# CORRUPTION AND MATERIALISM: A BANE FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

**MOHAMMED,** Aliyu, **SARKIN-PAWA,** Nasiru Yusuf & **KURAH,** Idris Salisu

Department of Social Studies Zamfara State College of Education, Maru

#### **Abstract**

Good Governance and development are two faces of the same coin. Simply put, good governance is interwoven with the driving forces of the benefits of development. Hence, good governance with it attendant indicators such as good representation, rule of law, transparency, accountability, human rights and so on pave way for benefits of development to existing in a democratic state like Nigeria-.On the contrary, the existence of corruption in a society proves to be in contradistinction to the good governance and development. It is against this background that the paper explored the effects of corruption and materialism (especially the quest for ill-gotten wealth) which hampered good governance and development in Nigeria. The paper examines the failure of previous efforts against corruption in Nigeria. Thereafter, the paper concludes among others that corruption and materialism are intertwined phenomena that are being used to suffocate good governance and the rate of development in African states in general and Nigeria in particular. The paper recommends that Nigerians should be reawakened to change their attitudes to issues of national interest and especially by discharging their responsibilities to the nation whether as leaders or followers, rich or poor.

#### Introduction

The African governance system is full of contradictions. These are informed by the traditions and history of the continent. In the literature, it has been recognized that the governance environment in the continent shows two strong competing tendencies; formalism and informalism. The latter is, however, stronger because of the nature of politics in Africa. In the continent, there is the (informal) patron-client exerting a lot of pressures on the resources of the continent. In the main, it permits diversion of resources from productive ends to meeting the demands of godfather or politicians whose palms must be greased with the resources of the state. In some instance, such diversion usually constitutes big drain of resources (Nathan, 2004 in Saliu, 2010).

Internationally, corruption has dented and tainted Nigeria's political image. It has represented the country in bad light. Nigerians are also treated with seeming distrust and apparent scepticism. Institutionally, the relation between Nigeria and International Development Partners (IDPS) also arguably thrives through corruption, and calamitously corruption overtly sustains that. Corruption, therefore, has become both a means and an end in itself. Perhaps this is because it usurps and drains the economic development and political conscience of the Nigerian political system and causes serious international embarrassment to the country. Corruption is increasingly becoming a source of concern to the government and International Development partners/Actors (Kura, 2012).

Corruption has received very intensive focus in the literature. Apparently, it has become a major issue upon which governments across the world have been taken to task. It has no colour barrier; neither does it have a regional barrier. So endemic it is that key political figures have to resign their appointment when confronted with corrupt allegations in such countries as Japan, France, the UK and the USA, etc. The situation is however, not the case in Africa. Hardly do presidents or ministers resign from the continent. Being

corrupt seems to connote a kind of status symbol; a kind of being a superman who sees himself above the law (Saliu, 2012).

A vice such as corruption is undoubtedly a central retarding force against good governance in any country. In Nigeria corruption has permeated every sector of the society and has acquired a reputation of its own. To proffer solution to the above problem, Wali (2010) reported that promoting virtues and limiting vices is a vital requirement of good governance. According to him, virtues and vices can be found at all levels of national life. It is most critical at national level manifested in political activities and leadership disposition. At that level, governance is affected and it is enhanced or marred depending on which of the variables dominates.

As it obtains in other countries of the world, the common arena of corruption in public life is where the public and private sectors meet, and especially where certain services are desired, and fees and levies are paid for such services or where specific regulations are applied. Examples of processes that are prone to corruption are public procurement and contracting, licensing activities such as the granting of import or export permits, land allocation, revenue collection through taxation or customs duties, etc. The process of electing or appointing people into public offices could be corruptly manipulated through the deployment and receipt of bribes, kickbacks, and gifts. Generally, where anything of value is allocated, corruption is more likely to thrive in such environment, since it is natural for man to aspire to possess a thing of value, acquire and retain position and wealth at all cost, even if it involves bribing, cheating, etc (Magbadelo, 2006).

