



**FROM DIVIDENDS' OPTIMISM TO DASHED HOPES:
The Imperatives of Leadership Re-Engineering in Nigeria**

KAMILU SANI FAGE,

B.Sc. (Pol Sc.), MPIA, PGD, MPA, PhD

Department of Political Science

Bayero University Kano

Nigeria

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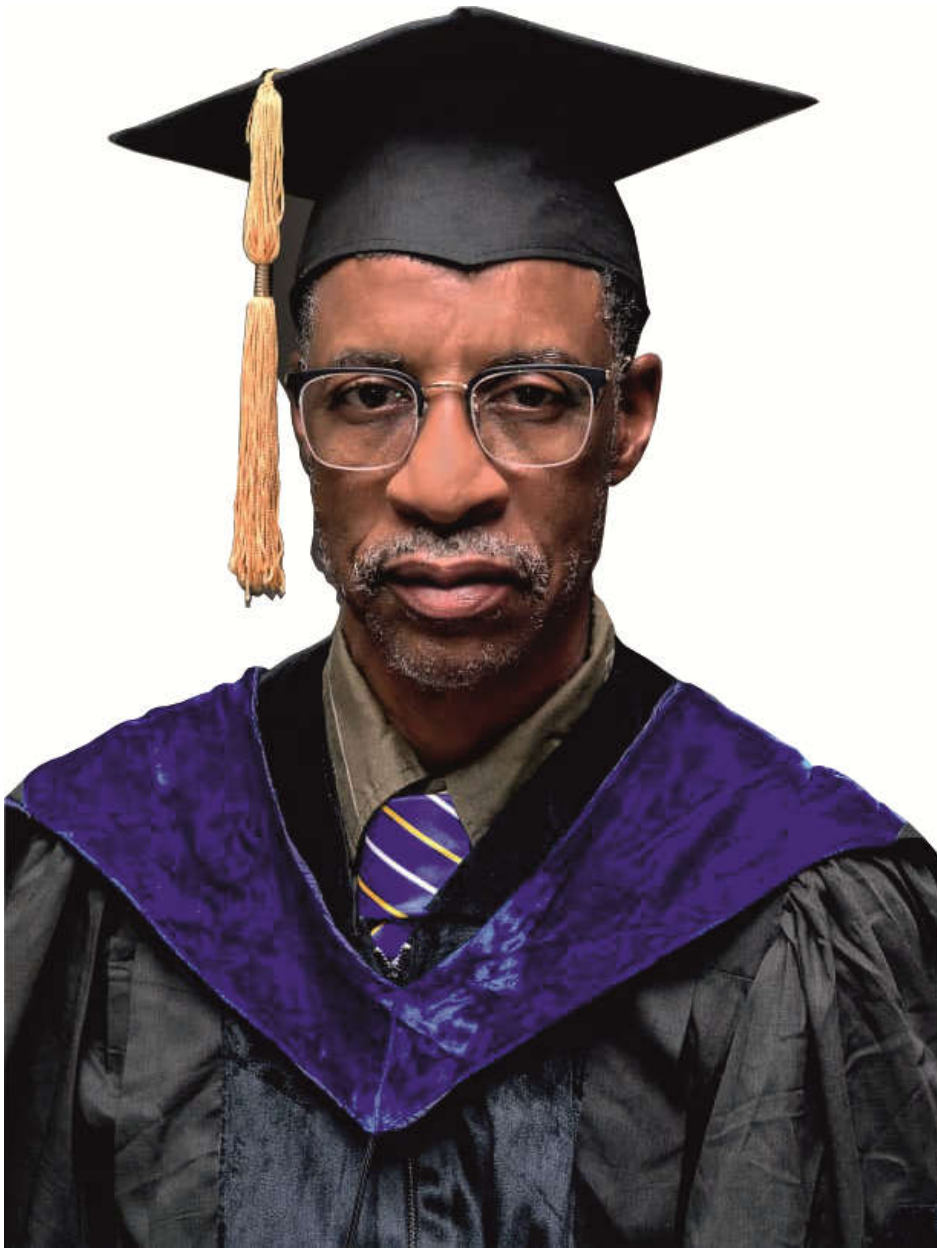
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Professor Kamilu Sani Fage
B.Sc. (Pol Sc.), MPIA, PGD, MPA, PhD
Department of Political Science
Bayero University Kano, Nigeria

SUMMARY OF PRESENTER'S BIODATA

Professor. Kamilu Sani FAGE was born on 10th February 1957 at Fagge Quarters of Fagge Local Government, Kano State, Nigeria. He attended Fagge Primary School between 1963 – 1970; went to Government Secondary School Dawakin Tofa, 1970 - 1975 and gained admission into ABC/ABU from 1975 - 1979 where he bagged a degree in Political Science. In 1981/82, he went to University of Pittsburgh, USA for his postgraduate studies. Young Fagge bagged a Masters degree in Public and International Affairs in 1982. Having successfully completed the programme, the University of Pittsburgh offered him yet another admission for doctoral studies in International Affairs. He concurrently obtained a Postgraduate Diploma in International Security in 1983, Masters in Public Administration 1989 and PhD in International Affairs 1990 and returned to Nigeria.

Professor. Fage joined the services of Bayero University as a Graduate Assistant in the Department of Political Science on May 26, 1980 after his mandatory one year National Youth Service at GSS Hong, Gongola State. He rose through the ranks to attain the professorial chair on 1st October 2003. Before then, he has held many positions both in and outside the University: Professor Fage has held membership positions in numerous University committees, Head of Political Science Department 2002 – 2006, Acting Chairman BUK Senate Business Committee (SBC) 2010, Member, Bayero University Governing Council 2010 - 2014 and Editor-in-Chief, Bayero Journal of Political Science. Outside the university, Professor Fage was Special Advisor on Political Matters to the Kano State Governor, 1991 – 1993, National Vice President, Nigerian Political Science Association, 2006 – 2010, Policy Expert/Consultant to National Assembly/UNDP 2008 – 2010, Team Leader/Member of numerous NUC Accreditation/Resource Verification exercises and External Examiner in many Nigerian universities.

Professor Fage is well published and an erudite public affairs commentator with over 1000 Radio/TV programmes to his credit. He is married with children.

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Introduction

For centuries since the Greek renaissance, democracy has undergone serious transformations and gained widespread acceptance. In ancient Greece, for instance, democracy was considered to be an inappropriate and unacceptable form of government partly because it is an imperfect and highly unstable system and partly because it makes the great majority of the people (masses) vulnerable to the manipulation of and control by few demagogues (Rejai, 1967: 2; Akindele, 1987: 41). Today however, democracy is universally acclaimed to be the best form of government because it offers people the opportunity to be involved in governmental process. Given the fact that the sole purpose of government is to serve the people, any form of government (as in autocratic rule) that prevents the populace from determining what they want and how they want it contravenes the basic fundamental principle that upholds human dignity. It is the in-built capacity of democracy as a mode of governance to warrant unfettered rights of citizens to undertake whatever business as it suits their lives within the accepted ambit of law that makes democracy to receive universal acclaim as an excellent form of managing human social order. Consequently, in any given society in which democracy is the guiding principle of government, the citizens desire, among others, certain minimum behavioural patterns from their leaders, ethical standards in governance as well as end products of democracy popularly termed *democratic dividends*.

It is largely due to the ideal virtues of democracy over military autocracy (no matter how benevolent it may be) that Nigerians had always demanded quick transition to democracy whenever military intervened in politics. On May 29, 1999, Nigeria again (for the fourth time) transitioned to democracy. The dawn of May 29, 1999 was characterized by high hopes and expectations and public euphoria that the re-democratization of the polity would bring about positive transformation of the country in all ramifications. Thus, the purpose of this lecture is to critically assess the extent to which Nigeria's Fourth Republic has been able to meet people's expectations.

Conceptual Clarification

Before delving into the details of this lecture, it is worthwhile to offer a working conceptualization of the terms “democracy”, “good governance”, “leadership” and “leadership re-engineering”. This is necessary because the theme of the lecture revolves around them.

