the political aspect of it. As they stand, they are mere topics. The masses often allow themselves to be hook winked by politicians in the name of tribal loyalty which eventually translate to national failure, if not, how can such important issues be overlooked

Taking a hermeneutical look at Ado Musa's democratic perception, one could see that in an environment where the citizens are not allowed to exercise their human rights to the full, they can only boost of practising democracy marginally. This marginal practice is the situation with Nigeria. The full exercises of these rights are denied some citizens by their so called leaders in Nigeria. It requires democrats to practice democracy, otherwise, it is falsehood, as

happens in Nigeria. With the conduct of political elites in Nigeria, it can be said to have failed democratically. A situation where the conducts of our leaders reflect nothing democratic, how can we claim to be practicing democracy? Again, there is no election without voters, except in Nigeria; no democrats, no voters, yet we claim to be practicing democracy. This is unacceptable, null and void.

The elites need to establish structures that encourage democratic practice and growth. Deliberate fragmentation of national identities in favour of ethnic identity will never help democratic growth, moreover, authority need to be legitimately acquired through election. Our community should be made a political community and not an anarchic community. Government owes it as a duty to live up to its obligations and make democracy to fulfil its promises of improved material and abstract standard of living.

The only thing that can help Nigeria out of this situation is the better conduct of its leaders, banishment of poverty, illiteracy, corruption and the restoration of dividends of democracy. Betrayal of democracy while claiming to be practicing democracy does not make sense. Ensuring that the masses loose faith in the practice of democracy can only achieve one thing, anarchy or bloody rebellion. The different agencies and arms of democratic government have been made to fail, in our desperation to be relevant and remain in power to continue to subjugate the masses to what end? to the alienation of our being? The shameful displays of our leaders produce no pride and fulfilment. The annihilation of democracy amounts to the annihilation of man's true independence.

When hermeneutic indices is used to access Moses Ochonu's look at the cause of the failure of Nigeria democracy, the outcome is the conviction that the Abuja politicians have lost the way of politically improving the standard of living of the people. It is therefore not surprising that the masses are in a sense disgusted with the continued practice of democracy in Nigeria.

They thought this could be achieved by intermittently giving money to the corrupt politicians to share to the masses as palliatives or poverty alleviation, pretending not to know that, whatever is given, never gets to the targets, the poor masses

The material promises have not been delivered, nor the abstract benefits. As practiced in Nigeria, democracy has only delivered corruption of all sorts: fat allowances and unimaginable salaries to National Assembly members and other political office holders, leaving nothing for the communal projects. Even these projects are embarked upon in Nigeria not for the benefit of the masses but to enrich the leaders, hence the failure of these projects.

However, Nigerians still believe in democracy as the only legitimate source of authority and rulership. Authority to elect and recall belongs to the people and not to the elected, yet, no effort have been made to coordinatingly exercise this authority by the people being maltreated. Do we continue to leave our fruitless mandates or sovereignty with the useless representatives? We must decide on that now. While Nigerians' perception of democracy is based on its imported claims of better standard of living, which is purely utilitarian, it is by nature an embodiment of sacrifice and intellectualism. The material benefits come from the proper synchronising of the disciplined and visionary leadership with the judicious use of the available resources. Due to Nigerians peculiar position, they want quantifiable benefits at all cost and as the yardstick. It is based on this notion that democracy is counted to have failed in Nigeria in particular and Africa as a whole.

Democracy is also accused of failing because it is very slow in the passage of bills and accenting to policy implementation. Based on these failings of democracy, Africans are beginning to wonder whether another form of government is not preferable like, the benevolent dictatorship and military rulership: a form of government that concentrates enough power in one hand, as to push policies or beneficial projects through without delay. The

question becomes, how tolerant and beneficent is dictatorship? Dictatorship and benevolence do not meet. They cannot work together. Nigerians are not particular what form of government they are under so long as it delivers the expected dividends: good roads, safety of life and property, water, hospital etc.

Ethan Pitt, noting that Nigerians have experienced a long period of military rule, expected democratic stability when power is handed back to the civilian government in 1999 but the hermeneutic method of analysis indicated that it is not possible with the way democracy is being practiced in Nigeria. First, the colonialist encouraged the milking of government by the elites. 'This problem' which provided the logistics for the flamboyant lifestyles of the elites, relevance in the society, and easy wealth, has not gone away to date. It rather enthroned and sustained corruption in Nigeria.

The Jihadist, Utman Dan Fodio, came to the Northern part of Nigeria with his close door culture. The Westerners came to the South with their western education, knowledge and enlightenment. At the point of independence, it was like the marriage of darkness and light; one barbaric in action and the other enlightened and with the fear of God as regards the taking of another's life, yet the former claims to be born to rule. This barbaric disposition of our Northern brothers was what gave rise to the senseless killings of 1967 that led to the immediate cause of the civil war. This war exacerbated the fundamental instinct of self preservation, manifesting in the various marginalization out cry and heightened corruption in the country. These increased the level of tension, distrust, political disunity, inordinate quest for power at all cost.

