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ARTICLE

Democracy, good governance and development in Nigeria Municipality in Limpopo Province
Abdulhamid Ozohu-Suleiman

80
Full Length Research Paper

Democracy, good governance and development in Nigeria

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Contemporary debates on democracy, good governance and development are greatly inspired by the significant political transformations that have taken place in Africa. In countries like Nigeria where the democratization process is work-in-progress, the intellectual preoccupation has been to reflect critically on how the prevailing political conditions can foster good governance and sustainable development. This paper offers a perspective on these debates. It observes that the ongoing conversations on the democracy-good governance-development nexus are a consequence of the liberalized political environment that permits dialogue and engagement. However, the bad news is that after almost two decades of democratization, the political leadership of Nigeria is yet to grapple with the development challenge. The paper argues that the democratization process has endured to the extent that the goal of good governance is not too far-fetched. Drawing extensively from available literature and against the backdrop of subsisting reform policies, the paper concludes that the good governance project should be considered as work-in-progress. This work in progress must necessarily crystallize into an approximation of the collective hopes and aspirations of Nigerians. To this end, the paper recommends the social democratic option - one that can set in motion a democratization process that places emphasis on the people’s active participation in the development process.

Key words: Accountability, democracy, development, governance, participation.

INTRODUCTION

The ‘Third Wave’ democratization of the late 1980s has ignited an irreversible process of profound social transformation in Africa. Hitherto described as a continent of mindless and despotic political leadership, the current socio-political realities of Africa suggest that authoritarian rule can no longer be tolerated. Although there are some countries (Togo under Eyadema, Uganda, under Musavei, Zimbabwe under Mugabe, Zaire under Kabila, Rwanda under Kagame, Niger under Mamadu, Burundi under Nkurunziza, and Gambia under Jamme and Cameroun under Biya) that still represent a sad reminder of unpopular and sit-tight regimes, the irreversible trend of democratization is widely acknowledged in the continent. In countries like Nigeria, where the democratization process is work-in-progress, contemporary intellectual preoccupation has been to reflect critically on how the prevailing political conditions can foster good governance and sustainable development. These reflections are meant to provide a wealth of information and knowledge necessary to
interrogate the democratization process. Thus, contemporary debates on good governance and development became widespread and intense following the commencement of democratization process in the Third World. In other words, the ongoing conversations on this time-honored phrase were greatly inspired by the significant political transformations that have taken place especially in Africa.

Although the major aim of these transformations was directed at displacing the nature and character of political leadership, there was also the equally important attendant objective of restructuring the system of political leadership such that can address the human problem. The human problem itself finds expression in the many development challenges that have made it increasingly difficult for individual and group self-actualization. Thus, in countries like Nigeria where these transformations are work-in-progress, the first task was the dismantling of authoritarian rule of the military, followed by the successful transition to civil rule and the ongoing democratization process. This democratization process embraces a whole lot of social change including but not limited to democratization of governance institutions, capacity building and institutional renewal, fostering an enduring partnership between the state, civil society and the organized private sector, promoting democratic good governance and interrogating the democratization process in order to establish a mutually reinforcing nexus between good governance and sustainable development.

In democratizing societies, the conceptual vehicle that connects the elements of social change described above is democratic practices which the political leadership must spread across the institutional landscape of governance. Thus, democratized governance institutions would mean building institutions and rules that are not just efficient but also fair, and that are developed through a democratic process in which all people have a real political voice. Foremost among these institutions are; independent but dependable electoral system to superintend democratic transition, and the institutionalization of an enduring legislative system to provide the legal framework for democratic good governance. Capacity building and institutional renewal refer to the comprehensive reform of the public service to provide the required institutional support for democratic good governance. The partnership between the state, civil society and the organized private sector seeks to develop a tripartite approach to governance - one that draws on the potentials and comparative advantage of the three sectors for sustainable development. Thus, democracy as a form of government prides itself on its capacity to execute good governance – a concept invented by the World Bank in its discourse on development. The consensus arising from this discourse is that good governance should engender an enabling governance environment and furnish the required institutional infrastructures for sustainable development.

However, it is instructive to note that while good governance is the likely outcome of democracy, there is also the question of the sustainability of this outcome. On this note, Ake (2001:115) has argued that democratic good governance in the long run, "will insist on the democratization of economic opportunities, the social betterment of the people, and a strong social welfare system". What this argument suggests is that, it is only through orderly and consistent democratic good government procedures and practices that the gains of development can be sustained.