Democracy

The term democracy is very vague. It is used in different ways by different people. The debate on democracy has heightened especially given the pluralism arising from the attempt by scholars to interpret what the concept actually stands for. For instance, while people like Lefort (1988) insist that any definition of democracy should be grounded in the political practice by an entity, others warn that “it is illogical to define democracy by induction from the practice of any one political unit or any one sub-set of political unit” (Saward, 1994: 6). In spite of the divergent views on democracy, most scholars will want to proceed from the often-cited two Greek words from which it originated, namely: *demos* (the people) and *kratein* (to rule),

As first coined by Herodotus, democracy refers to an arrangement whereby all the people in a political setting come together, from time to time, to deliberate on issues that affect them (Babarinde and Ogunyemi, 1992: 112). It is worthy to note however, that the Greek democracies, referred to by Herodotus, were direct democracies with limited franchise. Unlike modern democracies, the ancient Greek democracies presuppose neither representative government nor the equality of all individuals. This is so because political participation was limited only to free-male citizens who were the only section of the populace who could speak and vote in the *Agora* (public assemblies), while the majority of the populace (notably slaves and women) had no such political rights.

In contemporary usage however, the term democracy denotes a political system in which the people of a country are ruled through any form of government they choose to establish. In other words, supreme authority is exercised for the most part of the populace by representatives elected by popular suffrage. The representatives may be supplanted by the electorate according to the legal procedures of recall and referendum, and they are, at least in principle, responsible to the electorate. In many

democracies, both the executive head of government and the legislature are elected. In typical constitutional monarchies such as Great Britain and Norway, only the legislators are elected, from their ranks a cabinet is constituted and a prime minister is chosen.

Although often used interchangeably, the terms *democracy* and *republic* are by no means synonymous. Both systems delegate the power to govern to their elected representatives. In a republic, however, these officials are expected to act on their own best judgement of the needs and interests of the country. The officials in a democracy more generally and directly reflect the known or ascertained views of their constituents, sometimes subordinating their own judgement.

As a form of political organization, democracy has a long history. It was practised in many traditional African societies (like Igbo, Tiv, etc.) and the city-states of classical Greece, Rome etc. However, the early democracies were unlike the type we have today. They were direct democracies in which all citizens could speak and vote in assemblies that resembled town meetings. Representative government was unknown and unnecessary because of the small size of the city-states (almost never more than 10,000 citizens), Ancient democracy did not presuppose equality of all individuals; the majority of the populace, notably slaves and women, had no political rights. Athens, the greatest of the city democracies, limited the franchise to native-born citizens.

Before the end of the 19th century, every important Western European monarchy had adopted a constitution limiting the powers of the Crown and giving a considerable share of political power to the people. In many of these countries, a representative legislature modelled after the British Parliament was instituted. British politics was then possibly the greatest single influence on the organization of world democracies, although the French Revolution (1789) also exerted a powerful influence. Later, the success of democratic institutions in the United States served as a model for many countries.

The major features of modern democracy include: individual freedom (which entitles citizens to the liberty and responsibility of shaping their own careers and conducting

their own affairs); equality before the law; and universal suffrage and education. Such features have been proclaimed in great historic documents, for example, the US Declaration of Independence (1776), which asserted the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789), which affirmed the principles of civil liberty and of equality before the law; and the Atlantic Charter (1941), which formulated the four basic freedoms – freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

It should be pointed out however, that the above conceptions of democracy bear direct semblance of the neo-liberal perspective, which some scholars found to be a mere theoretical postulate but a practical mirage given decades of experimentation with Western Liberal brand of democracy. Ake for instance, shared this view when he expressed his discomfort with liberal democracy being foisted on Africa which he terms as “democratization of disempowerment”. To him, “liberal democracy is a historic product, ideally constituted as the political correlate of advanced capitalism and its salient characteristics” (Ake, 1994: 4). Elections in most African countries, for instance, give people the right to vote without choosing because “both the government and opposition support electoral competition, not out of commitment to democracy but as a strategy of power” (Ake, 1994: 2), As further argued by Ake, democracy needs to be institutionalized for the people whom it is meant to serve. For him, “democracy has to be transformed by a programme of upliftment, a programme which gives them access to health, education, wealth, leisure, and most importantly, power” (Ake, 1996: 10).

Good Governance

Like most social science concepts, good governance is fraught with considerable controversies. For instance, while some people see it as an ideal (a goal that states aspire to achieve) others see it as a system. Still others see it as a process. Regardless of the perspective one approaches it; good governance has to do with how public institutions and officials conduct public affairs and manage public resources. In simple terms, good governance is the product of a government which is:

- ***Participatory*** - popular sovereignty and equality of opportunity of the citizenry to partake in political process and governance. That is, the people not

only have a say in governance but they also have “the right to install and remove leaders who have failed to meet their aspirations” (Alkasum, 2011: 3).

- **Responsive** - the government and its officials are subject to the wishes and aspirations of the people in the sense that they strive to ensure good life for the people by providing basic social infrastructure in the area of health, housing, education, electricity, etc. In short, the wish of the people is the command of the leaders.
- **Responsible and accountable** - leaders are accountable to the people they govern. One way through which leaders are held responsible for their actions is periodic elections. As argued elsewhere,
 - ... it is only when leaders know that ultimately, they will give an account of their stewardship at the polls at the expiration of four or five years, that they will initiate and implement policies that will lead to increased per capita income, higher standard of living, better educational and health conditions, etc. (Fage, 2002: 181),
- **Consensus oriented** - government addresses socio-political, economic etc. problems through dialogue, concessions, accommodation, reciprocity, etc. In other words, resolution of conflict must be through consensus building rather than by fiat, decree, high-handedness and arbitrariness.
- **Transparency** - there must be openness, honesty, probity and integrity on the part of public officials in the management of national resources and conduct of public affairs.
- **Effective and efficient** - this implies prudent management as well as judicious use of national resources in the interest of the generality of the people rather than the interests of a few individuals in the society or for private ends.
- **Equitable** - Equality of the people i.e. “that the poor shall be in no greater subjection than the rich; nor that the supreme power shall be lodged in either of these, but both shall share it” (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1988: 216),
- **Inclusive** - existence of credible opposition as well as tolerance, accommodation and respect of minority and/or opposing views by government and its officials.

- ***Rule of law compliant*** - supremacy of the laws of the land, protecting the fundamental rights of citizens, equality before the law as well as settling affairs according to known rules of government.

It is noteworthy that the clamour for good governance is borne out of the belief that it is one of the surest ways of consolidating democracy. For, when people believe in government and have faith in it, they will stand by it and defend it in days of trouble. This is so because the popular acceptance, legitimacy and approval that such a government enjoys are powerful tools that will massively intimidate any antics and revisionist tendencies of autocracy. The 1976 failed attempted coup of Lt. Col. Dimka against the government of General Murtala Mohammed in Nigeria, Iran, 1979, Turkey 2020 etc. are good examples. Conversely, a government that is perceived by citizens to rule in the sectional interest of a particular group of people can easily be overthrown by praetorian forces.

Leadership

Leadership is a very important variable in national development. Not only do leaders play a crucial role in planning and actual realization of the goals of development plans but they have an enormous propensity to either aid or impede national development. However, in spite of its importance and wide currency, there is still no universally-accepted definition of the concept. For instance, while some people give it a very narrow and restrictive definition, others look at it from a broad and general perspective. The former, for example, define leadership in terms of those few people who occupy high and visible positions in government and industries. The latter, on the other hand, contend that in any country, leaders exist in both the formal (government/private) sectors and informal sectors (such as first ladies, leaders of cultural or religious organizations, peer groups, etc.).

From whichever angle one views it, leadership is essentially about influence. Even as such however, there are still two conflicting schools of thought on leadership. The first sees leadership as a one-way process, that is, an individual or group's ability to influence, guide, help, inspire, direct and control group member(s) to willingly commit themselves to the achievement of group tasks, goals and objectives. Put differently, leaders have the ability to influence their followers without necessarily being

influenced by them. This view is held by scholars like Floyds (1994: 119), Akpala (1992: 45), Cole (1988: 41), etc. In contrast, the second school of thought sees leadership as a two-way process. To the proponents of this view therefore, leaders are members of a group and in that capacity, they influence the group and are in turn influenced by the group (symbiotic relationship as both influence each other), This second view is the position of people like Shaun and York (1996: 19).

It is noteworthy, that whether in a public or private sector and at whatever level (micro or macro) the ability of an individual/group to influence others is largely dependent on the leader's (certain) traits which make him/her occupy the peculiar position of leadership. These traits include:

- i. Ability to take appropriate decisions quickly and expeditiously relating to the task under-taken;
- ii. Ability to command respect and support, by showing empathy and consideration for the needs and feelings of the followers through persuasion and loyalty to them;
- iii. Exhibition of personal characteristics such as bravery, vision, courage, trustworthiness, endurance, humility etc.
- iv. Display of peculiar actions in circumstances such as arbitration, security, inspiration, respect etc.; and
- v. Transformation of acquired or in-born skills into action leading to achieving goals etc.