Ajayi Amos Kenny sees Globalization as the business side of democracy, which itself has to do with good governance, one man one vote, consultative decision making and representative system. Nigerians have not been able to get it right despite the long period of democratic

practice. The causes include: corruption, impositions of candidates, electoral malpractices, political and religious intolerance, insecurity and so on. Poverty is also part of these factors. If democracy is to survive and develop in Nigeria, these factors that wage war against democracy must be taken seriously and not as political propaganda or tool to hunt opponents. A comprehensive political education need to be embarked upon and drastic electoral laws to be put in place for electoral offenders. All organs of democracy need to be strengthened.

Ogugua Paul, I. in his 'toward a participatory society', a literary contribution to the journal of philosophy, Nnamdi Azikwe University Awka, indicated that the stipulations are directed toward a futuristic society, meaning that the fine tuned participatory society which he has in mind has not yet come into existence. In reality it has not come, not in Nigeria, not in any part of Africa, but the rudiments exist and are practiced in the southern part of Nigeria. While these principles have been articulated and are in practice in other part of the world as Western democracy, Nigeria in particular and Africa in general have not been able to articulate these existing principle to enable for a good and acceptable indigenous democratic practice or participatory society Africa or Nigeria wide, 'Democratia semper reformanda.' Of all the literatures reviewed in this work, this is the most comprehensive and erudite scholarly exposition of what democracy should be or needs in Nigeria or else where. It contains the fundamental factors that are necessary for a participatory society and why they are so considered. It explains how these factors allies with the nature of man, the duties of man both to himself and others; the factors that are necessary for the enduring nature of man and his society. It explains participatory society as democratic society and exposes what democracy does not need. Ogugua also indicated the roles of the different levels of the society toward democracy to ensure its growth and benefits.

L. Chinedu Arizona-Ogwu sees democracy as a governmental system where the masses interact with their representatives face to face and never by proxy. This is not happening in

Nigeria and for Chinedu, what is being practiced here should therefore not be called a democracy. For instance, PDP is regarded as a pseudo party that denies people their rights, sovereignty and the power of their votes. The masses are not allowed to express themselves having been sworn to secrecy by the party's regime.

Factors should be put in place to ensure that the military seizes from being the constant threat to democracy, like a strong international body. There is need for the activities of JTF, militants and insurgents to be drastically checkmated and where need be, with 'extreme prejudice' - termination of life.

Chinedu Arizona-Ogwu questions the authority and knowledge of the opponents of democracy who indicate that democracy is unNigerian, when Nigerians entranced by the debate and discussive component of democracy, are willing to learn, understand and practice democracy as a governmental form of a civilised society. The essence of democracy is welcome with an open hand here, while the duties of the democratic agents are scrutinised. He equally believes that the international community has the duty to use their international relational policies to keep Nigeria military out of politics in Nigeria. He expressed doubt as to the reliability of the Nigeria police and other security agencies to secure democracy. INEC and the media houses have roles to play in stabilizing democracy. Any negligence by, particularly, INEC and the security agencies destroy and destabilized democracy. Courage of Nigerians and the professionalism of the military is needed to defend Nigeria democracy. The military therefore need to be invested in. The flooding of Nigeria with illegal arms, death squads and all manners of violent logistics does not help democracy.

On his own part, Cyril Udebunu wants Western democracy Africanised. He was impressed by the 'white man's' practice of democracy and the benefits they enjoy that he would want it customised for the use of our people, as to gain from the benefits. Democracy, he indicated, is

people friendly and more enduring than other forms of government. Though it can easily be manipulated by those who cannot deliver the benefits of democracy, but can win elections, it is the masses that mandate the representatives through elections. Democracy has the unfortunate outcome of constantly generating distrust and violence post electorally in Nigeria, like Boko Haram and so on, yet, it is gaining popularity the world over. This is because it is linked to industrial development. Relying on this, Francis Fukuyama rooted for the enthronement of Western democracy and the abandonment of any other culture, especially Africans' that cannot help development, to reap democratic benefits. This however, will amount to Neo-colonialism; for democracy sometimes, need to be customised, embodying the people's culture, history, tradition, value and needs. A wholesome importation of the Western to the African makes it alien to the way of life of the people, hence impossible to practice. Multi-tribal electoral politics is natural in Nigeria therefore any other form of government in place in Nigeria that neglects this or indigenous cultural values or content, or ideas that define good governance which cannot solve Nigeria peculiar problems, will not work in Nigeria.