The purpose of this study therefore, is to explore the failure of past efforts against corruption due mainly to materialistic tendencies of both leadership and followership at the expense of good governance and development in Nigeria and to suggest possible means through which corruption and materialism as a cog in the wheels of good governance and development can be reduced. Similarly, the study is guided by following research questions which demand answers to address the socio-economic and political problems bedeviling the country as a result of corruption and materialism: What are the main reasons behind the

underdevelopment and retrogression of the country? Why corruption and materialistic tendencies of both leadership and followership truncate good governance and development in Nigeria? To what extent did past efforts against corruption helped matters toward ensuring a corrupt- free society? What kind of effort(s) the current administration is making to end or drastically reduced corruption for the development of the country? What are the attitude of Nigerian citizenry to corruption and materialism? What are the possible solutions to the challenges caused by corruption and materialism for good governance and development in Nigeria?

The phenomenon called 'corruption' is an old one, which is subject to different definitions depending on the time-space, people and environment. Therefore, it may not be subjected to single universally accepted definition. The word corruption is derived from the Latin word "corruptus" meaning to destroy. According to UNDP, corruption is seen as the misuse of public power, office or authority for the private benefit through bribery, extortion, influence peddling, erosion, fraud, speedy money or embezzlement (UNDP, 1999: in Joda, 2011). This assertion however, is very holistic because, - it includes not only bureaucratic and political corruption but also private sector corruption. The private sector is involved in most cases of government corruption, such as the misuse of money or favours for personal gain, abuse of official authority or influence in exchange for money or favours and violation of the public interest to acquire special personal advantage (UNDP, 1999:7 in Joda, 2011).

Joda, 2011 maintains that corruption is not only about stealing or extorting money and property by leaders as commonly known. It includes any form of behaviour that deviates from ethics, morality, tradition, law and civic virtues by any individual or group no matter their status in the society. Corruption touches all aspects of the society. Politically, corruption hinders democracy and the rule of law. When there is corruption in the system, there cannot be good governance. This is because; it undermines the democratic mechanisms which strengthen transparency and accountability. When institutions are corrupt, they lack accountability and their leaders lack legitimacy. Corruption destroys the guarantee of proper checks and balances in a society. It breeds unfair practices because,

- some people bend the laws and government rules in their favours and go unpunished at the expense of law-abiding citizens. This is especially true when citizens can pay off judges and law enforcement officials to evade punishment. Corruption destabilizes government ability to effectively and efficiently provide for the needs and aspirations of citizens. With corruption, political assassinations, thuggery, vandalism, political instability, electoral violence, bribery, embezzlements, discrimination and mutual distrust prevail. Corruption destroys-, the trust that should exist between citizens and government and among citizens themselves (Joda, 2011).

### Failure of Previous Efforts against Corruption in Nigeria

Historically, during colonial rule, there was zero tolerance on corrupt individuals saddled with the management of public affairs (Liman, 2017). Most importantly, what contributed to the eventual demise of the First Republic was the incidence of corruption perpetually by the key functionaries of government. Indeed, the Majors who struck through a coup d'état that eclipsed the Republic had advanced widespread corruption as one of the reasons why they intervened to overthrow the First Republic. The extent of corrupt tendencies of Nigerians then was very minimal. It was described as a kind of 'golden era' in terms of democratic governance and corruption. There was a better party system. The levels of rigging and manipulation of the elections were not as rampant as we now have in the country. The alleged stolen wealth of the politicians of the era is not anywhere comparable to what now happens in the country (Saliu, 2012).

The General Aguiyi Thomas Ironsi Military government that replaced the sacked civilian regime instituted a series of commissions of inquiry to investigate the activities of some governmental parastatals and to probe the widespread corruption that characterized the public sector of the deposed regime. The report of the parastatals, especially the Nigerian Railway Corporation, Nigeria Ports Authority, the defunct Electricity Corporation of Nigeria and Nigeria Airways revealed that a number of ministers formed companies and used their influence to secure contracts. Moreover, they were found guilty of misappropriation of funds as well as disregarding laid down

procedures in the award of contracts by parastatals under their ministries (Okonkwo, 2007 cited in Ogbeidi, 2012).