In Nigeria, sustaining the gains of development through consistent democratic good governance practices remains a challenge that stare the nation on the face. However, seventeen years of unbroken democracy has provided the needed impetus to locate Nigeria on the trajectory of sustainable development. Thus, as the nation struts into the end of the second half of two decades of democratic rebirth, there are a host of issues on the development agenda that the government has to contend with. These issues range from the much haunted public private and citizens’ sectors partnership through budgeting and accountability issues, the reform of public service, information technology and environmental issues, social security and gender issues, poverty alleviation and infrastructure development, to the very urgent need to respond adequately to the current security challenge so as to guarantee a secured and healthy environment for growth and development.

In terms of definition, some scholarly submissions on democracy, good governance and development are explored in the later part of the paper, suffice to operationalize these concepts from the onset: democracy is a system of government that provides an enabling environment for citizens’ participation in governance; good governance is a concept that describes the efficient application of the institutional and legal framework of governance to respond to citizens’ demands and social expectations; development indicates the extent to which the gains of good governance is widespread and deep-seated enough to transform the living standards of the people.

In the light of the foregoing clarifications, the paper interrogates the democratization process in respect to government efforts to institutionalize good governance and promote development in Nigeria. The paper is organized into six sections. Section one which is the introduction and already undertaken here provides some background reflections on the subject matter. Section two presents the objectives/methodology of study. Section three reflects on the development problematic in Nigeria. Section four articulates a theoretical disquisition on the nexus between democracy, good governance and development. Section five assesses the prospects of good governance in Nigeria. Lastly, section six presents the conclusion and recommendations respectively. The major objective of the paper is to reflect critically on
the twin goals of good governance and development in the context of the democratization process in Nigeria. The specific objectives are: (i) to interrogate Nigeria democracy and its bearing on good governance, (ii) assess the good governance profile of Nigeria under democracy, (iii) to examine the challenges and prospects of good governance and development in Nigeria, and (iv) to offer policy recommendations that will help to facilitate the execution of the good governance project and promote development.

METHODOLOGY
To realize the objectives of this study, the paper adopts a methodology that is both descriptive and analytical. This approach relies on official records and a considerable volume of related literature. In respect of official records, the Reports of the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Transparency International, the National Bureau of Statistics and the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) were utilized. The review of related literature provided a wide range of scholarly reflections and arguments on the subject matter of the paper. To this end, the paper is essentially a concept paper which reflects on scholarly perspectives on the vexed issues of democracy, good governance and development.

THE DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMATIC IN NIGERIA
In the general discourse on development in Africa, the Nigerian experience has featured predominantly. In fact the impression is given by some scholars in the development literature that Nigeria approximates the development potentials of the entire continent (Ake, 2001; Olowu, 2005; Adamolekun, 2011). Hardly do scholarly reports make informed comments on Africa in respect to the discourse on development and its challenges without identifying Nigeria as a classic example. Several explanations for this intellectual fixation in the development literature of Africa abound. Some, like the (Natural Resource Governance Institute, 2015) allude to the share size of the country - Nigeria, and the rich mineral resources she is blessed with (Nigeria is reputed to be the 6th largest producers of crude oil in the World). Some, like the World Bank, 2014 have noted the intimidating population size, pointing out that Nigeria is the most populous black nation on earth (with a population estimated at about one hundred and seventy million (170, 000, 000) people. Ozohu-Suleiman (2007) and other scholars alike have even gone ahead to identify Nigeria as the trigger of development in Africa, opining that the location of the country on the map of Africa is like the trigger of a short gun which the map of the continent seems to symbolize. In spite of these resource endowments, Nigeria has been plagued by several development bottlenecks. In his Democracy and Development in Africa, Ake (2001:1) acknowledged the following as critical:

... the colonial legacy, social pluralism and its centrifugal tendencies, the corruption of leaders, poor labour discipline, the lack of entrepreneurial skills, poor planning and incompetent management, inappropriate policies, the stifling of market mechanisms, low levels of technical assistance, limited inflow of foreign capital, etc.