Liberty, which is the back bone of democracy, is the present day rage, democracy cannot work without this and other indicated abstract factors. They include: freedom to participate and choose; publicly owned power which can also be withdrawn, constitution that safeguards right, fora to encourage discussion, debate and representation.

Typically, the issue of talking out or discussion is an Igbo peoples meeting characteristic, where the representatives continues talking until a consensus is reached which contain the views of the majority and the minority, which could also be called the 'general will,' the views and conclusions of all present. The Kings or chiefs hold their powers on trust from the people, who can withdraw it based on these reasons: oppression of the people, arbitrariness, corruption, self will and self opiniatedness. This way, sovereignty is surely located with the

masses. Democracy and its practice is varied according to community's need, culture and history. This fact is acknowledged worldwide.

Hermeneutical analysis show that Western ideology and local values-culture, history and needs are what ensures workability and stability of democracy in its polity. African countries must therefore ensure the mixture of these factors in the forging and formulation of African or Nigerian democracy. A good foundation with ethics or religious knowledge, need to be incorporated into our democratic formulation to ensure the consideration and respect of other human rights.

It is also good to note that ethnicity and religious politics is part and parcel of Nigeria life; this should therefore be incorporated into the Nigeria democratic formulation, as long as it does not threaten the socio- cultural co-existence of Nigerians. The ethnic politics here will be arranged in such a way that each group should be allowed to develop according to its value, culture, tradition, history and need; as intended in the crossing over to Presidential democracy from parliamentary democracy. Every Nigerian should see himself as a citizen and not as lord and master, looking down on others.

Africans vote along ethnic affiliations, while Liberal democracy favours multiparty which recognises majority rule, making the minority look like an outsider. This creates conflicts and throws up the issue of justice. The majority wants to rule when they win while the minority wants justice because it is injustice to be treated as an outsider in your country or community. The minority fears democracy, while the majority fears justice. This study therefore identifies with Consensus democracy, where the consensus arising from the continuous talks between the representatives, provide the solution to the majority and minority problems. It is the preferred choice of democracy for Nigeria.

Chapter Three of this research exposes the essence of democracy, the legal equality, political freedom, rule of law and other rights which distinguishes democracy from other forms of government as masses organized, masses centered, masses supervised and controlled form of government. Churchill, a onetime prime minister of Britain (1874-1965) described it as the worst form of government. He however admitted that it is better than all those other forms of governments that have been tried from time to time. That is to say, democracy have been tested and proven to be the best despite its numerous pitfalls.

The essences or characteristics of democracy are noble and enticing. This student has no doubt that if these guiding principles are allowed to play, democracy, though expensive and difficult, will bring forth its abundant benefits as it is doing in the true democracies of the world, like America and Britain.

Unfortunately, since independence,

Nigeria political leadership has been everything but productive. They have been distributive rather than productive in orientation; wasteful and corrupt in political and economic management. The problem with Nigeria has been described simply as that of leadership³

Corruption as a pernicious phenomenon, plague all sectors of public and private life in Africa. We have examined briefly other Republics, from independence to the present one. Corruption has continued in Nigeria unabated.

Governance typically emphasizes leadership. How the apparatus of state use or misuse power to promote social and economic development or to engage in those agenda that largely undermine the realization of the good things of life for the people. The unquestionable fact is that,

Good governance is in tandem with democratic governance, which is largely characterized by high valued principles such as rule of law, accountability, participation, transparency, human and civil rights. These governance qualities have the capacity to provide the development process of a country.⁴

In the Nigeria context, good governance calls for constitutional rule and true Federal system. These are the basic pedestals on which any vision of development rests. Therefore, resources of the state must be managed in such a manner as to achieve the desired level of socio-economic progress, for all members of the political community. This is the only way democracy can be meaningful to the masses and be sustained.

Chapter four of this work dwells on the political problems of Nigeria, these problems are too many. To start with Nigeria political leaders are the type that want 'to eat their cake and have it.' considering their antics. This researcher wonders weather it is not a misnomer to call them leaders. As far as this study is concerned, leaders are those who have earned the front line burner positions they are occupying in their community and in the hearts of the people, by the emulatable life and principles they unconsciously manifest and their conscious concern for the common good. Is this the same with Nigeria political rulers who invest for maximum profit in whatever they do for their community? They are first and foremost interested in themselves, then, their ethnic group and perhaps the nation as it is the custodian of the till from which they loot and under whose name the national cake is baked. Any one who calls them political opportunists should be forgiven and they are increasing by the day, because of the high benefit of their 'trade'. The political problems range from high level unmitigated corruption from where their unborn tenth generations are taken care of with the loots stashed in foreign bank accounts, while their national obligations for which the monies they have looted are meant for are shamelessly abandoned, total intolerance to oppositions, tribalism or ethnicity and nonaccountability to the masses that mistakingly trusted them and elected them as representatives. They are like the servant who is given money by his master to build a house for him, the servant finishes building the house and orders his master to pay and occupy one room at the boy's quarters. What a betrayal.