General Gowon ruled the country at a time Nigeria experienced an unprecedented wealth from the oil boom of the 1970s. Apart from the mismanagement of the economy, the Gowon regime was enmeshed in deep-seated corruption. By 1974, reports of the unaccountable wealth of Gowon's military governors and other public office holders had become the crux of discussion in the Nigerian dailies. Thus, in July 1975, the Gowon administration was toppled by General Murtala Mohammed through a coup d'état. The coup of 1975, among other things, was an attempt to end corruption in public service. General Murtala began by declaring his assets and asking all government officials to follow suit. He instituted a series of probes of past leaders. The Federal Investigation Panel of 1975 found ten of the twelve state military governors in the Gowon regime guilty of corruption. The guilty persons were dismissed from the military services with ignominy. They were also forced to give up ill-acquired properties considered to be in excess of their earnings (Ogbeidi, 2012).

The Second Republic, under President Shehu Shagari, witnessed a resurgence of corruption. The Shagari's administration was marked by spectacular government corruption, as the President did nothing to stop the looting of public funds by elected officials. Corruption among the leaders was amplified due to greater availability of funds. It was claimed that over \$16 billion in oil revenues were lost between 1979 and 1983. It became quite common, for federal buildings to mysteriously go up in flames, most especially just before the onset of ordered audits of government accounts, making it impossible to discover written evidence of embezzlement and fraud (Dash, 1983, cited in Ogbeidi, 2012). Ogbeidi further, gives an example of Alhaji Umaru Dikko who was alleged to have mismanaged about Four Billion Naira of a public fund meant for the importation of rice. The Shagari administration was, therefore, condemned for its corruption and corruption was indeed a unique factor responsible for the collapse of the regime (Kura, 2012). Barely Four years later, the Shehu Shagari administration was overthrown by the Buhari/Idiagbon regime. The Buhari/Idiagbon regime

launched a war against corruption, tried and jailed many politicians and dismissed many civil servants (Igbuzor, n. d.).

Under Babangida's administration, the settlement of social and political critics kept the regime in power despite its seeming legitimacy problem. Indeed, the failure of his endless transition programmes could be explained by corruption. Corruption led to the cancellation of what was generally considered the freest election ever conducted in the Nigerian chequered political history. Nevertheless, the June 12, 1993, crisis was simply an unsolvable political equation accentuated by the logics of corruption. The result was political turmoil. This corruption induced crisis eroded the regime's confidence, legitimacy and eventually led to its collapse. Subsequently, the Abacha's military regime became not only notorious for corruption but its record of human rights abuses. The social and political critics of the regime, who could not be settled were either incarcerated or forced in exile. Corruption reached its absolute peak when all his five finger political parties nominated him to contest the presidential election. This also drastically eroded the chequered legitimacy of the regime. The two military regimes not only encouraged and condone corruption, but they had no decisive policy of controlling it (Kura, 2012).

The Sani Abacha regime (1994-1998) came up with its own anti-corruption decree: "the Indiscipline, Corrupt Practices and Economic Crime (Prohibition) Decree 1994", it believed to be a replica of Babangida's draft decree on "Corrupt Practices and Economic Crime". To say that Nigeria is preoccupied with the issue of corruption today testifies that all those interventions failed (Okeshola, 2009). The extent of Abacha's venality seemed to have surpassed that of other notorious African rulers, such as Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now called the Democratic Republic of Congo). It was estimated that the embezzlement of public funds and corruption proceeds of General Abacha and his family amounted to USD 4 billion (International Centre for Asset Recovery, 2009 cited in Ogbeidi, 2012). The dictator Sani Abacha, died suddenly from a heart attack in June 1998. He was replaced by -General Abdulsalami Abubakar, who subsequently handed- over the reins of government to a democratically elected civilian government in May 1999 after

having spent- eleven months in power. The Abdulsalami Abubakar government showed dedicated commitment to returning the country to democracy but did not do much to fight corruption (Ogbeidi, 2012).

