Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria: Roadmap to Sustainable Development

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Abstract: *This paper set out to discuss issues of democracy, good governance and development in Nigeria. The paper begins by conceptualizing the concepts of 'democracy', 'good governance' and 'sustainable development'. It utilizes secondary source of data collection, while, the approach used in the paper is descriptive and content analytical. The paper adopts the Marxist political economy strand of conflict theory, and argues that there is the problematic of poor leadership and bad governance as democratic practice and governance in Nigeria is not practiced in tandem with basic democratic principles and values of good governance. This trend of governance, has no doubt impedes development efforts of Nigeria as a nation. To evolve virile and viable democratic governance, emphasis should be on strict adherence to democratic values and good governance /leadership such as accountability, sound economy, virile and viable civil society, among others.*

Keywords: *Democracy, Good governance, Development.*

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Introduction

Democracy and good governance though, relatively new concepts which entered the social sciences and humanities' lexicon in the 1970s and 1980s- are key elements to development in society. These concepts became prominent and most pronounced as a good number of underdeveloped societies were faced with development challenges which poor political leadership had generated for their countries. In other words, the search and struggle for democratic practice for good governance is a common feature that characterized most contemporary societies in the twenty first century that are grappling with socio- political and economic problems which seemingly appear to hamstrung their search for sustainable development. This implies also that the phenomena of democracy and good governance are essential elements and or ingredients which guarantee change and the capacity to achieve sustainable economic development in society (Gambo, 2010).

Written records Anger (2013) and Aliegba, (2006) were even more vivid in their observations especially when they state that the Nigeria society over the years has had a bitter experience of suffering the deficit of ideal democratic practice and good governance so to say. The genesis of this deficit which also translated into poor or bad governance in Nigeria took it roots mainly in the historical development of Nigeria right from colonialism. As a matter of fact, colonialism in Nigeria socialized the country's political leadership in authoritarian system or form of governance by monopolizing economic and political power in the hands of the British colonial masters, as well as the interests of the foreigners. This point has actually been captured by Tyav & Audu, when they lay stress that:

> The colonial masters in Africa and Nigeria were not determined to develop… transform African societies, and indeed Nigeria. Their concern was to establish and expand administrative structures and states; develop also repressive instruments, such as the Police, Military, Prisons, Courts, etc, for effective exploitation of economic resources for the development of metropolitan countries- Britain, France, etc, (2018: 620.).

The colonial masters also established and created leadership structures (leading and successive elites or mediators) and a class of leaders who after independence would ensure that post colonial government in Africa and Nigeria is a reflect of colonial government. That is why Basil Davidson laments the colonial government's plans to underdeveloped Nigeria by planting a leading class of elites or leaders who will perpetrate and promote maladministration of post- colonial Africa, and Nigeria to be specific, through poor leadership. Basil Davidson argues further thus:

> For what the colonial powers thought wise and necessary was the formation and promotion to power of 'leading elite' or middle class… group of men who would ensure that post-colonial government should be 'moderate and responsible'- should be, that is, a reflection of colonial government. And it is here in no small part that the seat of the trouble has laid (Basil Davidson, 1971) (cited in Offiong, 1981:119).

The reality of the matter is, the 'political elites' and 'middle classes' which the colonial masters left behind in post independence Africa and Nigeria were largely corrupt, self serving, ethnic and religious bigots, who did not only promote the interest of the colonial masters in their fatherland– Africa and Nigeria, but went into alliance with the international exploiters in the metropolitan industrialized societies only to underdevelop the non- industrialized countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, etc, through acts of corrupt and sharp practices, tenure elongation, political violence and electoral frauds. The fact is, corruption exists both in Western- European societies and the underdeveloped nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America and others. What makes the difference here is that; monies stolen from the West and Europe are reinvested in Western- Europe. Unlike the elites in underdeveloped societies of Africa and Nigeria; who collaborate with international exploiters to loot, exploit and underdevelop societies of Africa and Nigeria to reinvest abroad and starch huge

sums of money in Swiss- banks. This evil manipulation of leadership in underdeveloped societies of Africa and indeed, Nigeria has continued to engender bad governance and poor leadership in societies endowed with enormous human and material resources.

Today, the Nigerian society is painfully characterized by bureaucratic and political corruption, clientelism, nepotism, political violence, fraudulent electoral system, mismanagement, looting and diversion of resources meant for development of society in both urban and rural settings.

It is against this backdrop that this chapter attempts a critical analysis of democratic practice and governance process in Nigeria from the point of view of its relationship with sustainable development in Nigeria.