Although these factors are very useful in explaining the failure of development in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, Ake is quick to observe that political conditions of the continent are the greatest obstacles to the development enterprise. These political conditions which have conspired to trigger a crisis of governance in many parts of Africa lie at the heart of the failure of development in Nigeria. A World Bank Report (1989) shed light on this perspective:

Underlying the litany of Africa's development problems is a crisis of governance. Because countervailing power has been lacking, state officials in many countries have served their own interests without fear of being called to account.... Politics becomes personalized and patronage becomes essential to maintain power. The leadership assumed broad discretionary authority and loses its legitimacy.

On account of these social and economic realities of the continent, Ake proposed a democratization process that is widespread and deep-seated enough to radically improve the political conditions required for sustainable development. Thus, the democratization process in Nigeria was inspired by this clarion call. However, after seventeen straight years of democratic rebirth in Nigeria, there is considerable reservation on the gains of the good governance project. At the onset of regime transformation in 1999, democracy raised citizens' expectations of a life of contents and fulfillment, it promised to guarantee peoples economic and social rights for the realization of their collective and individual hopes and aspirations. These promises and expectations were the summation of a people's vision of good governance that has remained largely unfulfilled.

At the heart of the general debates on good governance and its requirements is the urgent call for democratizing societies to combat corruption and promote transparency and accountability. Thus, more than any other single factor or a combination of factors, corruption remains the most outstanding impediment to good governance and sustainable development. The consequences of this social affliction (rising social inequality, unemployment and widespread poverty, plummeting economy, ignorance and disease) are evident in the negative development indicators of Independent Reports.

In a report by Transparency International (2014), out of the 174 countries evaluated for corruption, Nigeria ranked 136th. The corruption perception index ranks countries based on how corrupt their public sector is perceived to be. A country's score indicates the perceived level of public sector corruption on a scale of (0 highly corruption)
Table 1. Comparing Nigeria’s CPI and HDI rankings: 2005-2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Corruption Perception Index Rankings</th>
<th>Human Development Index Rankings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>152 out of 158</td>
<td>158 out of 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>150 out of 163</td>
<td>159 out of 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>132 out of 147</td>
<td>158 out of 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>121 out of 150</td>
<td>158 out of 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>130 out of 150</td>
<td>158 out of 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>134 out of 178</td>
<td>142 out of 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>143 out of 182</td>
<td>156 out of 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>139 out of 175</td>
<td>153 out of 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>144 out of 175</td>
<td>153 out of 187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2. Poverty Incidence in Nigeria (1980-2010).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Poverty Incidence (%)</th>
<th>Estimated population (million)</th>
<th>Population in Poverty (Million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>102.3</td>
<td>67.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>126.3</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>112.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


to (100 very clean). Nigeria’s score totaled 27 aggregate out of 100. The predictable consequence of corruption and official profligacy on the part of the few in positions of authority is widespread poverty for the majority of the people.

In 2014, the World Bank ranked Nigeria third among world’s ten countries with extreme poverty. In the report, the World Bank established that Nigeria with a population of about 170 million people is categorized among countries with extreme poverty, whose over 70% population live on $1.25 (N200) per day. The report reveals that 70% of the 1.2 billion people living below poverty line in the world are Nigerians. The report stated; the fact is that two-thirds of the world extreme poor are concentrated in just five countries: India, China, Nigeria, Bangladesh and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (World Bank Development Report, 2014). These countries were ranked based on their share of the 1.2 billion extreme poor people in the world as follows: India (33%), China (13%), Nigeria (70%), Bangladesh (6%) and DRC (5%). In Nigeria, this high incidence of poverty has often been linked to the endemic corruption in the country, as it involves the massive stealing of resources that would have otherwise been invested in providing wealth-creating infrastructure and programmes for the citizens (ActionAid, 2015).

The United Nations in its 2014 Human Development Report (HDR) ranked Nigeria 152th out of a total of 187 countries assessed. This ranking translates to 0.504 Human Development Index (HDI) which placed Nigeria among the lowest not only in the World but also in the continent of Africa. The HDI is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, standards of living and quality of life for countries worldwide. Table 1 provides a juxtaposition of Nigeria’s Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and Human Development Index (HDI) rankings between 2005 and 2013.

The 2010 poverty profile in Nigeria which was released in 2012, revealed that, out of an estimated population of 163 million, a staggering 112.47 million Nigerians are poor, representing 69.0% of the population. Table 2 captures the poverty incidence in Nigeria between 1980 and 2010.