Despite the spirited attempts by the Obasanjo administration, the optimism of a corrupt free society soon waned as political and institutional challenges undermined the effectiveness and credibility of the anti-corruption. By the years 2000, 2001 and 2003 when Nigeria's ranking on Transparency International Corruption Perception Index was examined, the country was still second on the hierarchy of the most corrupt countries in the world (Fatai, 2012). One of the most scathing criticisms leveled against EFCC is that it was an instrument in the hands of the presidency deployed at will to terrorize real and imagined enemies of the erstwhile President Obasanjo regime, especially by being selective in its anticorruption war. The commission under Ribadu was also accused of acting above the law, keeping National Assembly in the dark and violating the fundamental human rights of most of its suspects. Though for the war to succeed it must assume a radical dimension, including violation of human rights of the culprits with a benevolent dictator in the centre of the saddle (Duru, 2009).

Under Yar'adua's government, commitment to zero-tolerance on corruption was given prominence but its body language does not portend its seriousness in abating that. The reason for the backtrack under the regime was the perception that prosecuting top officials would be detrimental and draw more enemies against the government, given his unacceptable electoral victory in the presidential election of 2007. In addition, the controversial removal of the anti-corruption crusader, Nuhu Ribadu, the head of EFCC from his position, further raised concern on the commitment of the regime in wiping out corruption (Fatai, 2012).

Liman (2017) reported that health condition of Umaru Musa Yar'adua created an opportunity for especially members of his kitchen cabinet to dip their sticky fingers in government finances. The criminal proclivity of people around President Yar'adua, was short-lived only because of his morbid condition. Then came the grandest thievery of it all under President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan,

the man that succeeded Yar'adua. One important quality of Jonathan's rule was his seeming indifference to corruption. This was a man who thought stealing by government officials was not corruption. Government official under him appeared to be helping themselves with so much recklessness. Institutions responsible for tackling corruption cases such as the ICPC and EFCC were rendered ineffective. Jonathan's tenure was characterized by living above means by government employees. It would be recalled how the oil industry was wrecked by sacred cows like Diezani Alison-Madueke; the putrid corruption in the defense sector where the National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki, was just sharing money meant for the purchase of military equipment to prosecute war against Boko Haram under the regime of pervasive kickbacks in government departments. Nothing gets done without money exchanging hands. Political appointments were the surest passport to getting rich quickly in Nigeria (Daily News, 2017).

At this critical stage, Buhari anti-corruption mantra began to resonate with ordinary folks across Nigeria. He believes if corruption is not destroyed in Nigeria, corruption surely will destroy Nigeria. Buhari easy victory at the polls against the incumbent President Jonathan was clearly as a result of how the 16-year old PDP governments were soiled with unspeakable corruption. However, Buhari's rhetoric and action on corruption are still trailed by controversy. There is this lingering perception that his anticorruption crusade is not holistic enough. Liman (2017) further reported that to its critics, the war is merely targeting recalcitrant PDP members. They also believe that Buhari's anti-corruption war is slanted because most politicians around him that carpet-crossed from PDP to APC were not affected by EFCC arrests. Though some of these politicians have files with EFCC, it appears that their cases are being overlooked. This has cast doubt on the motive of Buhari corruption war in several quarters (Daily News, 2017).

Despite the spectacular successes of Buhari ingenuity on TSA and whistle blowing policies to reduce corruption, a lot more need to be done on President Buhari's unswerving resolve to bring corruption to an end in Nigeria. He needs to redouble his efforts on structural reforms, move away from the temptations of the oil

economy, encourage agriculture-based industrialization, vigorously diversify the economy, prioritize budgetary allocations, remove direct executive control over government finances, fiscal federalism and create enabling an environment for the legitimate pursuit of businesses. (Daily News, 2017).