Conceptual   Clarification

The Concept of Democracy

Democracy does not have a universal concept, Nwodo (1990) views democracy in different realms – the economic, social and political. To democratize anything in its economic sense implies to spread it among as many people or members of the relevant groups in society as possible. It also means a certain amount of fairness or relative equally in the method as well as content of the distribution under consideration. Explaining economic democracy further, Nwodo (1990) identifies two perspectives in the analysis. First is the view from the industrialised societies both East and West. In this way, emphasis is on fair and equitable share in the control of existing (already established) economic facilities or "means of production". The second view is that held by developing societies, economic democracy suggests equitable or representative distribution in the sighting of industries, in the establishment of the "means of production", in the exploitation of natural and human resources, in the distribution of social amenities or services generally.

In a strict and narrow sense, Nwodo (1990) sees 'social democracy" as the democratization of every aspect of the society in question. What this implies is strict adherence to the 'ideals of socialism' or social equality" - which translates into a situation where there are little or no differences in status'. Holden (1974) shares same view with Nwodo when he lucidly defines' social equality' as practiced in socialist societies as "a classless society". Occasionally however, social democracy as practiced overlaps with economic democracy especially in socialist industrialized societies and/or nations. In this connection therefore, the practice of social democracy in socialist societies or those aspect of the economic which particularly affect an individual, such as the conditions at, and the running of the individual's place of work". Holden (1974) cited in Nwodo (1990) holds the opinion which suggests that what links both economic democracy and social democracy with democracy in the primary sense, is the notion of "equality" or "fairness". This applies to political democracy which according to Nwodo (1990) entails representative government of the people which is enthroned through popular choices of people in a society either through direct or indirect voting. This is why for Johari (1989), cited in Anger (2013), the concept of democracy can be understood by reference to the location of the exercise of political power as well as its basic attributes. Democracy denotes that form of government in which the ruling power of the state as a whole is largely vested in the people. Again, in democracy it is believed that, while political power is vested in the people, the exercise of such power is vested in the representatives chosen and made accountable to them (Anger, 2013). This conception of democracy proceeds further, when Heywood offers his view of democracy, thus:

> Democracy is a form of democratic rule that balances the principal of limited government against the ideal of popular consent. Its liberal features are reflected in a network of internal checks on government that are designed to guarantee liberty and offers citizen protection

against the state. Its democratic character is based on a system of regular and competitive elections, conducted on the basis of universal suffrage and political equality (Heywood. 2002: 30),

Subscribing to the foregoing conception of democracy, Soludo posits that democracy is:
> …a form of civilian led government in which all citizens have fundamentally equally rights, votes and privileges, where citizens enjoy liberty and freedoms, where the ultimate legitimacy of actions, choice, appropriations and decisions rest with the citizens supreme power or through their legitimate representatives elected by ballot (2005: 28).

An extra population from the definitions of democracy above, shows that the most important features of democratic process are the granting of basic freedom and particularly political rights, the establishment of popular and competitive elections and the introduction of market reforms. Janda (2000), cited in Anger (2013) concurs to the notion that the practice of democracy implies commitment to democratic ideals. This also means strict adherence to democratic values, tenets and norms. This is a quality and attribute in which leaders in contemporary societies of Africa such as Nigeria do not posses. Democratic representatives in African societies and Nigeria are self serving and do not have the interest of African societies, including Nigeria at heart. They indulge in corrupt and sharp practices which are inimical to democratic values and good governance. This selfish tendency inhibits development efforts of society.

Forms/Versions of Democratic Practice in the Developed and Underdeveloped Societies
Democracy generally is a conception which implies rule of the majority through their chosen representatives through direct or indirect election/voting and or balloting. Economically, it is an instrument of economic empowerment where people control, maintain, retain and sustain economic control, (and again), maintain, retain and sustain economic willpower through its mechanism (Aliegba, 2006). This implies the notion that all members of the society should be involved in the running of government as it is practiced in different societies such as in:

Europe, the West and East: In societies of Europe such as in the Greek city state of Athens where the concept of democracy originated, the focus was based on the fact that first, every male adult had a right to sit at their general assembly which made all important decisions, and that leading public offices were filled by lot such that each citizen had as much as any other to be selected (Ranny, 1975).

In the West, the contemporary practices of democracy, especially in the United States of America (USA), had a shift from traditional practices in Europe- Greek city state to liberal democracy. This is the variant that is mostly practiced in the West and dependent capitalist societies. Liberal democracy is a product of Western experience with capitalist production process. Liberal democracy is simply defined as:
> …competition among individuals and groups especially political parties for all effective positions of government power at regular intervals and excluding the use of force; highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; and a level of civil and political liberation freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom to form and join organizations sufficient to ensure the integrity of, competions and participation (Diamond, 1980 cited in Aliegba, 2006: 147).