The above figures indicate a consistent rise in the number of Nigerians trapped in circles of poverty relative to the increase in the estimated population. However, in spite of these disturbing statistical data, the rebasing of the economy by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in 2014 showed that Nigeria has a Gross Domestic Product of $510 billion (over N80 trillion) and as such the largest economy in Africa and the 26th largest in the world. This growth was not inclusive as a further reflection on this paradox of affluence and affliction means that less than 10% of Nigerians are in possession
and control of over 90% of the country's wealth and resources. For a country that produces one of the world's largest volume of crude oil, coupled with a variety of rich solid minerals deposits, this contradiction about the human condition in her territory, calls to question the integrity of government institutions and their managers in respect to the application of the nation's common wealth to improve the living standards of the people. It is common knowledge that corruption and development are strange bedfellows. Since both cannot co-habit, one must give way. Thus, democracy which reflects the will of the people, suggests loudly that corruption must give way for good governance and development.

DEMOCRACY, GOOD GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT: THE NEXUS

In spite of the differences that prevail in respect of the theoretical formulation of democracy, good governance and development, there is a growing consensus on the nexus among them (Huntington, 1997; Weiss, 2000; Ake, 2001; Abdelatif, 2003, Adejumobi, 2004; UNDP, 2006). To reflect on this consensus, it might be helpful to first review scholarly definitions. Democracy is a term used to describe a system of government in which ultimate political authority is vested in the people. Heater (1964), describes it as a way of life, or an attitude of the mind, and also a method of organizing society politically. He observed further that:

There are, it is suggested five basic elements without which no community can call itself truly democratic. These elements are; equality, sovereignty of the people, respect for human life, the rule of law, and liberty of individual (Heater, 1964:117).

In the perspective of Almond (2004:27), “democracy is a political system in which citizens enjoy a number of basic civil and political rights, and in which their most important leaders are elected in free and fair elections and accountable under the rule of law”. One common denominator of these definitions is the primacy of the citizens and their right to determine through the legitimate process of election, those who should lead them. It is this idea of citizen's right of self-determination that led Plano (1979), to suggest four cardinal principles of democracy, namely; individualism – this holds that the primary task of government is to enable each individual to achieve the highest potential of development, liberty – this allows each individual the greatest amount of freedom consistent with order, equity – this maintains that all men are created equal and have equal rights and opportunity, fraternity – this postulates that individuals will not misuse their freedom but will cooperate in creating a wholesome society. Thus, in terms of conceptualization there are diverse views of democracy in the literature. This abundance of thought:

explains its appeal to every human organization from antiquity, for there is a democratic thread that tickles even the most despotic regime ever crafted on society, exorcising permanent tyranny from man’s lived experience (Omelle, 2005:1).

The democratic appeal does not only lie in its capacity to upstage authoritarian regime but also in its inherent potentials to provide good governance over the long haul. On this note, Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004), submits that democracy as a system of rule maximizes the responsiveness of the rulers to the expressed interests and needs of the public.

In order not to run into difficulties in the tricky preoccupation of conceptual clarifications, it is tidier to separate ‘Good’ from ‘Governance’ and then treat the later as a separate conceptual category (bearing in mind that ‘Good governance’ conveys a whole lot of meanings that have fueled contemporary intellectual debates). Governance is the totality of the process of constituting a government as well as administering political community. Governance is also seen as a process of social engagement between the rulers and the ruled. This conception of governance is rooted in the social contract theory in which this social engagement is defined in terms of the consent of men to constitute a sovereign authority in order to gain three things; laws, judges to adjudicate laws and the executive power necessary to enforce these laws (see Jacques Rousseau’s Social Contract, 1762). The UNDP view governance as:

The totality of the exercise of authority in the management of a country's affairs, comprising of the complex mechanism, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and mediate their differences (UNDP,1997a: 7).

Since governance involves rules, processes and institutions, Olowu’s definition (2005:2) integrates value judgment as to the propriety or otherwise of the application of these rules, processes and institution. He observed that governance is the; “...manner in which (state) political leaders manage, use (or misuse) power whether to promote social and economic development or to pursue agendas that undermine such goals". Thus, the emergence of good governance in theoretical and practical terms is closely associated with the issues of public accountability, transparency and efficiency in the conduct of government business.