What of the issue of the total disregard for the law, even from among those who make the laws? Insensitivity to the plight or will of the citizens who voted them into office; introduction of terrorists' activities to kill these same people they want to rule or lead? and so on.

The results of these situations are that after many years of political independence, many years of democratic practice, the people are wondering whether the benefits touted to belong to democratic practice are true. Whether we are even practicing the same form of democracy as the Americans we claim to be emulating. We are not saying that our democratic dividend must be like those of Americans, no! Our democratic dividend should be in line with our needs but we are not seeing any. The fact remains that something needs to be done urgently to reverse the situation. All the so called leaders aspire to the political post for themselves and their families. For instance, virtually all the governors in Nigeria have not paid their workers for between three to nine months' salaries despite collecting Billions of Naira for the same purpose from the central bank of Nigeria.

In summary, most of Nigeria leaders are inefficient, unpatriotic, tribalistic, Nepotic, ignoramus, corrupt, greedy, insensitive, vain, arrogant and what have you. It appears that those who know how to deliver the dividends of democracy do not know how to win elections, a structural defect? The problems bedeviling democratic practice in Nigeria are as many: wrong structural formulation, poor leadership garnished with tribalism, religious intolerance, poverty, moral bankruptcy, corruption and many others. We need an urgent and comprehensive radical reorientation to tackle these problems and allow democracy to thrive in Nigeria.

Chapter five of this write-up deals with democracy as being practiced in Nigeria. This praxis is quite unlike any other in the known areas of the globe. Why our practice of democracy is very problematic are rooted in our leader's inability to respect the law, respect other's human

rights, play by the rule of democracy, control their level of greed and the abject failure of other democratic functionaries to carry out, even their statutory duties not to talk of the oversight functions. Another core factor is that the democracy we are practicing is Western democracy, which did not take into account in its formulation, the culture, history, tradition and needs of Africans. The system is therefore alien to us and has defied every effort at understanding and practicing. These have denied us the benefits of democratic essence.

In Nigeria, no election is ever totally free and fair. The masses can vote, and the majority invariably wins, but it is the result as dictated by the cabal that gets announced. The masses themselves are made up of the eligible and the ineligible children below 18 years of age. The constitution stipulates the voting age to be from eighteen (18) years of age and above. The leaders themselves are either terrorists by their actions or ensures the insecurity of life and properties; a factor which in a true democracy can lead to the impeachment of the President. Here in Nigeria, what the President needs to do is, to carry more spacious 'Ghana must go.' to the National Assembly.

In his days as civilian president, Obasanjo ordered for the massacre of the citizens of Oodi in Rivers State and those in Zakibiam, Benue State. While we may claim that he reacted to the needlessly and ruthlessly massacre of Nigeria soldiers slaughtered by the citizens of these communities, we should also acknowledge that the constitution stipulated ways of handling such situations but he ignored this. Not one of those who were supposed to checkmate him and his use of the presidential powers, raised an eye brow in the form of question. Our legal system stipulates that, instead of harming one innocent person, hundreds of criminals could be allowed to escape. On the contrary, our so called leaders are ready to massacre hundreds of innocent persons, for the sake of one criminal and none of those elected for the job of checkmating over-bearing use of power, will act as if anything has happened. Is this democracy in practice?

Do our leaders obey the laws? They obey only the ones that favour them. For others, they are above the law. Democratic essence indicated that government policies must reflect the will of the people. In Nigeria, it is the will of the leaders that are reflected by these policies. That is why a President can wake up any morning and with the numerous economic intelligence available to him, just for the asking, impose such 'adled brain' economic policy that have brought the nation literally to its knees with nobody raising any serious question, nor did the body empowered to do so by the constitution, summon him to explain his actions? If he is invited, will he even acknowledge the receipt not to talk of attending the invitation?

What happens in Nigeria is that as soon as one is erroneously elected into an office, he arrogates to himself Solomonic wisdom, becoming lord and master of all affairs. The Common Wealth becomes his to do as he wishes. If you dare raise an eye brow, he will set all the organs of government against you and frames you to silence or into prison. Nigeria's political problems are very numerous. It is not where people with zeal to improve the lot of their people go, but where the accomplished manipulators go to obtain 'certificate' for their talent and trade. For instance, as soon as these Nigeria representatives are elected, they claim the ownership of the sovereignty. It does not belong to the masses who delegated it to them any more. The question that this study would like to ask is, if the sovereignty has been transferred at election, who recalls who? Is it the representatives or the masses? Democracy has unbiasedly posited sovereignty with the masses who can only delegate it to the elected at intervals to be used for the good of all. Where they fail, it could be withdrawn but the representatives now insist that the Western democratic formulation has been reformed to the total ignorance of all the empowering masses, permanently lodging it with the elected. What a display of ignoramus.