The other forms or versions of democracy is the type/practice in the Eastern societies of Russia, Cuba, and others- this form is the communist variant of democracy – normally referred to as popular

democracy'. It is anchored on the principle of Marxist – feminist ideals which stipulate that only the enthronement of a proletarian revolution and the control of the state the working class should thrive. The notion of this variant of democratic practice implies that the accumulation of capital and production forces/powers of the entire society should be put in the hands of the entire members of the society that constitute the working class (Marx, 1975).

Another variant of democratic practice is what we refer to as the 'underdevelopment model'. This implies the kinds of democracy that have been transferred from other societies, specifically the West and or Eastern societies to the third world or underdeveloped societies of Africa, Latin America, Asia, etc. (Aliegba, 2006).

Africa, and Nigeria- Democratic practice in Africa and Nigeria to be specific reflects the borrowed systems of democracy from other societies of Europe, the West of liberal ideals or communist or sometime both, and it sometimes reflect the traditional political practices or reality of the society in question. The former Tanzanian leader, Juluis Nyerere for instance, offered such an alternative in the name of African socialism (Nyenere, 1988).

The reality of the matter at this juncture is that democracy or democratic systems in whatever form or version in real practice should seek to protect and enhance the rights of the people to live to actualize their aspirations and programmes not just in political life but also in their economic, cultural, religious, etc., aspects of life (Ibrahim & Imam, 1992).

What has informed the foregoing assumption lies in the backdrop of the fact that the complex nature of democracy which most societies practicing democracy have failed to come to terms with, is the adage that in a celebrated democracy- members of the society, and especially our leaders must adhere to or observe the principle and ideal of democracy which emphasizes that; "where your rights stops, that's where another person's rights starts or begins". The USA's democracy is acclaimed great because of its consciousness of this principle and the need not just to practice democracy anchored on its ideals, but to safeguard it in the best interest of the American society. This implies also that the issues of love of nation and not the individual as a selected group; be it a tribe, ethnic group, race, a section of the society, etc. should be more paramount, fundamental, and primary to democrats and or societies, as well as societies practicing democracy in periods of conflicts, crises situations, etc. For instance, it may be pertinent to acknowledge what the former Nigerian President; Good Luck Ebele Jonathan – the Presidential candidate of Peoples Democratic Party (SDP) did in accepting defeat when the announcement of results of the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria was still going on. The former President Good Luck Jonathan in a Telephone conversation- called, and congratulated the Presidential Candidate of All Progressive Congress (APC) – President Mohammadu Buhari. This spirit of sportsmanship – exhibited by former President Good Luck Jonathan safe the most populous country in Africa- Nigeria- from being dragged into political courses that could have truncated the nation's nascent democracy, marred the development efforts of the country as well as created more political, socio-economic and several other leadership problems. Similarly, Algore, the former American Vice President and democratic president candidate accepted defeat after the American presidential elections – stating also that the issue of love of nation should be the concern of Americans in periods of crises and conflicts.

All in all, our position on democracy or democratic ideals is that it should be representative in nature and this must include recognition of the opposition and the rights of minority groups without which democracy becomes a sham and elusion. It must be practiced in accordance to its basic principles of equality and representative governance. There should be no racial prejudice and discrimination of any sort. Be it sectional, tribal, ethnic, religious, gender, etc, discrimination. With the ideals of

democratic practice put in place in our societies, good governance and sustainable development will be achieved, more so that development is about the people (Tyav & Audu, 2020).

The Concept of Good Governance

'Good governance' as a key condiment of development has been one of the focal points of scholars (Ahule, 2013, Arowolo & Aluko 2012), and is conceived with varied meanings. These scholars above view 'good governance' as having close link with "the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate; committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order, and deliver public services; able to create enabling environment for productive activities, equitable in its conduct". Elaborating further, Nigeria's vision 2010 document, cited in Ahule, (2013) defined 'good governance' in terms of "accountability in all its ramifications. It also means the rule of law and an unfettered judiciary; that is freedom of expression and choice in public office. This, again explains why Oduck (2006) defines 'good governance' as "a system of government based on good leadership, respect for the rule of law and the process; including accountability of the political leadership to the electorates as well as transparency in the aspirations of government. In the Nigerian context, good governance calls for constitutional rule and true federalism. These, according to Ogundiya (2010) are the basic pedestals on which any vision of sustainable development in a changing society such as Nigeria rests on. Meanwhile, the fundamental objective principle entrenched in Nigerian constitution provides the yardstick for measuring good governance. For instance:

> Section 14 (1) states that, "the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice". This is further strengthened in section 16 (1) and (2) of 1999 Nigerian constitution. Section 16 (1) a, b, c and d, says that, "the state shall within the context of the ideals and objectives for which provisions are made in this constitution. Harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient, dynamic and self-reliant economy; control the national economy in such a manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity; without prejudice to its right to operate or participate in areas of the economy, other than the major sectors of the economy, manage and operate the major sectors of the economy; without prejudice to the right of any person to participate in areas of the economy within the major sectors of the economy, protect the right of every citizen to engage in any economic activities outside the major sectors of the economy. Section 16 (2) states that; "the state shall direct its policy towards – the promotion of a planned and balanced economic development; that the material resources of the nation are harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common good; that the economic system is not operated in such a manner as to permit the concentration of wealth or the means of production and exchange in the hands of few individuals or of a group; and that sustainable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizens. (the Nigerian constitution, 1999: 10 – 112 (As amended).

From the foregoing, one may simply wish to refer to good governance as "commitment and the capability to effectively allocate and manage resources in such an efficient manner that would respond to collective problems and aspiration of the people (Ogundiya, cited in Ahule, 2013).

Similarly, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), according to Ogundiya, (2010) and Oyefara (2013) provided eight major characteristics of good governance, laying stress that; good governance is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent,

responsive, effective, efficient, equitable, inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities as well as the voices of the voiceless - the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision- making.

Conversely, governance situation in Nigeria right from colonialism to date have taken and shown a contrary dimension, completely different from the constitutional and OECD stipulations (Anger, 2013 & Ahule, 2013). Rather than good governance, what might be described as 'bad governance has predominated. According to the World Bank report of (1992) (cited in Ahule, 2013:29); bad governance has many features among which are; failure to make a clear separation between what is apparently public and private, hence a tendency to divert public resources for personal and private gains; failure to establish a predictable frame work for law and governance behaviour in such a manner that would be conducive to development, or arbitrariness in the application of rules and laws; excessive rules, regulations, licensing requirements, etc, which hamstrung the functioning of markets and encourage rent- seeking; priorities that are inconsistent with development, thus; resulting in a misallocation of resources and excessively narrow base for, or non- transparencies, decision- making (Ogundiya, cited in Ahule, 2013). This trend of governance clearly impedes change and development efforts especially sustainable development in developing societies such as Nigeria.

Meanwhile, 'sustainable development' as a concept was first defined in 1987. According to Ahule (2013), it is referred to as: "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Since then, several authors (DEPweb 2001, Startford, et al 2007, Ater, 2011, Ahule, 2013, and others) have replicated this definition in their works variously. Also embedded in the above definition is the concept of 'needs' to which overriding priority should be given both for present and future generations. The satisfaction of human needs and aspirations is the major objective of development. The paramount and essential needs of vast numbers of people include food, clothing, shelter, and beyond which members of the society have legitimate aspirations for an improved quality of life. Sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and sundry and extending to all the opportunities to satisfy their aspirations for a better life (Ahule, 2013:29). This aspect of change in human society is the most cherishable brand of development which all societies aspire to attain.

Hence development issues cannot be discussed without emphasis on the issue of 'change' especially social change, a brief conceptualization of the concept; 'social change' will be considered. Wegh, (2008) views social change as "a consequence or a result of development in itself". Giddens, cited in Idyorough, (2015) sees change as "the significant alteration in the basic structures of the society as well as the social and material life of a social group". In conceptualizing the concept of 'social change' Wilmot postulates thus; the "permanent feature of change is its impermanence" (Wilmot 1989). This implies that change in human societies is a continuous process, and is perceive as an endless phenomenon. Change could be in small, large and cyclical scales. 'Small scale' change is that aspect of change which affects people or part of structure of a society at a rather minimal level and does not affects the entire society. This could be change in marriage systems, burial ceremonies, etc. 'Large scale' change simply implies change which affects the entire structure/system, as well as the society at large, and impacts significantly on the lives of people. For instance, large scale change which occurs in the economic institutions of society and sometimes leads to inflation, recession depression, revolution and/or economic boom. Meanwhile, cyclical change is that aspect of change which takes place in society in an orderly manner and the event inducing change is constantly repeating itself. This could be political change- leading to periodic elections (Idyorough, cited in Tyav, Akpede & Abanyam, 2013). It should be noted at this juncture that emphasis here is laid on large scale change which occurs and affects all aspects of human society. This kind of

change; Adebisi (2003) submits, takes place in forms such as modernization, rural transformation, industrialization, etc, and is triggered by change agents such as economic and political revolutions- as in the case of Western- European societies and colonialism in the case of Asia, Latin America, Africa, and indeed, Nigeria as a nation/society. In this paper, the concept of change in society- positive or negative; is viewed in the context of "a continuous processes which occur in stages of societal evolution/transformation, occastrated by democracy and good governance".