Therefore, good governance implies the efficient management of state institutions and resources in accordance with the rule of law to promote the general welfare of the citizens. Good governance embraces such requirements as efficiency, curbing corruption which
inhibits development and investment, guarantee of civil and human rights and accountability to the people (Johnson, 1991). It also includes an appropriate political leadership and environment that furnish a predictable and transparent framework of rules, institutions and behavior for the management of public affairs. The good governance debates and its requirement is not so much about whether democracy can provide good governance but more about how best democracy should execute the good governance project on a sustainable basis. Therefore, democratic governance seeks in common with good governance, efficient institutions and predictable economic and political environment that make economic growth possible and public services effective (UNDP, 2006).

It is the sustainability of the means and ends of good governance that nurtures development in human society. The discourse on development has furnished a variety of definitions. Although, these definitions highlight a consensus on what constitutes development, what appears to unsettle the readership is the complexity of language with which scholars articulate their views of development. However, this difficulty comes into bold relief when Seer (1969), puts forward a set of questions: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to inequality? He concludes that these indicators measure the level of development or the lack of it in any society. In the estimation of the World Bank, development implies a qualitative improvement in the living standards of the people as exemplified by levels of industrialization, food production, size and distribution of the labor force, pattern of income distribution, access to education, health facilities, good housing, regular supply of electricity, good drinking water, etc. (World Bank Development Report, 1981).

The foregoing development indices are significant part of the requirements of good governance which the environment of democracy is expected to promote and entrench. However, the political conditions that must prevail to engender good governance are; enthronement of civil and political rights, public accountability, rule of law and the idea of formal equality of citizens. This view was corroborated by Hyden (1992) when he observed that the key properties of good governance are believed to emphasize and reinforce democratic norms and practices; “for instance, authority seeks expression in the legitimate use of power when the people elect and control their leaders, while the parameters of accountability is the extent to which the people can hold their elected leaders or public officials responsible for their actions” (Hyden, 1992:7).

However, some scholars in the democracy-development discourse have questioned the blind faith in the relationship between democracy and good governance. They observed that good governance is not about a mode of polity, or a procedural arrangement, but a holistic and consequential variable. It is not about forms of government, but the result of governance. It is not the process or course of a political rule, but its effects; it is about effective and productive governance (Dun, 1986; Huntington, 1997; Adejumobi, 2004). This argument perhaps led Adejumobi (2004:13), to conclude that:

*Liberal democracy is essentially a class project that reflects dominant power interests... It's crafting and hegemonic interest that it represents is largely that of capital and bourgeois class. That is why issues of private property and accumulation are emphasized and well protected in the constitutional order of western liberal democracies, while that of equality and socio-economic right are more abstract than real for the majority of people.*

It is further argued that most of the state institutions that make good governance possible are largely undemocratic institutions. For example, some East Asian countries (Thailand, Taiwan, South Korea, North Korea, Singapore and China) that have recorded remarkable growth rates within the context of authoritarian rule, serve to demonstrate that what is important is not so much the form of government, but its impact; economic well-being, political stability, social order, communal harmony, efficient and honest administration (Huntington, 1997).

However, while authoritarian regimes may promote dividends of development in countries where that is the case, there is the problem of sustaining the gains of good governance over the long haul. Without orderly process of political organization and procedure, the gains of development may not be sustainable (Huntington, 1997). This further requires that a democratic political organization and process must emphasize the primacy of the people and their resources in the development process. On this note, Ake (2001: 127), submit that:

...the well-being of the people will only be supreme law of development if they have some decision making power. It is possible of course that someone can exercise public decision making power to benefit others. But the only way to ensure that social transformation is not dissociated from the well-being of the people is to institute democracy.

However, Ake (2001: 123) is quick to point out that given the realities of “Africa’s social pluralism, its poverty, its relatively low level of literacy and the emphasis on rural communities on solidarity and cooperation”, social democracy is the most suitable form of government to address the urgency of development in the continent. In Nigeria for example, this variant of democracy is urgently required to create the political conditions that will provoke widespread social mobilization in an effort to promote the common good. If we are persuaded by the argument that development should be people-centered and people-
driven, then the kind of social mobilization envisaged here must adopt a tripartite approach to development - one that incorporates the active involvement of civil society alongside the state and the organized private sector in the development process (Kramer and Solamon, 1992; Kooiman, 1993; Chazan, 1996). On this note, Strosbery and Gimbel (2002) have articulated an iron triangle in the development process, which integrates public administrators who manage programmes and execute polices, the private sector whose initiatives and enterprise propel the engine of development, and most importantly the civil society/network of non-governmental institutions that ensure the development of a well-functioning economic system, the strengthening of democratic governance and a widespread participation of the people.