For Nigeria to stem corruption from its tap roots, three principal institutions must be incorruptible and they are the police, the judiciary and the national leadership, which of course starts with the President and then to his cabinet ministers, the state governors, the legislators, and all those in leadership positions, within the country. The president as a leader of the pack should not just be transparently incorruptible but must be seen to be so in practical terms. The incorruptibility must be reflected in his life-style, his vision, his family particularly a first lady, his policies, his associates and all those around him in the kitchen cabinet because it is from there that everything good or bad will trickle down. This is important because Global Financial Integrity (GFI), a Washington based research and advocacy organization in its February 2013 report, stated that Nigeria is 7th in money laundering index of the world and claimed that about \$19.66 billion or N3.047 trillion was stolen and transferred out of Nigeria by its leaders in ten years from 2000 to 2010 (Momah, 2013).

In the final analysis of his paper titled: "Political leadership and Corruption in Nigeria Since 1960: A Socio-Economic Analysis", Ogbeidi (2012) captures responsible political leadership as one of the pristine factors responsible for the failure of Nigeria's efforts against corruption for development of the country. He stated that:

"Nigeria simply has been lacking in one thing that every nation, big or small, needs to achieve greatness-credible, responsible and people-oreinted leadership. After decades of failed attempts to produce credible leaders, it is imperative now for political leadership class to turn a new leave by rejecting old habit of corruption which hitherto hindered Nigeria from becoming a modern, great and developed nation. This is not in any way to undermine the need for strong institutions. Nevertheless, no country can develop strong institutions without the benefit of good leadership, leaders who will create the conditions necessary for building and sustaining strong institutions. A positive change in the attitudes of the Nigerian leadership class is all that is needed to end corruption in Nigeria and for the nation and its people to experience sustainable socioeconomic development (Ogbeidi, 2012:22)."

#### Governance

The interest in the subject of governance has been influenced largely by a wave of public sector reforms in the 1980s, which characterized many developed countries, entailing privatization, following pressures on traditional welfare state, and new political culture in which traditional methods of delivering the services of the welfare state are no longer regarded as 'empowering' (Meehan, 2003: 2 in Wali, 2010); the transfer of private sector management principles to the public sector; and decentralization of authority, including deconcentration, delegation and devolution. Furthermore, in many countries, civil society organizations have become more involved in service delivery.

Other forces include globalization and intensification of the involvement of UN, World Bank/IMF in the affairs of member countries. This invariably has led to the increasing fragmentation of the political system and plurality of actors and organizations involved in the pursuit of common goals (Kaer, 2004:4 cited in Wali, 2010).

#### **Governance and Good Governance**

Governance refers to the manner in which power is exercised by governments in managing a country's social and economic resources. In that sense, good governance is then, the exercise of power by various levels of government in a manner that is effective, honest, equitable, transparent and accountable. Good governance ensures the absence of abuse and corruption and existence to which it delivers on the promise of human rights: civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights (Apam, 2010).

Apam's definition of good governance concurs with that of Okene (2011) in which he describes good governance as the responsible use of political authority to manage a nation's affairs. He further affirms that it is closely related to the provision of public goods, accountability and transparency.

Good governance is descriptive of a professional civil service, the supremacy of the rule of law, effective protection of human rights, a diminution of corruption in government, a predictable and transparent administration, democratic decision making, a fair and egalitarian economic order and appropriate devolution and decentralization of government. Wanton corruption, wide spread poverty and misrule and bad governance mainly cause misery especially in developing and under developing economies.

In one of the chapter of the book titled: Democracy Good Governance and Development in Nigeria, Jega (2007) defined good governance to mean responsibility and responsiveness of public officials both elected and appointed or the governors to electorate-the governed, aspiration of the governed, as well as acting in accordance with their dictates.

According to him, all these entail transparency and accountability by public officers in discharging their duties, responsibility and obligations. This is a-kin to the definition of the term common good which entails benefits of development which directly or indirectly improve the lots of all and sundry in a give state or nation (Mohammed & Kurah, 2016). Urgent provision of such benefits of development or dividend of democracy to the right people in the right time in accordance with their wishes is what constitutes, what is referred to as 'good governance'.