Theoretical Framework
This chapter adopts Marxist political economy approach. The theory is associated with the conflict theory of Karl Marx (1818 - 1883) and Engels (1948). Nikitins (1976) and Ake (1981), cited in Tyav & Mailumo (2010) define political economy as "a branch of social sciences which deals with the production of material wealth considered as the basis of society… based on the economic relations of people in the process of production". The central thesis of analysis using this theory is that in any social system or society, there are certain inherent factors which stimulate and retard development. These factors, according to Tyav & Mailumo (2010) could be 'endogenous' and 'exogenous'– influencing different underdeveloped societies, depending on the international system a particular society/economy is locked into. The reality of the matter is that, in the modern world, no economy exists in isolation from the global economies, and no social organization or state such as Nigeria exists in isolation from other social systems (Beckford, 1979). In this connection, the modernized and metropolitan economies created stringent economic measures that made it difficult for development to thrive in peripheral economies.   The simple fact is that in dependent capitalist societies the goal for economic development is predicated on profit motive taking cognizance of the historical development of Nigeria as a colonial notion/society. In this way, production facilities are prioritized and organized for profit making and maximization at the expense of improvement of life and welfare of the masses. That is why Tyav & Audu argued thus:

> Africans and indeed, Nigerians were exploited of their energetic and virile population – capable of contributing to the development of their economies… through slave trade and the integration of Africa's (Nigeria's) pre- capitalist economies into the world capitalist economic system; the colonial masters plundered, truncated and stagnated the indigenous economies of Africa, including Nigeria. The development of colonial imperialism in Nigeria was occasioned by the exploitation of wage labour, forced labour, forced cultivation of cash crops, expropriation of lands, destruction of extant local industries, introduction of tax system and its administration, and above all; the establishment of leadership structure (indigenous elites and leaders) who led African societies and indeed, Nigeria, in a manner reflecting colonial administration after independence (Tyav & Audu 2018: 627).

This point has actually been captured by Agu (2010) when he states, thus:

> Being dependent, African societies such as Nigeria have from time to time fall victims to the manipulations and interest of dominant nations with declining prices of primary products or commodities from dependent societies of Africa; capital formation has been low, giving rise to low investments, high unemployment, declining standard of living, leading to poverty situations of people. These precarious situations put together generated and conditioned the nature of politics, leadership and governance system (practiced and played along ethnic lines– thereby, promoting ethnic chauvinism, politics of exclusion and bad governance during and after colonialism) (Agu, 2010, cited in Tyav & Audu 2018: 627).

In this way, inequality and poverty become even more pervasive, as members of the society who by capitalist ideologies and principles are not deliberately empowered to access or control the means of production. The political elites in leadership positions by this arrangement exploits the masses by diverting resources or public funds meant for the development and empowerment of electorates

through non provision and maintenance of welfare amenities. Thus, the elites achieve their selfish interests through fraudulent and corrupt practices that make transparency, accountability and openness which are the basic tenets of democracy and good governance impracticable and difficult to achieve. Good governance and sustainable development in changing societies such as Nigeria - in this way, become persistently elusive.

Democracy and Good Governance; Roadmap to Sustainable Development in Contemporary Nigerian Society.
Going by the fact that Nigeria had no deep- rooted foundation of democracy and good governance during and after colonialism. It behooves therefore, that as a Nation which evolved or changed, and has transited to civil rule at independence; it suffered the deficit of democratic practice and good governance. It stands to reason once again that, any efforts at cultivating good governance would begin during the period of self- rule. Nevertheless, the nature and character of the political system at independence did not pave the way for good governance as the first republic suddenly collapsed under the political quagmires of ethnicity, tribalism and political intolerance. The military government which took over lasted for thirteen years (1966 - 1976) with intermittent interceptions of coups in- between (Koko, Tyav & Torbunde 2018). These coups led Nigeria into the bloody civil war which brought the country on it kneels in July 6, 1966. The war which lasted for four years came to an end on the 12th of January, 1970. It is important to note also that the period of military rule witnessed the militarization of the Nigerian society. When eventually the baton of leadership/governance was transferred to civilian in 1979, the political leadership was unable to learn its lessons from all that transpired in the First Republic. Cases of abuse of power, maladministration, corruption, political indiscipline of the highest order, and subvention of popular will of the masses characterized politics of the second republic- resulting in massive poverty, unemployment, rural stagnation, mismanagement of the nation's economy, underdevelopment, among others. Sad enough, the Nigerian electorates having been emasculated by long years of military rule were unable to organize themselves to consciously employ democratic means to demand for good governance, and political accountability from the political office holders. This gave the military the impetus to launch another coup in 1983. Thus; the Nigerian society was thrown into another long period of unpopular leadership and governance which lasted up to 1999 (Anger, 2013).