Leadership Re-engineering

Various meanings have been given to the concept of re-engineering by scholars of Public Administration, Management, Development Administration and other related disciplines. At the core of it all, however, re-engineering is a change policy. In other words, it is a deliberate attempt to transform (change) any given phenomenon from an undesirable state to (usually) a better state. For instance, with regards to poor job performance such intervention takes three forms:

- a. *Training* - application of variety of programmes and/measures to educate and make workers acquire new skills such as: leadership skills, learning how the system works, imbibing spirit of team work etc.;

- b. *Development* – capacity-building and enhancing one's skills and experience; and
- c. *Motivation* - changing workers' behaviour through provision (or denial) of incentives, rewards etc. to induce employees with a view to improving performance, commitment, productivity etc.

Contextually therefore, leadership re-engineering refers to a planned intervention programme designed (for a variety of reasons) to educate, motivate, re-orient leaders and/or build leaders' capacity, capability, skills, ability etc. In other words, the real objectives of leadership re-engineering are:

- i. Capacity-building i.e. providing training and development programmes to enhance leaders' capability, capacity, skill and competence to lead;
- ii. Behavioural change i.e. re-orientating the attitude, behaviour, values of leaders (e.g. from passive to active, from selfish to altruistic, from negative to positive, etc.) so as to make them more committed, assertive and alive to their responsibilities.

In short, the essence of leadership re-engineering is about attitudinal/behavioural change and/or capacity building. The underlining assumption is that competence and attitude are not only complementary to one another but are also necessary for efficient and effective goal realization. Without either or both of them, no meaningful results will take place. For instance, just as an incompetent leadership can impede goal realization so is a competent leader who is passive, selfish etc. Hence, where one or both are lacking, leadership re-engineering becomes imperative.

Historicizing Nigeria's Democratic Experiments

Within the last six decades of its existence as a sovereign political entity, Nigeria experimented with democratic government four times. At the beginning, each experiment was enthusiastically welcomed by Nigerians in the hope that it would usher in a responsible and responsive government. But as time went on, the hope began to give way to indignation arising from the citizens' dissatisfaction with the operations of the country's democratic experiment and the attitude of its operators.

Nigeria's first shot at democratic governance was from 1960 to 1966. The country got its independence from Britain in October 1960, became a Republic in 1963 and practised a multi-party representative democracy moulded on the British parliamentary system. Nigerians were with high spirit that independence from British control would translate to positive transformation of the country and improvement in their living conditions. Unfortunately, however, even before the independence euphoria settled, the country was faced with series of crises which paved the way for the intervention of the military on January 15, 1966 and the collapse of the First Republic. There were the Tiv uprisings of 1960 and 1964, then came the census crisis of 1964. Again, by the end of 1965, the Western regional election crisis broke out and until the military struck in January 1966, it continued to widen in scope claiming thousands of lives and property. More serious however, was the bitter rivalry among the three major parties, the Northern Progressive Congress (NPC), the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG) which led to the acrimonious 1964 Federal election that resulted in widespread violence across the country. The consequences of all these upheavals were so inhibitive to political stability that Nigerians were made to believe that only the military institution could stop the chaos and restore political order in the country.

The first military coup d'état of January 15, 1966 was therefore, an unfortunate outcome of maladministration and bad governance in the immediate post-independence years. The coup however exacerbated the precarious situation in the country such that it was immediately followed by a counter coup on July 29, 1966. In turn, the counter coup triggered the chain of events that led to thirty months Civil War (1967 - 1970) and kept Nigeria under military rule for thirteen years. Having emerged out of the civil war more united and with a buoyant economy (mainly due to the oil boom of the 1970s), Nigeria once again attempted another democratic rule in 1979, but this time fashioned on the American presidential system.

The restoration of democratic rule in 1979 was greeted with jubilation as Nigerians hoped that the hardship they experienced under military dictatorship for thirteen years would be replaced by a period of good governance in the country. Unfortunately, however, this was not to be. Four years after the take-off of the Second Republic, it became obvious that the hopes of Nigerians were substituted by despondency and

frustration occasioned by bad governance that was characterised by corruption, maladministration, electoral malpractices, etc. To make things worse, the country was engulfed in crises (unemployment, unpaid arrears of workers' salaries, hyper-inflation, fall of international fuel price, inter- and intra-party crises etc.), which ultimately led to termination of the Second Republic by General Muhammadu Buhari on December 31, 1983.

With the termination of the Second Republic, Nigeria again experienced a decade of military interregnum. During this period, democracy and its ideals went into tactical oblivion until 1993 when the General Ibrahim Babangida military government attempted to inaugurate the Third Republic. Unlike the two previous experiments, the Third Republic could not even take off as it was aborted by the military rulers who, because of their desperate desire to cling to power, decided to annul the June 12, 1993 Presidential elections – of course with tacit support of some of the politicians who lost out in the election with the hope of cornering political power in a new political scheme of things (Ake, 1996:12 - 13), For six years, the events that followed this military's action were so explosive that they (the military) had to withdraw from Nigeria's political scene. Amidst concerted struggles championed by the civil society, the country once again witnessed another democratic debut on May 29, 1999 that ushered in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. This too was fashioned on the American presidential system.

Although painstaking efforts were made to rid the Fourth Republic of the ills that led to the collapse of its predecessors, yet there is concrete evidence to suggest that those ugly signs of the past have begun rearing their heads - mal-administration, abuse of office, authoritarian tendencies (such as attempted tenure elongation, muscling of opposition, disempowerment of the electorate etc.) violence, bickering and fracas in the state and national assemblies, feuds between the executive and legislative arms of the government, inter- and intra-party crises, to mention but a few. Consequently, within twenty years of democracy's sojourn in Nigeria, its operation and the attitude of its operators have left nothing more than the perception of democracy by the citizenry with great indignation arising from dissatisfaction, "aborted dreams, dashed hopes" etc.

With the benefit of hindsight, it can be argued that after four attempts with democracy, good governance appears to be not only a mere theoretical postulation but a practical mirage in Nigeria. Hence, the question is why do Nigerians always welcome any democratic experiment? Why have their hopes, aspirations and expectations from such experiments failed to translate into reality? Why does democracy fail to produce good governance as Nigerians had hoped? The next section provides answers to these questions. In doing so however, focus is on the Fourth Republic experiment.

Nigeria's Democratic Experiment: From Dividends' Optimism to Dashed Hopes

Given the brief characterization of democracy in the preceding section, it is clear that democracy is all about 'people power' (the 'dictatorship of the people'), In it, the mode and focus of governance is determined and driven by the will of the people. The centrality of the ruled in a democracy therefore, confers on any regime with democratic colouration certain basic obligations it must fulfil to its followers. As a result, people under a democratic government anticipate some benefits (dividends of democracy) derivable from their elected representatives. These expectations vary from one political system to another, depending on the level of economic advancement of the affected country. In Nigeria for instance, since the restoration of democratic rule in 1999, people generally expect that government should:

- enhance the rule of law, justice, equity and equality of all before the law;
- be transparent;
- be accountable to the people;
- guarantee the security of the citizens;
- ensure the good life for the people by providing basic social infrastructure in the areas of health, housing, education, electricity;
- provide enabling economic environment in which all individuals and groups can utilize their potentials in achieving whatever they want to achieve etc.

In light of the above, the fundamental question is: has the operation of democracy in Nigeria met these expectations? The answer to this question is not far-fetched if we weigh the performance of government in the country since May 1999. Let us quickly reflect on each of the expectations listed above in order to properly appreciate how the practice of democracy has fared in Nigeria.

Rule of Law, Justice, Equity and Equality before the Law

Perhaps one of the things that makes democracy appealing is the principle of rule of law. This, as encapsulated in Sections 1, 14 and 33-43, of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) unequivocally provides for, among other things, the supremacy of the laws of the land, social justice and protection of the fundamental rights of the citizens etc. Regrettably however, though the Constitution is theoretically considered the supreme law of the land, the way politics is played in the practical governance of the country tempts one to conclude that the interpretation of the Constitution is subjected to the whims and caprices of the powers that be. So much so that many Nigerians have cynical views of power. To many, Nigeria is a country that is extremely apposite to Thucydides' popular dictum: "domain where the strong do what they can and the weak do what they must ... and that discussion of rights is valid only among equals". This pessimism, to a large extent, is true if we consider the performance of the Nigerian government over the last two decades. Within this period, it is glaring that the principle of rule of law was (and still is) observed more in breach than in compliance as evidenced by the impunity as well as the countless flagrant and wilful disregard of court injunctions by those in power. In addition, there is near absence of the rule of law as inequality between the powerful and common Nigerians is overtly non-existent. The common man is not only relegated to the role of a mere voter, but he is also constantly cajoled, harassed and abused by the state that is so monstrous, alien and repressive. In fact, so intimidated is the common man that it is a blasphemy for anyone to speak to him of principles of equality before the law and human rights let alone of a government that is responsive and responsible to the citizenry.