## Political Corruption and Materialism: Bane of National Development.

Corruption occurs in both public and private spheres of human life. In public places, it has come in form of bribery, vote rigging, kickbacks and certification grade (or marks) tampering, embezzlement, direct stealing, ethnic chauvinism and nepotism. All these are conduits for primitive capital accumulation. In market-places, it come in form of public cheating (like tampering with standard

measures to cheat consumers, etc.), marketing of fake, sub-standard and expired drugs (by fixing false labels), marketing of expired and unhealthy food items and water (all with the purpose of making more profit), piracy, etc. At the family private level, there is child abuse and profiting from child labour, examination malpractices, indecent/seductive dressing and all sorts of private behaviours that bring private benefits to individuals concerned but sacrifice public interests (Jimoh, 2006).

Economic mismanagement is akin to materialistic tendencies of the Nigerian leaders which invariably hamper good governance and development in the country. In view of this, Salami (1993) observe that right from the period of Ironsi, Gowon, Mohammed, Obasanjo, Shagari, Buhari to Babangida, corruption has been the major problem or disease of leadership. He maintained that between 1979 to 1983 despite the world capitalist recession, Nigeria made about N56 billion (Fifty-Six Billion Naira) mainly from oil sales. Substantial parts of the staggering revenue were not invested into the production of goods and services in Nigeria. Thus agriculture, dependent industrialization contracts, consultancy, etc were used as safe 'conduit pipe' for the expatriation of billions of petrol-naira out of the national economy. Such a massive drain on national resources certainly leads to crises (Salami, 1993). This concurs with Kura's view -point in which he stresses that corruption is manifested in the form of mismanagement, the use of security for forcibly influence compliance or the approval of extra-budgetary allocations, bribing the legislature or threatening non-return to legislative house to obtain approval for policy bills or the passage of appropriation and supplementary budget bill, the exploitation of relations with public sector workers, employment patronage and so on. Hence, through these corrupt tendencies, political office holders acquire fraudulently exorbitant amounts of wealth and property within and outside Nigeria (Kurah, 2012).

In the area of education as a fulcrum through which all other developmental issues revolve around, Joda (2011), lamented that corruption damages the educational standard of any nation by spreading unethical and immoral practices in the school system. Cheating and other forms of malpractice have distorted Nigeria's

educational development. Some of the School proprietors open schools only for them to buy Rolls and Royce through the schools and forget about putting the right infrastructure in place to give quality education. But, Joda fails to mention the fact that some government officials in Nigeria siphon public money meant to improve the quality of education for the overall development of the nation.

In a related vein, Akinseye-George (2016) has identified political corruption, materialistic and unpatriotic tendencies as causes of Nigeria's socio-economic challenges. According to him, political corruption is the mother of all corruption. Wherever leaders are politically corrupt, they will do anything to get and retain power without considering national interest. Any kind of crisis we are having can be traced to political leaders having selfish interests (Guardian, 2016). He further expresses how materialistic Nigerians are. He avers that: "we place too much emphasis on materialistic and mundane things, and this is affecting our priorities, we are too self-centered and materialistic. Let us think in terms of what we can do to help our country and not what we can get" (Guardian, 2016).

Similarly, Fashola (2016), was of the view that the material acquisition by leaders at all levels, is the root cause of all evils, injustice, oppression, and man's inhumanity to man in the country. He further affirmed that politicians in the country, instead of pursuing the national and overall interest of the people who voted them into power are busy going after personal aggrandizement. He, furthermore, enjoined goodness to all irrespective of colour, race, ethnic or political differences even to repay evil with goodness (Vanguard, 2016).

It is clear that our current crop of leadership is not working in tandem with the tenets of good governance so that they can do all it takes to promote the common interest in the society. What really obtains is rapacious greed, and parochial interest of few at the detriment of national interest. Hence, obliterating the spirit of good governance for the common good which include among other things: security, education, provision of portable drinking water, electricity, social welfare etc. in the Nigerian state.

#### Conclusion

Corruption and materialism do more harm to governance systems at all levels especially in post-independent Nigeria. Corruption as the mother of all evils breeds materialism, expensive life-style of political leaders, gargantuan greed and fear of poverty and unemployment. This is why Nigerian state, is in search of leadership characterized by pristine principles of good governance such as; rule of law, transparency, accountability, responsible and responsive officialdom, etc. Not only that, these principles must be seen to be put in place, so as, to ensure drastic reduction of corruption and bad governance. It also must be accompanied by efficient and effective citizenship and civic education in the country. Anticorruption bodies must be made to operate without any political interference with personalities of proven integrity being appointed as heads of the institutions coupled with independent judicial system and free press at the stake.