It is plausible to add further that, the military obviously cannot cultivate a democratic spirit into the electorates' more so that constitutionally, it has never been it mandate to do so. Be that as it may, the long years of military rulership and the excesses of the political leadership witnessed the gradual erosion of values and democratic ethos that were needed to enthrone and sustain democracy and good governance in Nigeria. With corruption and ethnic chauvinism taking the centre stage in Nigerian politics, politicians have abandoned the basic tenets of democracy and good governance capable of facilitating change and sustaining development for the country–Nigeria. The Nigerian politicians only struggle to win political elections and to retain political power and positions at the expense of good governance and sustainable development. Things have gone so bad that as times progresses, and the unhealthy political maneuvers continue to perpetuate in power and governance absolutely, the pattern of politics, governance and democracy witnessed so far, especially in the fourth, fifth and early part of the sixth republic still demonstrate that democracy, good governance and development in a changing society such as Nigeria do not reflect and concomitant relationship. The implication is simply false democracy, bad governance and simply put-under development.

The foregoing assertion is observed from the point of view that the growing economic hardship occasioned by massive corruption and mismanagement of public funds having simply widened the gap between the rich and the poor (inequality) distributed abject poverty among the less privileged.

This scenario has adversely affected the orientation of the masses (the wretched of the earth in the words of Frantz Fanon); as well as their political participation. It is common sensical to realize that most Nigerians are absolutely poor in the midst of plenty. They would rather vouch for a military rulership than democratic governance if given the opportunity to decide. As at the time the nature of rigging election involved buying voters over and purchasing electoral votes for an agreed token, many of the impoverished electorates found themselves dancing to the tune of "he who pays the piper dictates the tune and controls it absolutely" (Anger, 2013). Governance and leadership in this way does not really matter how much positive impact it has and/or it will have on the people, but how much money one is able to give as a token to purchase electoral votes.

Another issue is that, Nigerian politicians- especially political office holders have taken advantage of pervasive poverty situation of the electorates and increasing illiteracy level of greater percentage of Nigerians especially the rural populace (Tyav & Mailumo 2010) and treat the electorates and their communities as their personal turf… thus; the political rights of the electorates are infringed without redress. The electorates are cajoled and led to vote for politicians they do not know, and they vote without choosing their leaders. Thus, governance structure in Nigeria is further disempowering the Nigerian electorates. Consequently, the beneficiaries of this undemocratic approach to governance are the politicians themselves, while the masses who are the majority remain the ultimate losers. Successively, political leadership in this way has only continued to pay lip service to good governance, and sustainable development in a changing Nigerian society becomes elusive. This has left the Nigerian society in shambles- reeling in socio- economic doldrums of poverty and inequality. It is hoped that the All Progressive Congress (APC) led government of president Mohammadu Buhari, with its lofty social investment programmes- evident in the disbursement of credit/market money to market men and women, popularly known as 'credit-money'; school feeding programme to children in public primary schools across Nigeria; N- Power skill acquisition and employment programme for unemployed graduates from Tertiary institutions and Nigerian universities and the Anchor Borrower's Scheme for rural people and small holder farmers in Nigeria; would be articulated to positively impact on the lives of the Nigerian populace without prejudice.

Evolving Democratic ethos and Good Governance to achieve Sustainable Development in Conteporary Nigeria Society.
Our discussion thus far, portrays Nigeria has suffered the deficit of ideal democratic practice and good governance towards achieving sustainable development since the era of colonialism. The question is, if democratic practice and good governance events have not been experienced in Nigeria since independence; how would good governance be evolved, and translated to sustainable development at the same time? The following conditionalities are therefore, suggested for consideration, thus:

i) The evolution of a viable civil society becomes germane.
Civil society simply refers to people's organization that is not yoked with government's organization. In other words, civil society organizations are those organizations which exist outside of government organizations. They interact and relates on the basis of social values and culture of the society. According to Sorkaa, cited in Anger (2013), the concept of civil society actually has to do with political circumstances that promote opportunities for the freedom of the individual which usually contrasts with the overbearing control of the state and its functionaries.