Concerning the freedom of association, movement, religion and so on, this researcher often wonders whether we have a different version of the English language or dictionary, the type

that equivocates. If not, why should Nigerians shout and dance the same thing in the universal characteristics of democracy and even enshrine it in our constitution but 'lamb like,' allow a section of the country to put every stumbling block to make sure it does not succeed. For instance, we uphold and enshrine in our law book, the freedom of association and religion, yet a Christian boy has no business being friendly with a Muslim girl, not to talk of dating her. The irony is that, these same people who 'run rings around their sisters,' as to dissuade the Christians from even chatting with her, do themselves go to the extent of kidnapping Christian girls and forcing them into marriage with their Moslem sons, to the applause and tacit agreement of their Emirs- a superior Grassroot law Custodian. Talk of one rule for themselves and another for the others. What is good for the goose not being good for the gander. Again, if a Christian wants to become a Moslem, any Christian who tries to dissuade him stands the chance of losing his life, but if any Moslem wants to become a Christian, he may most likely lose his life, if he is not very careful. What kind of religious and cultural double standard and intolerance does this signify? In fact, a lot of rejuvenation needs to be carried out in these areas, if not, democracy and its essence will continue to elude us.

Finally, our opinions have always been never to disband a winning team. The consideration of the qualities of a good leader played enviable roles in Nigeria's earlier political life.

Elites who have these qualities are the ones allowed into political limelight. No sooner were these qualities replaced with sentiments on tribalistic and religious grounds than democracy totally crumbled in Nigeria. To underscore the importance of these qualities, Fancies Fukuyama's famous writings on, 'history and the end of time', where he dealt with the qualities of good leadership-hypothermia, was based on these above indicated qualities.

The introduction of sentiments is indicated to be counter productive. This is Nigeria's major problem.

The business of electing those who lead in Nigeria should be handled with the business like approached which it deserves. Those who have the needed leadership qualities should be elected after properly understanding the problems which needed to be tackled in the polity. Sentiments should not be allowed to come into play here, for it has cost us so much-life and material. Men and women of unquestionable track records of integrity, honesty, accountability, compassion and commitment, good communication skill, well known team playing spirit, capable of listening and delegating authority, innovative with good initiative, sound moral foundation, and zeal to achieve, should be elected, not pretenders or opportunistic humanitarians. Only this way can democracy resuscitate and deliver to us its dividends in Nigeria.

6.2 Conclusion

There are people who wonder at the existence of Nigeria, insisting that it should not exist because of the way it was created and the difficulties of governing the country since independence. Hermeneutics look at Nigeria show that the seeds of political, cultural, ethnic and legal problems were sown long ago. While that of morals became more prominent with government taking over schools from the established churches.

Chief Fredrick Rotimi Williams made it clear that, Nigeria was a geographical unit created by the British expansionist in the 20TH century. Nigeria was never a nation nor did they live together in one country before the British man came. Forced amalgamation of North & South brought them together in 1914 to become a country known as Nigeria and for the first time under one government. Their problems include various languages and cultural backgrounds. The differences in the major ethnic groups are greater than that of the nations of Europe. While one might argue that other great countries of the world that are artificially

forged has not democratically failed, it does not mean that Nigeria has failed totally as a nation but that it may have failed to carry out its legitimate functions as a nation state.

Harping on the functional essence of governments, Ali Mazrui listed six functions which he indicated as litmus tests to assess the success or failure of a state. They are as follows:

Sovereign control over territory; sovereign supervision of the Nation's resources; effective and rational extraction from people, goods and services; the capacity to build and maintain adequate national infrastructure (roads, postal services, telephone system, railways and the like); the capacity to render such basic services as sanitation, education, housing and health care; and the capacity for governance and the maintenance of law and order⁵

The only thing Nigeria has done well is that of National Sovereignty, but in the others, has failed due to the crises of leadership and governance.

Some claim that Nigerians want to live together as one nation, which they say the civil war of 1967-1970 proved. Many of Nigeria's problems stem from the fact that, there were no agreements what the national relationship should be.⁶

Having undertaken this study thus far, this researcher can reliably state that the main root of Nigeria's problems in her Western democratic practice can be traced to; the importation and imposition of strange forms of government forged in strange culture, strange history, tradition and needs; that in no way inculcated our own culture, tradition values, history and needs. These imported and imposed values summon in its wake other problems which also include: very poor leadership, religious intolerance, tribalism, inordinate material desires, moral bankruptcy, massive corruption, insensitivity and non accountability. These ills are garnished by our leaders' relatively poor educational background. From these stagnating factors emanate other democratic problems begging urgent Nigerianisation of democracy.