Even worse is the growing incidence of human rights violations. Reports from Amnesty International and many Nigerian Human Rights Organizations indicate that more often, Nigerian security agents tend to behave like an army of occupation towards their fellow citizens. Besides being harassed, brutalized and exploited at countless security check points on major roads, excessive force is used to suppress any threat (whether real or imagined). For instance, the Human Rights Watch's Report (2007) implicated Nigeria's police and other security agencies in widespread acts of torture, ill-treatment, arbitrary arrest and detention and extra-judicial killings. A Federal Government's Report also indicated that between 2008 and 2012 extra-judicial killings claimed 7, 195 lives (*Leadership*, 12 December 2012). Similarly, the

Amnesty International, in its 2018 Report, accused the Nigerian security agencies of complicity in the farmers-herdsmen crisis. It also exposed the failure of the government in fulfilling its constitutional responsibility of protection of lives and property by refusing to investigate, arrest and prosecute perpetrators of attacks. The government's inaction fuelled impunity, resulting in attacks and reprisal attacks, with at least 3,641 people killed between January 2016 and October 2018 (Amnesty International, 2018). The lack of political will to improve the country's human rights situation and ensure accountability for abuses partly accounts for the reluctance of countries like the US in assisting the country with weapons in tackling the security challenges facing Nigeria.

It is noteworthy that the excesses of security agencies have tremendous negative consequences. It not only generates anger, enmity, hatred, contempt and resentment towards the security operatives but also compromises the national image and integrity. Above all, it creates a vicious circle of violence. For, the more force is used to suppress the crises, the more intense and ferocious they seem to be. The 2020 #EndSars# riots as well as the various factional and ethnic conflicts of the early 2000s, the 2011 post-presidential election violence; *Boko Haram*, armed banditry in Northwest (Kaduna, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto and Zamfara States), farmers-herders conflicts etc. are good examples.

Accountability

On this too, the 1999 Nigerian Constitution (as amended) is unequivocally emphatic that the country's leaders must be accountable to the people they govern. In practice however, upholding the sanctity of this principle has remained a serious problematic issue that the Nigerian political system continuously confronts. In attempting to resolve this problem, the framers of all Nigerian constitutions are unanimous that the sanctity of periodic elections as a means of holding leaders responsible for their actions must be upheld. The argument is that, it is only when leaders know that ultimately, they will give an account of their stewardship at the polls at the expiration of four years that they will initiate and implement policies that will lead to increased per capita income, higher standard of living, better educational and health infrastructure etc. Although this reasoning is widely accepted by the politicians and has always gained acceptance during the constitutional making debates, yet it is still

fraught with considerable obstacles at the level of practicality. For instance, between 1999 and 2020 Nigeria has had five regular and some off-season elections. But elections have become mere ritualistic gimmick in the country. For one thing, within this period, Nigerian citizens are seen as mere voters to be manipulated during elections for cheap political gains; for another, experience has shown that it is a rarity for an incumbent to lose an election, not necessarily because of good performance in office, but because of the cynical use of the powers and authorities of incumbency to thwart and distort the wish of the people at the polls.

Consequently, rather than being a means of fostering accountability in office, elections have become ridiculous means of giving false legitimacy and approval to the inordinate ambition and self-perpetuation bid of petty tyrants and autocrats in office. Again, the constitutional provisions of recall and impeachment that are intended to hold elected public office holders accountable have not been effectively used. Rather than serving as an instrument of cutting the excesses of elected public office holders, impeachment now symbolizes a political whip (in the hands of those in power) to discipline a ‘recalcitrant’ president/vice-president or governor/deputy governor, members of national or state states assemblies etc. In addition, the cumbersomeness of the recall procedures also makes it difficult in removing legislators who have lost the confidence of their constituents. However, as stated earlier in this lecture, a democratic government is accountable to the people; it has the moral responsibility of fulfilling its end of the social contract, failing to perform these obligations, the people have the right to remove the government.

Transparency

Similarly, if we look at the place of transparency in the performance of the Fourth Republic, it has been a total disappointment as the people’s representatives at the federal, state and local government levels have resorted to looting government treasury in an unprecedented manner. In spite of several legal and constitutional provisions, commissions of enquiry as well as the efforts of anti-graft agencies like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), corruption is not only prevalent and all pervasive but is perpetrated with impunity. In his study, Owasanoye, B. (2014) found that between 1999 and 2014, EFCC alone, arrested top politicians,

captains of industries, Directors-General of federal and state institutions for embezzling over ₦1.3 trillion (See Table 1).

Table 1: High Profile Corruption Cases in Nigeria, 1999 - 2012

S/N	CATEGORY	AMOUNT ALLEGED EMBEZZLED (₦)
1.	Ex-Governors (15)	146,840,800,000. 00
2.	Ex-Ministers (4)	7,050,000,000. 00
3.	Ex-Legislators (5)	8,350,000,000. 00
4.	Ex-Public Servants (Federal) (7)	6,906,600,000. 00
5.	Ex-Public Servants (State) (5)	7,275,000,000. 00
6.	Private Sector (Banking Industry) (8)	524,560,000,000. 00
7.	Businessmen (11)	653,150,000,000. 00
GRAND TOTAL		₦1,354,132,400,000. 00

Source: Owasanoye, B., 2014:1

A major consequence of this widespread corruption is Nigeria's consistent high ranking in Corruption Perception Index by the Transparency International and other notable organizations that monitor corrupt practices around the world (See Table 2). It is also due to the endemic nature of corruption that former Britain Prime Minister, David Cameron, described Nigeria, alongside Afghanistan as 'fantastically' corrupt countries. As observed by Alkasum, despite the apparent palliative measures, the problem of corruption...

... has become so endemic to the political system to the extent that Nigeria was for several years ranked the second most corrupt country in the world by Transparency International. Some of the corruption cases were so brazen that the Chairperson of EFCC, Mrs. Farida Waziri, started doubting the mental stability of some of our leaders because of the magnitude of their theft (Alkasum, 2011: 9).

Table 2: Nigeria's Corruption Perception Index: 1999 - 2019

Year	No. of Countries	Nigeria's Rank	Nigeria's Score (100)
1999	99	98	16
2000	90	90	12
2001	91	90	10
2002	102	101	16
2003	133	132	14
2004	146	144	10
2005	159	152	19
2006	163	142	22
2007	180	147	22
2008	180	121	20
2009	180	130	25
2010	178	134	24
2011	180	143	24
2012	178	139	27
2013	180	144	25
2014	180	136	27
2015	180	136	26
2016	180	136	28
2017	180	148	27
2018	180	144	27
2019	180	146	26

Source: Compiled from: www.transparency.org/government/corruption-perception-index/nigeria.

The most worrisome aspect of the problem is the fact that even the judiciary has not been able to escape corruption. For instance, a pilot survey by ICPC (October 13, 2020) indicates that between 2018 and 2020, about ₦9.5 billion was corruptly demanded, offered and paid as bribes in Nigeria's justice sector. Worst still is the indictment of the heads of anti-corruption institutions of corrupt practices. Since the inception EFFC in 2003, virtually all former anti-corruption czars were accused, in one way or the other, of impropriety. Of recent, the Presidential Panel on Recovered Loot indicted the suspended acting Chairman of the EFCC, Ibrahim Magu of re-logging the interests accruing from ₦550 billion recovered by the anti-graft agency

(*Daily Post*, 11 July 2020), The fact that those who are entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring sanity in the system, could not live above board, shows how endemic and systemic the menace of corruption is in Nigeria.

Responsiveness

As mentioned earlier, at the beginning of every Nigerian democratic experiment, there were hopes and expectations that the democratization will produce a responsive and responsible government that will (among other things) ensure a good life for the people by guaranteeing their security, well-being, freedom as well as by providing basic social infrastructure in the areas of health, housing, education, electricity etc. With regards to security for instance, there are many Nigerians who had thought the insecurity of lives and property that was pervasive under the military would dwindle with the coming of democracy.