To Anger (2013), civil society organizations are "those segments of the society that interact with the state, influence the state and yet, are distinct from the state". The World Bank Report (1992) describes civil society organizations as "those groups that provide the arena where manifold social

movements… and civil organizations from all classes… attempts to constitute themselves and advance their interests". These organizations that operate outside the purview of the state and seek to influence government associations, students' unions, community development associations and other Non- Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

A leap into history shows that the concept of civil society evolved from the Western Europe, especially France. For instance, the French political revolutions which took place, between the 17th and 18th centuries provided the platform that led to the formation of intellectual and literally organizations that periodically came together and exchanged ideas in saloons and coffee houses in France. The constant brainstorming and saturation of ideas brought changes in the social and political spheres of France (Woods, cited in Anger 2013:20). The primary objective was to evolve a stable and virile civil society organization with the aim to evolve opinion groups that would stage counterweight and protest to the existing undemocratic monarchical and semi feudal institutions that arouse to pose threats, and treated socio- political arenas in French society as private domains.

The development of civil society organizations in Nigeria predates the emergence of independence in 1960. Organized groups such as media organizations, students union organizations, market men and women organizations, and other intellectual groups that rose to fight the ills, excesses, and exploitation of Africans and indeed, Nigerians by the colonial masters which culminated to the nation's independence in 1960 served Nigeria a great deal to achieve freedom and political independence in 1960. Similarly, for Nigeria to achieve good governance, sustainable development and stable economy, there is the exigent need to first evolve a virile and stable civil society in its body polity. This development will serve the country to most effectively control repeated abuses of state power, hold leaders accountable to the electorates and above all, promote democratic values.

Conversely, there have been observations that civil society organizations sometimes appear to serve the interest of corrupt leadership- elected and appointed to provide leadership responsibilities. This is many times a derivative from the unwholesome behaviour of some members of civil society organizations in some of the activities they engage themselves. For instance, at times where a public officer is indicted for abuse of public office and some members of the community associations from the officer(s) immediate constituency appear to be singing praises for such acts of misdemeanors is uncalled for. Some of them seem to be involved in sabotage and sometimes pose a challenge to effective investigation by state security.

Nevertheless, for good governance to grow and nurture in Nigeria for sustainable development, there is the need for grass roots participation in the affairs of government. This usually provides the system with the necessary legitimacy with which to dispense responsible leadership and good governance. Reciprocally, the values of democracy must be promoted by civil society, especially the pro-democracy movements. They have to illustrate the virtues of democracy in such a manner in which they live their individual and collective lives as examples for others to follow. They are not to use these organizations (CSOs) as avenues to destabilize the state or business organizations that depend on foreign funding for sustenance of their interest or the interest of the financial of these organizations.

ii) Evolving a sound economic base.
Another element fund to be crucial for achieving good governance and sustainable development in Nigeria is evolving a sound economic base. History (Rodney, 1972) tells us that most societies that have achieved high level of human development were those that looked inwards and depended on the transformation of their local resources. For instance, Singapore, South Korea, China, etc, are third world societies considered to be among the world's richest countries proved this point.

Recorded evidence (the Punch News paper, November, 17, 2006, P. 16) has shown that the reasons for their sound and rapid economic growth/progress range from improvement in education to sound economic policies. Similarly, Nigerian politicians must imbibe this tenet and dispel or relegate the culture of depending on western countries and their agencies to provide the financial and technical assistance necessary to transform the nation's political economy.

The transformation of political economy of Nigeria lies in the values that underpin the vision 20-2020 programme. These are values that concern the need for self- reliance in development, anchored on the pillars of economic stability and growth, encompassing the following: The rule of law, respect for minority rights; enabling environment for productive investment, long term planning, accountability, the development of, and reliance on indigenous resources, and the restoration as well as the development of critical infrastructure (Ahule, 2013).

iii) Ensuring accountability and responsiveness in governance.
Governance in post- colonial Nigeria has been bedeviled largely with monumental and bureaucratic, as well as political corruption, clientelism, nepotism, maladministration of public institutions, malfeasance in public office, financial mismanagement, looting of national resources, outright suffocation of civil society, political violence and high level poverty and social penury (Anger 2013). To achieve good governance and sustainability in development in a changing society such as Nigeria, there is the need for high level of discipline, ethics and accountability, promotion in governance and administrative behaviour- inculcated in the lives of political leaders in Nigeria. According to Ake, (1996), creating a higher ethics and accountability in governance can be evolved through six main ways as have been adopted from Anger, (2013), and shown below:
   i. Fostering and promoting an enabling environment for service delivery, to enhance professional and ethical standards in the public service.
   ii. Advancing and affirming sound policies on rearmament and public personnel management.
   iii. Encouraging public service occupational associations to a leading role in institutionalization of professional values and rending occupational interest.
   iv. Promoting the right behaviour and frame of mind for political and public office holders.
   v. Upholding the integrity and effectiveness of public function of accountability like the public complaints commission.
   vi. Most importantly, fostering population participation to ensure accountability of governance in the public service.