Western political writers have clearly indicated that no two types of democracy are the same in style of practice even when they are the same type being influenced by culture value and

tradition, It therefore means that every country should adopt a system of practice that embodies what the masses are familiar with, Nigeria democracy should therefore embody the mix of Nigeria history, culture, tradition, value and needs to be really Nigerian. This is not to say that knowledge gained in interaction with the Westerners should be jettisoned. Nigeria cultural anomalies are objects of inclusion. For instance, while Western democracy harps on multi party system, Nigeria bemoans multi tribalism and they vote accordingly. This of course require the setting up of another structure to correct and balance the anomaly. A lot is required to be done in the Nigerianisation of democracy. It is hoped that when the above has been achieved can democracy really be said to be Nigerian and at home with the people.

The educational system of Nigeria need to be re_structured for leadership productiveness, since leadership is one of Nigeria's major political problems. This restructuring will be reflected in the educational curriculum of Nigerian children, starting from nursery schools up to the tertiary level. Subjects like: civics, religious studies, offences and punishments, Nigeria history etc need to be inculcated in the academic curriculum. Rhymes and poems extolling the high standing of heroes and societal greatness should be encouraged, essay competitions on heroism and the requisite qualities should be sponsored by governments, non governmental organisations and corporate bodies. Films and videos on heroes and heroic actions, should constantly be X_rayed for youths' entertainment and emulation. This way, our tomorrow's men, - the youth and the young, will try to best each other at good leadership and with time bring to an end our today's leadership problems.

The disgraceful conducts being displayed by our leaders cannot help the nation nor democracy to stabilize, not to talk of consolidating. What do we even consolidate on, one may even ask? Democratic consolidation can only manifest under enhanced economic development, good democratic culture, stable party system and so on. Unfortunately, Nigeria is not tending

toward this direction for now. Therefore, consolidation cannot be attained in Nigeria until stability in the legitimate responsibilities of government is attained.

There exists the serious need to domesticate this Western form of government in Africa.

There is no doubt that democracy and its ways are still very strange to Africans.

Therefore, Nigeria and the rest of Africa need to find indigenous ways and means of adapting democratic elements as well as elements inherited from alien sources into acceptable and viable democratic form in the setting of the modern world.⁷

We should also note that attendant on some of these factors militating against the practice of democracy in Nigeria, are the results of poor upbringings and wrong orientations from our parents, poor quality and falling standard of education and societal value. Then, there is the question of ideology, a nation without ideology, is like a ship without a compass. This is for the fact that ideology serves as a psychological sign post pointing out the direction in which the nation or a people is determinately tending toward and which all plans of the nation must encourage.

There is an urgent need to Africanise or Nigerianise democracy. Democracy as presently practiced all over Africa is Western democracy, which is articulated and forged in the presence of the culture, history, needs and values of the Westerners to solve Western political problems. Though the present Western democracy has values and pragmatic components which could help African political situation, however, that does not make it African but only political partners in progress and testifies to our rationality; even the Westerners have acknowledged this, hence their advice for peculiar democracy; this involves the tinkering of the existing one, infusing the culture, history, value and need of the locals. African culture, history, tradition and needs are not factored into the forging and formulation of Western democracy and need to be so done, to make it African or Nigerian democracy. We therefore

need to urgently articulate African democracy that will take our ways of life, history, tradition, values and need, into account.

The clamouring for political, economic and administrative restructuring is a cry in the right direction. This particular position had helped Nigeria achieve a marginal development in the past when it made the various regions administratively autonomous and each developing at its own pace. The marginal achievement was interrupted by the 1966 military coups and has unwittingly been allowed to remain like that by subsequent governments till date. Government need to urgently decentralize and devolve its powers to the regions, so that the Federal government at the centre will exist to play the co-ordinating role, and the regions will grow at their own economic rate; while paying a certain administrative percentage to the centre for its logistics. This will take care of all the ranting about marginalization, lack of productive corporation and ensure development of the polity and ameliorate corruption to a certain extent.

There must be a deliberate and conscious effort by government to surmount these challenges to democracy outlined above. The setting up of an electoral reform panel by the former President, late Musa Yar' Adua as seen in the aftermath of 2007 elections, is a right step in the right direction. The electoral reform panel worked and must have made some far reaching recommendations to surmount these challenges. The recommendations made as regards the above should be studied and if their contents can effectively tackle the indicated problems, they should be implemented.