PROSPECTS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

Since 1999 when Nigeria formally joined the league of nations of liberal democracy, skeptics have expressed considerable reservation about the sustainability of the democratization process. This skepticism is not unconnected to the underdeveloped political system/space where a tribe of political elite with insufficient democratic culture/values held sway, coupled with the absence of ideologically driven political parties that can initiate progressive ideas to confront the myriad of problems created by the long spell of authoritarian rule (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2007). However, today, Nigeria has recorded seventeen straight years of unbroken democratization process. This feat (for want of a better word) is significant to the extent that it provides opportunity to reflect on the prospects of democratic governance in Nigeria. Equally significant is the fact that within the period under review, a predictable two dominant multiparty political system have emerged (where for the first time in 2015) an opposition party has wrestled power from the ruling party in a keenly contested general elections.

These developments are a significant endorsement not only of the sustainability of Africa’s largest democracy, but also of the prospects of good governance in Nigeria. Therefore, in reflecting on the prospects of good governance, we shall take note of some of the efforts at government reorientation in the areas of democratic deepening through population participation in governance, the dismantling of opacity and promotion of transparency/accountability in governance, institution capacity building and performance improvement in public management.

We recall that the argument for the democracy-development nexus is anchored on the presence of political conditions that promote an inclusive development process - a process that involves the participation of mass organizations (civil society, labor unions, youth movement and women groups). In Nigeria, this development paradigm provides the required political space for civil society and other non-state actors to set the agenda and push for the common good by articulating and reflecting the needs of society on a continuous basis. To this end, the growing recognition of government-civil society partnership has led to the establishment of the Office of the Special Assistant to the President on Civil Society. In the last couple of years, the Office has organized series of interactive sessions and retreats to promote government-civil society dialogues on the good governance project. For example, in recent time, the Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) and the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) have lent their stringent voices to the good governance campaign (they are constantly engaging with government on legislative activism and public accountability issues).

A stronger labor movement and civil society have also emerged (refer to the 2011 fuel subsidy strikes and recently, the memorandum of understanding between the organized labor/civil society and the federal government as fall out of the deregulation of the downstream sector of the oil and gas industry in January, 2016). Moreover, a variety of women groups are also engaging with the government on gender mainstreaming to improve their participation in governance. Youth movement is also recognized in the governance reforms. There is already in place a youth parliament to inspire good leadership, and the Office of the Special Assistant to the President on Youth Affairs to partner with youth movement for good governance. Whatever they are worth, these efforts strongly indicate government preparedness to deepen democratic governance and democratize the development process.

Government efforts to dismantle opacity and promote full disclosure are acknowledged as a critical response to the demands for good governance. To this end, two significant developments are notable: the establishment of the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparent Initiative (NEITI) in 2004 and the enactment of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) in 2011. NEITI was established to promote transparency and accountability in the payment, receipt and application of revenues from extractive industries. The FOIA was enacted to provide the legal framework for access by citizens to public records and information and the disclosure of such records and information. These initiatives have far reaching implications for transparency and accountability in the conduct of government business. They both have the potential to entrench full disclosure and combat official corruption. For example, access to public records will not only help to consolidate the anti-graft crusade but will also take public probity to a level where citizens would close rank with the peoples’ representatives (parliament) to watch over the political economy of Nigeria in the interest of the common good. NEITI is an affirmation of government’s sovereign duty to manage the country’s commonwealth for the benefit of all Nigeria citizens. Although, the faithful implementation of these initiatives (over the period under review) leaves much to be
desired, the fact remains that reforms of these laudable objectives speak volume about the prospects of good governance as Nigeria makes progress in the democratization process.

A significant part of the institutional requirements for democratic governance is the public service. Therefore, part of the explanation for the failure of governance in Nigeria is that, the public service has been unable to provide the required institutional support for good governance (Olowu et al., 1997).