It has also been observed that, constitutionalism is another way of realizing good governance and sustainable development in the changing Nigeria society. Constitutionalism simply refers to the ways and processes by which constitutions are made and remade through legislative processes. In Nigeria, constitutions are used by the ruling class to promote their selfish interest rather than public interest in governance situations-through constitutional amendments. It is a process in which the civil society is schemed out and the state is a dominant feature of the society. This process of constitutionalism if really is to enhance and promote good governance for sustainable development has to start from the bottom- up and not top- to- bottom, as has always been the case in Nigeria (Ahule, 2013 & Anger, 2013: 23).

A constitution, according to Malami, (2017) is actually a prescribed way of settling disputes and conflicts within society. Strict adherence to constitutional provisions is therefore, a requisite for achieving good governance for sustainable development in a changing Nigeria society. Rather than achieving this noble objective, groups in Nigeria since independence attempt to design constitutions that would pave the way for socio- political and economic domination, and to continue to dominate the authoritative allocation and distribution of scarce- available resources and other values

(Torbunde, Tyav & Koko 2018). In this way, the need for greater decentralization of power, functions and resources among component units of the Nigeria federation becomes pertinent. The reality of the matter in contemporary Nigerian society is that, there have been protest groups agitating for restructuring of the federation over perceived issues of marginalization, too much concentration of power, functions and resources at the centre, at the expense of sub- national units of the federation of Nigerian state is what has been the practice over the years (Koko, Tyav & Torbunde 2018).

iv) The element of good governance
It is important to note also that to achieve good governance and sustainable development in a changing Nigeria society will be tantamount to evolve good leadership qualities in the governance system of Nigeria. By the term 'leadership' we mean "a way of stimulating and motivating subordinates to accomplish assigned tasks and responsibilities, as well as goals. The leader is part of the group and the society he/she leads but the leader is however, distinct from it and is concerned with guiding, conducting and directing leadership roles. The leader moves for individual(s) or group(s) and society within the constraints of its maximum capabilities to attain certain specified goals. The responses of the individual(s) or group(s) will largely depend upon the capabilities of the leader (Thierauf, Klekamp & Geeding 1977). Leadership according to Ukeje, Akabogu & Ndu, (1992) is "an input into organization and the larger society which involves interpersonal and group influences as the leader initiates structures and acts that result in consistent pattern of group interaction aimed at productivity and individual, as well as group fulfillment". A satisfactory definition of leadership should contain the following ideas; 'influence', 'group', 'situation' and goal'. A good leader uses influence to dispense leadership tasks on responsibilities and not force or occasion in a particular situation towards achieving set goals.

Be that as it may, Nigerian leaders rather than use influence, apply force in dispensing leadership tasks. This kind of animalistic reductionist leadership style is not only retrogressive but unproductive. Elaigwu, (1990) eloquently puts it that; "Nigeria needs capable and competent leaders; imbued with a high sense of nationalism, foresight, dedication, integrity, patience, accommodation and firmness". Most Nigerian leaders lack these virtues. This is mainly due to their culture of intolerance, corruption, mismanagement, ineptness and attachment to ethno- nationalistic inclinations. This explains why though, the constitution may provide the necessary framework for good governance and development. Nevertheless, its viability and potency depends largely on the extent to which the leadership and the followership are dedicated and confronted to abide by the tenets of the constitutional document.

Conclusion
The chapter is an expository analysis of the relationship between democratic practice, good governance and sustainable development in contemporary Nigeria society. Conceptual clarification of key words such as 'democracy', 'good governance', 'sustainable development' and 'change' was done to shed more light on the issues of discourse. The paper adopts the political economy strand of conflict theoretical perspective, and argues that the corrupt and sharp practices of elites in leadership positions evidenced in the diversion of resources meant for development purposes, led the Nigeria society into bad governance and underdevelopment since the period of independence. To achieve ideal democratic practice, good governance and sustainable development in Nigeria, the need to evolve a virile and viable civil society becomes germane. It is this civil society that would provide the platform for a responsive leadership structure imbued with high sense of nationalism, patriotism and discipline- capable of upholding the basic tenets of democracy and good governance; such as accountability, probity, transparency, respect for human and minority rights, adherence to the rule of law, among others.

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