In terms of the “dividends of democracy” it is obvious that the last twenty years of civilian government are yet to reflect positively on the lives of the citizens as unemployment, poverty, social vices etc. are increasingly rising on a daily basis, making Nigerians more flabbergasted at the inability of their democratic government to give them a sigh of relief from hitherto excruciating effects of a depressed economy. Social provisioning in form of workable infrastructure is at the lowest ebb. The manifestations of poor living conditions are more glaring than before: very poor electricity supply, educational institutions are in disarray, hospitals are worse than they were twenty years ago; good roads, water supply, affordable food, houses etc. remain a mirage to millions of Nigerians. This is in spite of various poverty reduction policies and programmes that have been introduced by successive administrations since May 1999. Rather than reaching the poorest-of-the-poor, as being clamoured by the leaders, poverty reduction palliatives were/are being hijacked by politicians. For instance, almost four out of ten Nigerians lived below the national poverty line from 2011 to 2016. Based on the national poverty line, the rate of poverty increased from 35.0 to 38.8 percent of the total population from 2011 to 2016. Between this period, the total number of people living in poverty increased from 57 million to 74 million (World Bank, 2019, pp. 7-8), The growth in GDP (as shown in Table 2) until the 2016 recession did not translate to poverty reduction.

Table 3: Economic Growth in Nigeria: 1999 – 2014

Year	GDP at 1990 Constant Basic Prices (N' Million)
1999	22,499,409.72
2000	23,688,280.33
2001	25,267,542.02
2002	28,957,710.24
2003	31,709,447.39
2004	35,020,549.08
2005	37,474,949.16
2006	39,995,504.55
2007	42,922,407.93
2008	46,012,515.31
2009	49,856,099.08
2010	54,612,264.18
2011	57,511,041.77
2012	59,929,893.04
2013	63,218,721.73
2014	67,152,785.84
2015	69,023,929.94
2016	67,931,235.93
2017	68,490,980.34
2018	69,799,941.95

Source: Computed from: www.cbn.gov.ng/rates/RealGDP.asp

Unsurprisingly in 2018, Nigeria overtook India to become the host to the largest number of extremely poor people in the world (World Bank, 2018), The country's Human Development Index, as presented in Table 3, further attests to the disappointing nature of Nigerian democracy when it comes to responsiveness to citizens' well-being.

Table 4: Nigeria's Human Development Index: 1990-2018

Year	Life Expectancy at Birth	Expected Years of Schooling	Mean Years of Schooling	GNI per capita (2011 PPP\$)	HDI Value
1990	45.9	6.7		3,221	
1995	45.9	7.2		2,872	
2000	46.3	8.0		2,828	
2005	48.3	9.0	5.2	3,819	0.467
2010	50.9	8.4	5.2	4,793	0.484
2015	53.1	9.7	6.2	5,540	0.527
2016	53.5	9.5	6.3	5,336	0.528
2017	54.0	9.7	6.5	5,203	0.533
2018	54.3	9.7	6.5	5,086	0.534

Source: UNDP Human Development Report, 2019.

In terms of creating an enabling economic environment, the economic reforms embarked upon by successive administrations (See Table 5) are yet to reflect positively on the lives of the citizens. This is in spite of the fact that some of these plans, visions and agenda have laudable development-oriented objectives, which if well implemented would have positively transformed the lives of the citizenry. However, due to some structural constraints, they did not (and have not) been able to achieve their purposes.

Table 5: Summary of Nigeria's Developmental Policies and Plans from 1960 - 2018

Development Plans	Period	Objectives/Target of Plans
First National Development Plan	1962 – 1968	To encourage the assemblage of agricultural produce for export purpose
Second National Development Plan	1970 – 1974	Post-war reconstruction, restoring productive capacity, overcoming critical bottlenecks and achieving self-reliance (i.e. meant to achieve a united, just, strong and self-reliant nation)
Third National Development Plan	1975 – 1980	Emphasized the need to reduce regional disparities in order to foster national unity through the adoption of integrated rural development
Fourth National Development Plan	1981 – 1985	A civilian government Development Plan which emphasized, among other things, the need for balanced development of the different sectors of the economy and of the various geographic areas of the country
Post-Fourth National Development Plan Period	1983 – 1985	cut down corruption, inflation and import of consumables; repayment of foreign debts as quickly as possible etc
Post-Fourth National Development Plan Period	1985 – 1987	Establishment of the Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DIFFRI) in 1985 for the purpose of providing rural infrastructure in the country side
Fifth National Development Plan	1988 – 1992	Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP): To devalue the naira, remove import licenses, reduce tariffs, open the economy to foreign trade, promote non-oil exports through incentives and achieve national self-sufficiency in food production
First National Rolling Plan	1990 – 1992	To strengthen the programme being implemented by the National Directorate of Employment
Second National Rolling Plan	1992 – 1995	To tackle several monetary lapses as well as to reduce inflation and exchange rate instability, maintain infrastructure, achieve agricultural self-sufficiency, and the burden of SAP
Third National Rolling Plan	1998	Employment generation.
Vision 2010	1996 – 2010	To transform the country and place it firmly on the route to becoming a developed nation by the year 2010

Development Plans	Period	Objectives/Target of Plans
Vision 2015	2010 – 2015	Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) created by the UN to help achieve 8 MDG goals by the year 2015: Eradicating Extreme Poverty and Hunger; Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women; Reduce Child Mortality; Improve Maternal Health; Compact HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases; Ensure Environmental Sustainability and Develop a global partnership for development. Nigeria embraced the vision and developed
Vision 20:2020	2009 – 2018	(Blue print) to make Nigeria among the top 20 economies in terms of GDP size by 2020
7 Point Agenda	2007 – 2010	Wealth creation, development of physical infrastructures (power, energy and transportation), human capital development (education and health), security, law and order, land tenure changes and ownership, regional development (Niger Delta), and food security
Transformation Agenda	2011 – 2015	Medium term strategy to speed up the realization of Vision 20:2020 through: creating jobs to resolve unemployment and reduce poverty; laying foundation for robust and inclusive economic growth; improving the wellbeing pf Nigerians regardless of their circumstance and location
Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP)	2015 – date	Medium term strategy to restore growth through: diversification of the economy; increase infrastructural spending (higher spending on road, rail and power projects) to drive growth

Source: Compiled by the Author

Security

The place of security in the development aspiration of any country is quite pivotal (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019). It is in realization of the centrality of security in the development of Nigeria that every successive administration, since independence in 1960, has reiterated security of lives and property as the core and primary focus of government. Section 14 (1b) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) unequivocally declares that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government” while under Section 11 of the Constitution, the National Assembly is empowered to “make laws for the Federation or any part thereof with respect to the maintenance and securing of public safety...”. As such, with inauguration of the

Fourth Republic and the operation of the Constitution, Nigerians were optimistic that insecurity of lives and property that was pervasive during the military era would dwindle with the coming of democracy.

To the dismay of the populace, however, there has been rising tide of insecurity in the country since the inception of the Fourth Republic. Within the 20 years of re-introduction of democracy, Nigeria has experienced and continues to experience multi-dimensional security threats. The inauguration of civil rule in 1999 coincided with the eruption of ethno-religious crisis, Niger Delta militancy, and electoral violence with large number of human casualties. Worse still was the spate of politically-motivated assassination across the length and breadth of the country. As Mimiko (2010) observed, the Nigerian state has degenerated to the point where it is unable to provide minimal social security for its vulnerable population. As worrisome as the situation was when Mimiko made this observation, it was better then compared to the experience of recent years. With the upsurge in the Boko Haram insurgents' attacks, kidnapping for ransom and ritual, farmers-herdsmen crises, inter-communal crises, and banditry in different parts of the country, many are of the belief that government has failed in meeting up with its core responsibility of securing lives and property. Media, both print and electronic, is daily awash with reports of attacks by bandits or Boko Haram insurgents with devastating destruction.

Even though the destruction (of loss of lives and property) caused by these incidents is quite enormous, more disturbing is the inactivity of the government in bringing the perpetrators of these heinous crimes to justice. The implication of this is the loss of confidence in government's redress-seeking mechanisms and citizens start resorting to self-help whenever they feel aggrieved (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019). However, recourse to self-help is a recipe for anarchy, and greater threat to safety of lives and property.