Thus, the reform of the public service that started in 2002 has been understood in the context of reorientation of government. This reorientation emphasizes the drive for efficiency and the use of economic market as a model for political and administrative relationship (Sutton, 2003). Broadly speaking, the reform seeks to build institutional capacity so as to improve performance in public management (in response to the increasing citizens' demands and rising expectation in an environment of democracy). The critical domains of the reform are: Budget and Financial Management, Accountability issues, Human Resources Management, Operations and Systems and Value Reorientation/Ethics. Although the change process that was ignited by these reforms has faltered in very critical areas, non-the-less, it represents an irreversible drive for a culture of responsiveness in public sector management which is fundamental to the successful execution of the good governance project in Nigeria.

The perspective of market model in government reorientation suggests a consideration of the role of the private sector in the efficient provision of public service. It also involves the use of ethos that are originally associated with (business management) for the conduct of government transactions.

This orientation has led to a redefinition of the role of the state in the development process. It implies that government should provide the enabling environment for private sector economic activities by furnishing the necessary regulatory framework and to implement the appropriate economic policy reforms (Adamolekun, 2011).

To this end, a variety of menu in the list of international best practices (public-private-partnership, privatization, commercialization, contracting out etc) are being adopted in Nigeria to improve public management. While the outcome of these initiatives and its expected impact on the development process is for now debatable, they yet constitute work-in-progress in the continuous search for a development paradigm that is consistent with the collective hopes and inspirations of Nigerians.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The continuous debate on the democratization process and its consequences is a regular feature of societies in transition. Even in the so called advanced democracies of the west, there is considerable agreement on the dynamic character of the human evolutionary process – this consensus suggests that the democratization process in those climes remains the subject of ceaseless intellectual inquiry. In Nigeria, the debate is intense perhaps because of the compelling need to address the development deficit that has had dire consequences on the human condition. This development deficit is largely the consequence of almost three decades of authoritarian rule. Thus, given the prevailing political conditions, it is imperative to interrogate the democratization process. The object of this interrogation is to determine how the application of rules, processes and institution on the one hand, and the requirements of good governance are mutually reinforcing.

This paper is a modest effort to join in the debate. It observed that, although the human condition in most parts of the continent under democracy suggests a failure of development, this should not detract from the prospects of good governance. It concludes that since development is about people, their livelihood and the choice they make that affect them, democracy remains the only form of government that can foster the necessary political conditions for a people-driven and people-centered development paradigm. However, given the widespread development deficit in the country and the urgency with which this deficit should be confronted, the writer associates with Ake’s Clarion call for the social democratic option - “a social democracy that places emphasis on concrete political, social and economic rights as opposed to a liberal democracy that emphasizes abstract political rights” (Ake, 2001:132). To promote this variant of democracy, the following recommendations are offered

(i) An inclusive democratization process is urgently required to foster good governance and sustainable development. This process must incorporate all stakeholders; civil society, the organized labor, youth movement, women's groups, professional bodies, the media etc. The continued dialogue between government and this critical mass of the population is the needed driver to push for a regime of good governance. This dialogue will create the unity of purpose to confront manifest and potential obstacles to good governance (obstacles such as official corruption, widespread insecurity, youth restiveness, social inequality, gender discrimination etc). The increasing support being given to the government by many of these mass organizations is a step in the right direction. More of this support is needed in many critical areas of government policy intervention to execute the good governance project.

(ii) The system-wide reform of the public service should be reappraised and refocused. There are convincing evidence that the gains of the reform have been lost due largely to policy inconsistency and a lack of commitment
on the part of government. In view of this, the Federal Public Administration Reform (FEPAR) initiative that commenced in 2011 is very relevant to this reappraisal and refocusing based on its mandate to strengthen core federal government institutions and its capacity to deliver public services through the five interrelated components of: policy coordination, civil service reform, financial management, service delivery and accountability. The FEPAR initiative can identify critical areas that require refocusing through collaboration between it and the Bureau of Public Service Reform (BPSR). The goal is to ensure that all governance institutions are strengthened and furnished with performance management criteria that are consistent with the good governance project.

(iii) Finally, government should strengthen the necessary legal and institutional framework for the implementation of economic policies that seek to integrate the private sector in the development process. Issues of property rights, tax administration and a predictable justice administration system should be emphasized. These will help to create a conducive environment for private investment and a robust public-private-partnership especially in infrastructure development.

(iv) The role of civil society and the media is also fundamental to the advocacy for transparency and accountability in governance. To this end, both stakeholders should scale up citizen education, advocate for the effective implementation of all anti-corruption legislations and also extend their enlightenment and advocacy efforts against corruption to the private sector.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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