The *raison detre*' for military coups that have often truncated democracy in Nigeria have always been bad governance. To put military coups to abeyance forever, good governance must be enthroned. Taking into consideration past military coups in Nigeria and the present Boko Haram's operation in Nigeria and their ungiven reason, we will not be surprised if some

military youths, just for the joy of being in power decide to strike again. We therefore suggest Our preference is good governance and by good governance we mean, the provision of basic infrastructures to meet the basic needs of the citizens. Professor C. R. McCowell explained infrastructure as the capital goods usually provided by the public sector for the use of its citizens and firms (for example, highways, bridges, transit system, water treatment facilities, municipal water system, airports and so on). Good governance also entails the provision of electricity, portable water, good roads, telecommunications, protection of humanright, respect of the human person and so on, by Government.

We also see the need to recall the good old qualities of good leadership. In the ealier good old days of Western democratic practice in Nigeria, the leaders do not act with impunity, in the knowledge that they are simply servants to the sovereigns. Nowadays, the political climate in Nigeria has drastically changed to the worst ever. Politicians now act with the devil may care attitude toward the affars of the state. The only thing they handle carefully are issues that concern them personally. These chaeacteristics of good leadership which include: honesty, innovation, good education, ability to communicate well, ability to inspire others to good work,good sense of justice, strong moral understanding and background, respect for the other and so on, are also enshrined in Francis Fukuyama's thymotic theory- 'History and the End of Time' Proper inculcation of the values therein, will better Nigeria leadership outputs.

Corruption is a cankerworm that eats up the resources meant for availing the people the benefits of democracy and rather engages in the disintegrationof the polity. It must therefore be fully contained by further encouraging and empowering the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independence and Corrupt Pratices Commision (ICPC) ensuring that the people selected to head these bodies are people with long tracks of proven intergrity. Such positions are not to be occupied through political appointment but through well known integrity carrier line.

The enthronement of free and fair elections will tremendously enhance the stabilisation of democracy in the country. The first step here is to ensure that INEC is always manned by men and women of probity with resounding leadership qualities adequately and independently funded, as belated release of funds, as in the 2007 election experience provoked delays in printing and distribution of election materials. This kind of situation leave the process open to manipulation that adversely affect the out come of the election.

INEC should start work early enough to update the voters' register and remove underage voters and voters without pictures as witnessed in some parts of the Northern Region during the last (March 2015) elections. The political contestants and political parties that use thugs during campaigns and or during elections should have their results cancelled, nullified and displayed at each polling booth when votes have been counted. Voting materials should be brought early enough and voting must be done only in broad daylight.

A ceiling should be established by INEC on the amount of funds allowed for political campaigns. The constitution empowers them to institute and to monitor the finances and books of political parties. This should be effectively and honestly implemented. The independence of INEC as envisioned by the constitution could be better attained if funds are released to a 'special fund' to be established and maintained by INEC immediately after appropriation by the National Assembly. In other words, the law establishing INEC should be amended to provide for their own fund directly from the Consolidated National fund, just like the recent Federal Inland Revenue service (FIRS) [Establishment] Act, as expressed in section 15 of the said Act. The National Assembly should then make appropriations for capital and recurrent expenditures into that fund. This is what will secure the independence and autonomy of INEC and prevent delays in funds release to INEC for the conduct of free and fair elections. It is from that Fund that INEC will similarly meet all her needs as will be provided for, in the INEC Act.

INEC should exercise greater control over the political parties by exercising greater control of their finances. Since the constitution gave powers to INEC to monitor the finances of political parties and political campaigns and provide rules and regulations which govern political parties, it should be given powers by law to annul elections of candidates who breach the regulations. This is the best way to contain the excesses of some political parties, who deliberately breach rules and regulations with the hope of exploiting loopholes in the law at the election tribunals. For example, those who employ thugs and thuggery should have their elections annulled by INEC. Constitutional government or constitutionalism should be emphasis upon.

Private organizations should be assisted by providing a stable non-violent and corruption free environment for stable businesses. Political and economic stability should be maintained to encourage democracy.

The fundamental rights enumerated in Chapter 4 of the Nigeria constitution, should be vigorously upheld; since they enable citizens to critique democratic standards, hence advancing democracy. The courts of law should be well funded and modernized to accelerate the dispensation of justice; this is more so as liberal democracy which we advocate, emphasizes the rule of law, freedom and rights of the individual. So far, the Nigeria judiciary has been eclectic in their good performance to public expectation and should change their direction. They were doing fairly well during Goodluck Jonathan's regime, but during Obasanjo and now Buhari's regime their judgements are questionable.

Since democracy is a majority rule system, it must also be seen to respect minority rights as it stipulated, especially the agitations of the ethnic minorities of the Niger Delta that produces the bulk of the country's wealth. This is necessary to create political stability and economic balance for the survival of democracy. Niger Delta should be rapidly developed by

Government in order to assuage the neglect feelings of these ethnic minorities and create in them the sense of belonging and loyalty to the Nigeria nation. This will kill any feelings of ‘irredentism,’ which vitiate democracy.