Good Governance

It is glaring from the foregoing analysis that the restoration of 'democratic' rule in Nigeria on May 29, 1999, has not translated into good governance, as described above. However, after over two decades of democracy, it has become obvious that the high hopes of Nigerians has been substituted with despondency and frustration

occasioned by bad governance that has paid lip service to the yearnings and aspirations of the people. The failure of Nigeria in terms of delivering good governance through a democratic system that is anchored on rule of law, justice, equity and equality; transparent; accountable; responsive and responsible; and mobilization of human and material resources for sustainable development is largely due to leadership failure (Achebe, 1984). Dividends of democracy continue to elude large segments of the Nigerian population due to the character of the political elite who are devoid of altruistic aspiration and who see the occupation of public office as an investment to uplift self rather than an avenue of public upliftment.

The Imperatives for Leadership Re-engineering

Leadership is the Achilles-heel of democratic governance in Nigeria. Indeed, that is why since the inception of the current Fourth Republic in 1999, leadership has been one the issues that dominate political and governance discourse in Nigeria. This feeling is borne out of the attitude, practice as well as the actions and inactions of the leadership, which include (but certainly not limited to):

1. ***Failure to effectively and efficiently mobilize the country's abundant natural and human resources for national development:*** In other words, they are incapable, unwilling or unable to deliver meaningful results despite the country's enormous resources at their disposal.
2. ***Self-centredness:*** In contrast to their predecessors, contemporary leaders put personal interests above those of Nigeria's and Nigerians'. As a result of this, they not only see politics as a business enterprise but also seek public office not so much for service to the people but for the wealth and grandeur and prestige that come with it (Nwankwo, 1987: 11),
3. ***Credibility deficit:*** One major consequence of self-centredness in the leadership is that it generates resentment and distrust to the extent that politics and leadership are associated with lies, deception, deceit etc. Worst still is the fact the leaders seem unperturbed by such negative image. On the contrary, they are so completely engrossed in pursuit of self-interest that they fail to appreciate the value of peoples' trust in government. They fail to realize that when people believe in

government and have faith in it, they will stand by it and defend it in days of trouble.

4. **Corruption:** This is Nigeria's biggest challenge particularly in the last two decades. Within this period (as demonstrated earlier) corruption was not only prevalent and all-pervasive but was perpetrated with impunity.
5. **Prebendalism:** Governance style that is characterized by plundering and expropriation of public goods for private or personal use, cronyism etc. As a result, both Nigeria and Nigerians are negatively affected. Ackerman (1999) correctly observes that the diversion of resources meant for developmental purposes from the society to private or personal use is the major reason roads are not constructed, electrification projects abandoned, pipe-borne water not available, half-baked graduates and professionals are produced etc. Likewise, prebendalism is a major factor undermining good governance as it breeds mediocrity, politicizes the civil service, subverts honest selection process, weakens institutions etc. Worst still, it portends a palpable danger for democracy. On one hand, the unbridled expropriation of the state provides quick and easy money which in turn makes public officials to engage in ostentatious and flamboyant lifestyle, indiscriminate consumerism etc. On the other hand, it further pauperises the masses who continue to sink deeper and deeper into abject poverty. As Nigeria's experience indicates, this condition was one of the major reasons for military coups and counter coups in the country.
6. **Micro-nationalism:** The post-military era of the late 1990s provides a striking similarity with the 1960s in Nigeria's political history. For in the late 1980s and early 1990s (especially after the June 12, 1993 Presidential elections) there was a unity of purpose among the citizens as the political elite was bent on returning Nigeria to democratic rule. No sooner had the military got out of the political scene than the political elite turned against themselves. In desperation to capture and/or cling to power, politicians dropped their total commitment to the national cause and sought political solace in ethnic and even

religious interests. Hence, bickering and fracas in the state and national assemblies, feuds between the executive and legislative, State-Federal face-off, the clamour for re-structuring, resource control etc. continue to bedevil Nigeria's democracy.

7. ***Top-bottom decision-making process which is undemocratic, highly elitist and devoid of grassroots consultations:*** The public is rarely consulted by policy makers about major issues that affect them. For instance, even the transition programmes which were designed to usher in a democratic government hardly involved the grassroots. In all the four instances when Nigeria attempted to democratize the official approach has always been highly elitist with little or no grassroots involvement.

In all the four instances of Nigerian democratization, the Constitution was considered the first structural imperative of the country's democracy. Hence, at the beginning of every transition, the country was subjected to the ritual of Constitution making which usually began by the establishment of a Constitution Drafting Committee (comprising of lawyers, technocrats, high-ranking politicians, traditional rulers, academicians etc.) to draw up a Draft Constitution. The Draft would then be subjected to scrutiny and deliberation by a Constituent Assembly, mostly comprising of selected and nominated elites. The end product of such exercise would again be subject to approval by the reigning military authority of the day (which at different times bears such nomenclature as the SMC, AFRC and PRC), They would, as it was the practice, make additions, subtractions and deletions on the draft constitution already deliberated upon by the Constituent Assembly.

At the end of the whole episode an elegant constitution was produced. The constitution so produced was/is usually couched in lofty provisions which prescribe the rules of the game, among which are: fundamental human rights, nature of suffrage liberty, equality before

the law, justice, transparency, accountability and a virile civil society to enhance popular participation.

8. ***Non-democratic political culture and practice characterized by authoritarianism, impunity, violence, intolerance of opposition, criticism and alternative views etc.*** The fact that all transition programmes were designed and dominated by the elite is one of the most important factors that produce a brand of Nigerian democracy which is an aberration from “true democratic practice”. In it, not only is the common man relegated to the role of a mere voter, he is also constantly cajoled, harassed and abused by the state that is so monstrous, alien and repressive. In fact, so intimidated is the common man that he does not want to hear anyone speak to him of principles of equality before the law, human rights let alone of a government (be it democratic or military) that is responsive and responsible to the citizenry.
9. ***Lip-service commitment to democracy:*** To most political office holders and seekers, commitment to democracy is a matter of self-interest and expedience rather than belief and conviction. That's why the official rhetoric remains just that as politicians are ready to abide by democratic principles, values, ethos etc. only to extent that doing so will serve their personal interests. Anything to the contrary, they will not hesitate to resort to extra-constitutional means. For instance, while those in power do everything to cling to it and/or prevent their rivals from meaningful political participation, the opposition resort to extra constitutional means (violence, intimidation, out-right invitation of the military etc.) to dislodge their opponents.

From the above it becomes clear that Nigerian leaders play a critical role in the growing public discontent of democracy. By their attitude and actions, the leaders seem to create the impression that Nigerian democracy serves only leaders' personal interests rather than Nigerians and Nigeria. This, no doubt helps paint democracy black in the assessment of most Nigerians who believe that the over two decades of democratic governance has failed to make any positive impact on their lives. Hence

the question is: What is to be done to reverse this negative trend? The next section provides answer to this question.

Strategies for Leadership Re-engineering

For Nigerian democracy to meet the yearnings and aspirations of the people, a lot needs to be done. Even though there is a long list of suggestions and recommendations on how to enhance the prospects of democracy in Nigeria, it is our contention that one of the surest ways of doing so is through leadership re-engineering. This is simply because leadership is a *sine-qua-non* for good governance. For, with poor and low quality leadership at the top, democracy could hardly translate into a responsible and responsive government.