#### Recommendations

In order to get out of the woods and make Nigeria forward, there are certain things to be done by citizens thereby ensuring drastic reduction to corruption and corrupt practices. This is what, perhaps, makes, Joda, 2011 indentifies different roles expected to be played by youth, civil servants and the government which if exercised accordingly will no doubt obliterate the scourge of corruption in all ramifications of our life. For instance, Joda, 2011, enjoined youth to act and discharge their duties and responsibilities in a fair and unbiased means at all times in the believe that what youth are doing is for the betterment of future self and children. And youth should never accept or solicit and receive, directly or indirectly, any gift or favor that could influence them in the exercise of their rights and duties.

Similarly, Jega (2007), wisely strategizes ways through which good governance can be sustained thereby improving the lots of citizenry: These ways are:

**Civic education:** In order to create a patriotic and responsible citizenry, as well as strengthen and consolidate national

democratic political cultures, even under normal circumstance, civic education is essential.

**Strengthening and democratizing the civil society:** To sustain good governance means to democratize the Nigeria civil society and specifically strengthen Democratic Inclined Civil Society (DICS) groups.

Restoration of the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary: Central to democratic praxis and good governance is constitution and the rule of law. Bringing about sustainable democracy and good governance must, therefore, be predicated on effective strategies for a return to constitutionalism, respect for due process and executive lawfulness (in contrast to executive-lawlessness). One strategy is to strengthen the judiciary in all respects- especially in terms of adequate remuneration for judicial officers, improved facilities in the administration and dispensation of justice, an increased autonomy from the executive branch in terms of its finances, and in respect of appointment to the bench...any strategy for the restoration of the rule of law and independence of judiciary must include a program of training and reorientation for the judicial officers, to restore their confidence and make them to recognize the centrality of their role in consolidating and sustaining democratic conduct and good governance (Jega, 20007: 162-163).

**The media as a popular tribune:** many people have observe that Nigeria has perhaps the most vigorous and incisive media in Africa. The Nigerian print media especially and its practitioners, have generally contributed positively to popular enlightenment and critique of bad governance, under both civilian and military regimes.

The media has a positive role to play in the struggle to bring about sustainable popular empowerment and good governance. But they can do this only if they remain credible and conscientious media, and media practitioners, are the last line of defense for democracy and good governance. They must not abnegate that responsibility, if they are to remain relevant and true to their calling, as the *fourth estate of Realm*. (Jega, 2007:162-163).

#### References

- Akinseye-Geoge, Y. (2016). Political corruption, materialism bane of national development, Guardian Newspaper, 02 May, 2016. Retrieved 11 August, 2017 from https://guardian.ng.>news>political-c...
- Apam, J. (2010) Governance and the management of ethnic and religious diversities. *Journal of Democratic Studies.* Volume 2, p. 130-147. Kano, Aminu Kano CDRT (Mambayya House).
- Daily Nigerian Newspaper, 20 April, 2017: Retrieved 11 August, 2017 from https://dailynigerian.com/opinion/historical-phases-of-corruption-in-nigeria-by-prof-aliyu-liman
- Fashola M. A. (2016). Materialism root cause of evils in Nigeria. Retrieved 11 August, 2017 from www.vanguard.com...s-nigeria-dr-fashola *Vanguard Newspaper*, 16 December, 2016.
- Guardian Newspaper, 02 May, 2016: https://guardian.ng.>news>political-c... Retrieved on 11/08/2017 https://dailynigerian.com/opinion/historical-phases-of-corruption-in-nigeria-by-prof-aliyu-liman. https://guardian.ng.>news>political-cwww.vanguard.com...s-nigeria-dr-fashola
- Igbuzor. I. (n.d.). The Buhari administration and war against corruption in Nigeria. Retrieved 11 August, 2017 from www.otiveigbuzor.com/the-buhari-administration-and-waragainst-corruption-in-nigeria/
- Jega, A.M. (2007). *Democracy, good governance and development in Nigeria: critical essays.* Ibadan, Nigeria, Spectrum Books Limited.
- Jimoh, A. (2006). The National question and Obasanjo's anticorruption war: An evaluation of the awareness and moral suasion campaigns in Saliu, S. A., Jimoh A. and Arosanyin, T. eds (2006) The national questions and some selected topical issues in Nigeria. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers, Nigeria.