The Federal Ministry of information and the National Orientation Agency, NOA, has vital roles to play to change the attitude of Nigerians towards politics and the nation. They should engage in a campaign blitz emphasizing patriotism and loyalty to the nation as core values that underpin democracy. The future of democracy in Nigeria remains bright, however, the role of NOA will be meaningful if the Nation changes its attitude toward the citizens; showing more care and concern to their welfare.

It is high time our leaders are made to be accountable to the people who handed their powers and rights to them for the common good and not to the next government or cabal who may decide not to hold them accountable if they play by the cabal’s rules and objectives. To attain this, zonally elected scrupulous proven men and women of integrity and hard work, who are known to be immune to any form of compromise, men and women who are detribalized and not fanatical to any other thing except to the truth, should be constituted every four years, before the next election; to x-ray the federal governments’ performance and hold it accountable to the people. The life span of this committee should not be more than 30 days. A ‘hall of Fame’ only, should be opened for such people. Our political leaders are presently behaving like absolute monarchs, where the above suggestion is allowed to play, the issue of immunity clause while in office could be allowed to exist. However, where the above is not entertained, the immunity clause should be conditionally allowed-where the government is being intentionally distracted from doing its job. The cases where the government could be sued while in office should be clearly identified, especially, if their action is against the will of the people-the majority.

The need to adopt the Francis Fukuyama's notion: Looking at the leadership situation in the country, there is no doubt that Nigeria need “people with chest-” people with rock solid moral principles, integrity, honour, common good based drive, achievement fanatics, patriotic people, and so on to lead Ngeria in the practice of the true democracy and bring in the dividends of democracy to the long suffering sovereigns of Nigeria.

Frances Fukuyama's book, 'History and the end time', contains the panacea to Nigeria leadership problems. His thymos is the seat of honour, self sacrifice, courage, patriotism, noble achievements, selfesteem and so on. These qualities are sought after leadership qualities. When inculcated in the life of Nigerian youths through aggressive re-orientationlectures, the issues of corruption, tribalism, unpatriotic actions and so on will be a thing of the past.

The country does not need the “men without chest” we have had the misfortune to witness on the national stage of our political life, throwing up situations that have constantly made Nigerians wonder whether democracy has anything good to offer, as we have been made to believe. To harvest the men with chest, the educational curricula of our nursery to university institutions need to be urgently reviewed to include those subjects and disciplines that will ensure the actualization of “people with chest”. If special schools and institutions of higher learnings basically devoted to inculcating these values from childhood to adulthood could be established, the better for Nigeria's tomorrow.

Government also needs to, as a matter of urgency, put in place a debriefing mechanism that will demilitarize retired military officers, especially those who have participated in field action who may venture into the arena of politics, as to re-orientate and cleanse their obnoxious military affectations. It is a known fact that military trainings are at abeyance with democratic leadership requirements.The military personel cannot be wished away from politics, so they need to be tempered for democratic demands.

From all indications, parents appear to have failed in instilling the right values into their children. It is even doubtful whether the majority of our today's parents have the needed values to inculcate in their children (nobody gives what he has not), and the few who have, do they have enough time to stay with their children being occupied with trying to provide the material needs of their children? Government needs to review the working hours of our parents' civil servants downward, as to avail them such quality time at home to interact with their children and wards.

The schools should be handed back to the established churches so that sound morals could be re-introduced in the lives of these children. Governments can continue to pay the teachers, while the supervision and the curricula design are left to the churches. This way, the teachers' fears of very poor salary will be allayed and their pensions assured. If possible, the churches could simply be contracted to run the schools for governments: local, State and Federal governments.

It has been pointed out earlier that poverty is one of the factors militating against democracy. Poor people are easily compromised with money or material gifts. In an environment where people are less concerned with basic needs, like the developed countries of the world, democracy is found to be more successful. You do not have time or energy to talk of equality and rights on an empty stomach. You align with whoever can make 'stomach infrastructure' available. To make any impact in the campaign for democracy, the high rate of poverty in the land must be tackled by the provision of jobs and better living standards as democracy promised. The salary structure of civil servants should be aligned competitively with other parts of the world and not the poor salary package which the federal governments even refuse to pay the civil servants. The situation where the ruling governments, their staff and national assembly go home with jumbo pay packages at the end of the month, while the sovereigns go

with what might not be easily located in their pockets, spell nothing but outright slavery and need to be urgently corrected

However, these anomalies can be tackled if the appropriate programmes as suggested above are implemented, strictly supervised and adhered to. It is also our conviction that if the good old qualities of leadership are taken into consonance, Nigeria problem of nonproductivitive leadership will be overcome.

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