As mentioned earlier, the essence of leadership re-engineering is to change attitude and/ build capacity. For this reason, it is important to identify a number of measures that will facilitate the re-engineering. To this end, the following broad categories of measures are identified:

- I. Political/Leadership Re-orientation:** The extent to which democracy works, survives, and meets people's expectations is largely a function of *an* inspiring, committed and enthusiastic leadership that is *willing* to provide responsible and responsive leadership. This they can achieve by taking a number of measures:
 - i. Value re-orientation:* As people's representatives, leaders at all levels must re-dedicate themselves to service to the people who elected and trusted them with leadership. To this end, they should not only abandon the negative perception of politics as "a money-making venture" but also seek public office for the service of the people and the nation at large.
 - ii. Discipline:* Leaders should not only imbibe the ethos, ethics and values of leadership but also take concrete steps to purge/rid itself of social evils of corruption, mal-administration, abuse of office, cronyism etc. For, where the elected representatives are selfish, irresponsible and unaccountable to the people, any democratic experience is merely living on borrowed time and can therefore hardly endure. Undoubtedly,

the collapse of the First and Second Republics was essentially a product of mal-administration, abuse of office and widespread corrupt practices. These are obvious vices that the Fourth Republic must, as a matter of necessity, rise above. Unless and until this is done, politicians will surely have an unwanted guest (the military) knocking at their door at dawn. And by the time the military rolls out its tanks and marches to the state house, the politicians will recognize, to their chagrin, that their legislation against military coups is a mere instrument which can only be enforced by good and patriotic governance (Nwabueze, 1992),

- iii. *Political Will*: For democracy to meet the yearnings and aspirations of the general populace, political leaders should initiate progressive policies that will meet the goals and aspirations of the electorate in terms of provision of employment opportunities, better health facilities, improved transportation and telecommunication services, greater access to qualitative education, potable water and higher standard of living (Diamond, 1990: 4). The achievement of these objectives, however, is predicated on the following:
- a) Prudent management of available resources;
 - b) Transparency and Accountability: The principle of public accountability must apply to all public office holders. That is, it should not be limited to the civil service alone; rather, all elected and appointed officials must stand above board in the discharge of their duties at every level of government;
 - c) Respect for the rule of law, not only in theory but also in practice by the constituted bodies, authorities and rest of us would help to promote good governance in Nigeria;
 - d) The principle of adequate consultation with all stakeholders on important national and state issues must be encouraged;

- e) There must be respect for the principle of federalism whereby autonomy and responsibilities are accorded to every tier of government in the federation;
- f) The political empowerment of the people at every level of our society is essential in sustaining democracy in the country; and
- g) The civil society, the labour, youths, students, professional associations, farmers, traders and manufacturers associations etc. must be given freedom to organize themselves in line with the laws of the land without government interference.

iv. *Training and Development:* Leaders should avail themselves with the opportunities to attend training workshops, courses, seminars, etc. geared towards sharpening their research skills in the science and art of modern administrative skills, application of information and communications technology (ICT) etc.

2. ***Legal and Constitutional Reforms:*** As indicated above, good governance is the surest way to deepen democracy in Nigeria. In view of this, it is important for it to be backed by the force of law. Specifically, “Good Governance and Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy” should be integrated into the Fundamental Human Rights i.e. Chapter Four of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria (as amended), Since Chapter Two, Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy affect the lives of all Nigerians, it should be treated as Fundamental Human Rights. The implication of this is as follows:

- i. It makes “Good Governance and Fundamental Objectives and Directive principles of State Policy” enforceable through Fundamental Human Rights Procedure Rules 2009.
- ii. Any Nigerian can go to Court and challenge any government official (from Councillor to the President) on issues of commission or omission in relation to the “Good Governance and Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy” and if the action is sustained, the intended action,

commission or omission or the government official himself will be stopped forthwith.

- iii. This means the *bonafide* checks and balances will now be with the people, since the purview of democracy is government of the people. Hence, any officer in the three arms, at any level of the government will sit up because he/she knows he/she can be removed from the office by any Nigerian who finds him/her wanting of his/her duties. Without going through the bottleneck of legislative laws made by politicians.
- iv. This will go a long way to check corruption and all other vices in Nigeria.

In light of the above, therefore, we propose Section 33 (RIGHT TO LIFE) should be amended to read thus:

- 1) Every person has the right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save in execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria.
 - 2) A person shall not be regarded as having been deprived of his life in contravention of this section, if he dies as a result of the use, to such circumstances as are permitted by law, of such as is reasonably necessary:
 - a. for the defence of any person from unlawful violation or for the defence of property
 - b. in order to effect a lawful arrest or to prevent the escape of a person lawfully detained; or
 - c. for the purpose of suppressing a riot insurrection or mutiny
 - 3) Every person has a right to challenge Good Governance and Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy that goes against the objectives of this section.
3. ***Holistic Anti-Corruption Crusade:*** For corruption and its negative effects to be checked/eradicated, Nigeria must embark on a holistic anti-corruption war. That is, a war which is:

- i. Collective responsibility i.e. all-inclusive approach that will involve not just the leadership but everyone and everybody
- ii. Comprehensive i.e., multi-dimensional approach that tackle corruption in all its ramifications
- iii. Credible i.e. the war must not only be just but also be seen to be so.

To this end, the war should include:

- a. Strengthening previous efforts and programmes like Code of Conduct Bureau, ICPC, EFCC etc.;
- b. Good Governance – instituting a responsive and responsible leadership at all levels of government;
- c. Early warning device -- introduction of transparency devices that can detect and prevent corruption in all areas;
- d. Re-orientation programmes to educate people on the crucial need to eradicate corruption in all sectors of Nigeria’s economic and socio-political systems;
- e. Introducing an equitable wages and incentive system and improve other conditions of work;
- f. Improving citizen’s welfare through reducing level of poverty and improving quality of life;
- g. Learning process – study and learn from Nigeria’s past anti-corruption wars as well good practices elsewhere;
- h. Partnership with genuine national and international anti-corruption agencies; and
- i. Punitive Measure -- anti-corruption laws should be a strict liability offence. In other words, once investigation shows that the money and properties in anybody's possession cannot be covered by his/her income, he/she shall be liable of corruption. And once a person is found guilty, he/she shall be dealt with accordingly. First, plea bargain shall not be allowed and the defendant should be treated like common convict not like a political prisoner where they still enjoy certain freedom. Second, the illegal acquired properties and monies shall be confiscated. Finally, the convicted person should be sentenced to prison (ranging from 10 years to life imprisonment

depending on the magnitude of the crime) without the option of fine.

4. ***Productive Youth Engagement:*** Youths must accept the fact that their destiny and indeed that of the country is in their hands. Hence, for them to meet these expectations and challenges, the youths must take the initiatives to refocus and redirect their steps onto the rightful track. To this end, the youth must:
 - a. wake up from their slumber and redirect their destinies
 - b. take advantage of the democratic space to resist bad governance, poor leadership and corruption
 - c. Shun violence, avoid crime and criminality, say “No” to drugs etc.
 - d. Above all they must have vision and mission as well the will and determination to actualize them.

5. ***Political and Civic Education:*** This will help raise the citizens’ political consciousness (political awareness, political participation and political efficacy), In a participant political culture, for instance, majority of the citizens are knowledgeable about politics, they have high confidence in their ability to influence their government and check excesses of public office holders. By educating people about their rights, we help to build strong communities that compel governments and other institutions to deliver on their responsibilities. When citizens hold their government accountable, they can change the systems that keep people trapped in poverty.

6. ***Public Value Re-orientation:*** There is the need for a complete value re-orientation of Nigerians towards politics and public office. For instance, not only should the minds of Nigerians be disabused from the negative perception of politics as “a money-making venture” but they should also be re-oriented to reject the political jobber-politician who seeks their votes through monetary inducement. All these require intensive political and civic education campaign beyond the current practice of media jingles. First, it should be embedded into the country’s educational curricula; second it should be backed by the force of law in such a way that monetization of politics should really be made a punishable offence

binding on every person no matter how highly placed. Finally, the electorate should be educated to understand their right of recall and be made to know when to apply it if any of their representatives at any level reneges from serving the people's interest.

Conclusion

Democracy is, and will remain, meaningless if its practice fails to showcase its goodness, namely serving the people and subjecting the leaders to the whims and caprices of the led. Nigerians must be made to taste and feel the universally acclaimed sweetness of democracy at all cost, otherwise, the system will lose its viability and essence in the country. In other words, democracy will have no meaning to the common man until most of his basic needs are met and his standard of living significantly improved. For this to happen, the elected representatives of the people must address themselves to the yearnings and aspirations of the ruled by way of showing more commitment to trustworthiness, integrity, transparency, accountability and love for the people. However, for the leadership to perform such vital roles, they must have the competence, capacity and ability to mobilize and harness available national resources for national development. In addition, they must have the (political) will to take concrete action towards the goals of national development. Where both or any one of these is lacking or deficient, then there must be concerted effort to re-engineer the leadership for national development. Unless this is accomplished, the general elections, the debates in the National and State Assemblies, the presidential actions and policies are merely inconvenient diversions which can hardly stand a test of time (Amin, 1987), For far too long, the masses of Nigeria have been abused and traumatized by dictatorship and their eager expectations of a better life can hardly be delayed for long.