- 230
- Joda, T. H. (2011). Anti-corruption handbook for Nigeria youths: A fundamental paradigm for re- branding education, business, politics and public administration in Nigeria. Kaduna Nigeria Joyce Graphic printers and Publishers.
- Kura, S.Y.B. & Zagga, I. M. B. (2010). A criticque of nigeria's governance framework: An islamic alternative. In Wali, M.A Zagga, I.M.B and Kura, (S.Y.B (2010) Islam and governance in Nigeria: Issues and Perspectives. Volume I, Kaduna Nigeria. Department of Political science, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto and Wali foundation.
- Kura, S.Y.B. (2012). Fight corruption from abroad: The world bank, the IMF and anti-corruption reforms in Nigeria, in Mohammed, H., Aluaigba, M.T and Kabir, A. (2012) *Corruption, governance and development in Nigeria: perspectives and remedies,* Kano, Nigeria, Aminu kano CDRT, Mammbayya House.
- Liman, A. (2017). Historical phases of corruption in Nigeria. Daily Nigerian Newspaper, 20 April, 2017. Retrieved 0n 11 August, 2017 from https://dailynigerian.com/opinion/historical-phases-of-corruption-in-nigeria-by-prof-aliyu-liman.
- Magbadelo, J.O (2006). *Nigeria's transition to democracy and development: contributions of Obasanjo administration.* Ibadan, Nigeria Spectrum Books Limited.
- Mohammed, A. & Kurah, I. S. (2016). 'Democracy, development and common good in Nigeria: An implication for national loyalty'. Being a Conference Paper Presented at the Conference of National Association of Social Studies and Civic Educators of Nigeria, North-West Chapter at Sa'adatu Rimi College of Education, Kumbotso, Kano State, Nigeria on 5th to 8th December, 2016.
- Momah, S. (2013). *Nigeria beyond divorce: Amalgamation in perspective*. Ibadan, Nigeria, Safari Books Limited.
- Ogbeidi, M. M. (2012) Political leadership and corruption in nigeria since 1960: A socio-economic analysis. *Journal of Nigeria Studies:* 1 (2) 2012. Retrieved from http://www.unh.edu/nigerianstudies/articles/Issue2/Political\_leadership.pdf

- Okene, A.A. (2011). The demand for *shari'ah* implementation in a democratic setting: A historical background and the zamfara state experiences, in Salihu, H., Umar B. A and Suleiman H. A. (2011) *shari'ah democracy and governance in islam.* Lagos, Tellettes Consulting Co. Ltd.
- Okeshola, F. B. (2009). Towards eradicating corruption in Nigeria: The role of civil society. In Olutayo, O. A., Ogundiya, I. S. and Amzat, J. eds. (2009). *State and civil society relations in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Hope Publication Ltd.
- Salami, E. I., (1993). *The power of the poor.* Kaduna: Fisbas Media Services Publication
- Saliu, H.A. (2010). *Democracy, governance and international relations. Ibadan,* Nigeria, College Press and Publishers.
- Vanguard Newspaper, 16 December, 2016: www.vanguard.com...s-nigeria-dr-fashola retrieved on 11/08/2017.
- Wali, M. A. (2010). Islamic perspective to governance. In Wali, M. A., Zagga, I. M. B. and Kura, S.Y.B. (2010) Islam and governance in nigeria: issues and perspectives. Volume I, Kaduna, Nigeria. Department of Political science, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto and Wali foundation. www.otiveigbuzor.com/the-buhari-administration-and-waragainst-corruption-in-nig