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LIST OF PROFESSORIAL INAUGURAL LECTURE TO DATE

S/N	NAME	DEPT	DATE	TOPIC
1 st	Emmanuel Ajayi Olofin	Geography	4 th March, 1992	The Gains and Pains of Putting a Water Lock on the Face of the Drylands of Nigeria
2 nd	Garba Dahuwa Azare	Education	24 th June, 2000	BASIC CONCERNS: Revitalizing Nigeria's Primary Education in the New Millennium
3 rd	Dajuma Abubakar Maiwada	Education	29 th July, 2000	Improving Teaching and Learning in University Education with Particular Reference to Bayero University, Kano
4 th	Majekodunmi Oladeji Fatope	Chemistry	7 th July, 2001	NATURAL PRODUCTS SCIENCE: Looking Back and Looking Forward
5 th	Muazu Alhaji Zaria Sani	Nigerian Languages	13 th October, 2001	A focus on Some Segmental and Suprasegmental Features in Hausa Phonology
6 th	Isa Hashim	Political Sciences	20 th March, 2004	Planning and Budget Implementation in the Health Sector
7 th	Abdulla Uba Adamu	Education	24 th April, 2004	SUNSET AT DAWN, DARKNESS AT NOON: Reconstructing the Mechanisms of Literacy in indigenous Communities

8 th	Auwalu Hamisu Yadudu	Private and Commercial Law	5 th June, 2004	LAW AS INTERPRETATION: An Exploratory inquiry from Islamic Law Jurisprudence
9 th	Mohammed Sanni Abdulkadir	History	31 st July, 2004	STRUCTURING, STRUGGLING AND SURVIVING ECONOMIC DEPRESSION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: The 1930s As Preview of the present
10 th	Muhammad Sani Sule	Bio-chemistry	23 rd March, 2013	Enzymology and Radiation Biology in the Understanding of Biochemistry
11 th	Essiet Unanaowo Essiet	Agriculture	22 nd May, 2013	AGRICULTURE SUSTAINABILITY IN THE DRYLAND OF NIGERIA: Realities and Prospects
12 th	Aliyu Kamal	English Studies	5 th March, 2014	The Islamic Novel Style and Structure
13 th	Abdu Ahmed Manga	Agriculture	9 th April, 2014	Horticulture as a Panacea for Food Insecurity and Unemployment
14 th	Sa'idu Muhammad Gusau	Nigerian Languages	26 th May, 2014	Wakar Baka Bahaushiya (The Hausa Oral Songs)
15 th	Abdulla Uba Adamu	Mass Communication	9 th July, 2014	IMPERIALISM FROM BELOW: Media Contra-Flows and Emergence of Metro-Sexual Hausa Visual Culture

16 th	Ghaji Abubakar Badawi	Library and Information Sciences	29 th July, 2015	THE ROLE OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES AS CENTERS OF INFORMATION TO DISADVANTAGED GROUPS: A 2004 - 2014 Study of the Information Needs of Gada Prostitutes in Dawakin Kudu Local Government Area of Kano State, Nigeria.
17 th	Mohammed Kabir	Community Medicine	16 th September, 2015	Public Health Concern for Chronic Non-Communicable Diseases Surpasses Anxiety Over Most Infections
18 th	T.I. Oyeyi	Biological Sciences	30 th March 2017	Linking Schistosomiasis and Water Resources Development in Kano State Nigeria: Public Health Impact and Mitigation
19 th	Abdulrazaq G. Habib	Medicine	27 th April, 2017	Medicine, Science and Society – The Global Health Imperative
20 th	S. Y. Mudi	Chemistry	6 th July, 2017	Natural Products: Plants as Potential Sources of Drugs
21 st	Sani Ibrahim	Biological Sciences	27 th July, 2017	BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH: Water Quality and Resource Evaluation - The Place of Hydrobiologists
22 nd	J. Afolabi Falola	Geography	26 th October, 2017	The Poor We Have With Us Always

23 rd	Umar G. Danbatta	Electrical Engineering	2 nd November, 2017	GETTING OUT OF THE WOODS: Diversifying Nigeria's Economy Through the Telecommunications Sector
24 th	Adelani W. Tijani	Nursing	23 rd November, 2017	Wholesome Alimentation: Path to Radiant Health
25 th	Juwayriya Badamasiyu	Private and Commercial Law	21 st December, 2017	Uncovering Patriarchy in the Law: Feminist Movement for Re-Interpretation of Islamic Law in Focus.
26 th	Isa Mukhtar	Nigerian Language	25 th January, 2018	STYLISTIC THEORIES AND THE LINGUISTICS OF HAUSA PROSE TEXTS: the (SFL) approach.
27 th	Ganiyu Sokunbi	Physiotherapy	29 th March, 2018	TODAY IT HURTS, TOMORROW IT WORKS: Complimentary and Alternative Therapy for Failed Back Syndrome
28 th	Aminu K. Kurfi	Business Admin. and Entrepreneurship	19 th April, 2018	Micro-finance as an Elixir for Poverty Alleviation and Wealth Creation in Nigeria
29 th	Muhammad S. Khamisu	Arabic	17 th May, 2018	Substitution in Arabic Languages Rules and Types
30 th	Habu Nuhu Aliyu	Pure and Industrial Chemistry	21 st June, 2018	SCHIFF BASES AND THEIR TRANSITION METAL COMPLEXES: The Drug for the Next Generation
31 st	Hashim M. Alhassan	Civil Engineering	19 th July, 2018	EASING THE BURDEN OF TRAVEL: Can Roadway Capacity Modeling Help?
32 nd	Habu Mohammed	Political Science	13 th September, 2018	TUG OF WAR OR ECHO IN THE DARK? Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the Fight Against Corruption in the Era

				of Change Mantra in Nigeria
33 rd	Bello Idrith Tijjani	Physics	20 th September, 2018	NAVIGATING THE DATA LABYRINTH: Application of Some Advanced Statistical Analysis in Atmospheric Physics
34 th	Mohammed Ajiya	Electrical Engineering	18 th October, 2018	SEAMLESS GLOBAL CONNECTIVITY AT THE SPEED OF LIGHT: Converting Intrinsic Phenomena in Optical Fibers to Capacity Increase.
35 th	Abdulrahman Abdul Audu	Pure and Industrial Chemistry	25 th October, 2018	MY ACADEMIC VOYAGE IN WATER INTO THE WORLD OF HEAVY METALS
36 th	Ibrahim Rakson Muhammad	Animal Science	21 st February, 2019	FORAGE AND FODDER PRODUCTION IN NIGERIA: Its Sensitivity in Sustainable Ranching.
37 th	Muhammad Bashir Ibrahim	Department of Pure and Industrial Chemistry	14 th March, 2019	WATER POLLUTION AND THE QUEST FOR ITS REMEDIATION: The Natural Resource Option
38 th	Oyerinde O. Oyeseun	Department of Physical and Health Education,	4 th April, 2019	MAN DOES NOT DIE BUT KILLS HIMSELF: The Dilemma of the Health Educator and the Moderating Influence of Health Education
39 th	Danladi Ibrahim Musa	Department of Physical and Health Education	25 th April, 2019	WAGING WAR ON THE DEADLY QUARTET AND ITS CO-MORBIDITIES: A Physical Activity Panacea
40 th	Kabiru Isa Dandago	Department of Accounting	2 nd May, 2019	THE ACCOUNTING IN HUMANITY KNOWS NO BOUNDS

41 st	Mustapha Hassan Bichi	Department of Civil Engineering	20 th June, 2019	MAN, ENVIRONMENT AND WATER - The <i>Moringa oleifera</i> (Zogale) Intervention
42 nd	Mustapha Muktar	<i>Department of Economics</i>	27 th June, 2019	PEOPLE, PLANET AND PROFIT: Peaceful Bed Fellows at the Best of Times But Strange Roommates at Present - The Economist's Approach to a Peaceful and Sustainable Co-Existence
43 rd	Mohammed Atiku Kano	<i>Department of Biochemistry</i>	25 th July, 2019	Serum Lipids and Lipoproteins - A Curse or a Blessing?
44 th	Rabi'u Mohammed	<i>Department of Physical and Health Education</i>	8 th July, 2019	EXERCISE AND SPORTS FOR THE ATYPICAL PERSONS: A Multidimensional Analysis
45 th	Yahaya, D.B.	Department of Mechanical Engineering	12 th December 2019	GETTING OUT OF THE DARKNESS: The Solar Energy Solution
46 th	Shehu Alhaji Musa	<i>Department of Agricultural Economics & Extension</i>	22 nd April 2021	CROSSING THE CHASMS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: Consumer Preference Studies: Market Integration Syntheses and Value Chain Diagnoses to the Rescue
47 th	Shehu U.R. Aliyu	<i>Department of Economics</i>	24 th June, 2021	What Have We Learnt From Modelling Stock Returns In Nigeria: Higgledy-Piggledy?