

Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria: An Assessment of the Fourth Republic

Ishaku Bitrus Lere

&

Rahila Timothy Dantong

Department of Political Science,
Plateau State University, Bokokos, Nigeria.

Abstract

Democracy and good governance is a global phenomenon in which countries of the world are yearning for. Nigeria is not an exception in the pursuit of democracy and good governance right from the inception of the fourth republic in 1999. The paper intends to study democracy and good governance in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic from 1999 to 2023 . The study will examine whether the practice of democracy had enhanced good governance in Nigeria. To investigate whether democracy can facilitate the practice of good governance. The method used in this study was the trend and the content analysis approach. The data for the investigation was collected by utilizing documentary materials. The data were derived from secondary sources. The research revealed that public office holders in the fourth republic did not abide by the principle of democracy that will enhance good governance. It was discovered that there was no popular participation of the majority in the decision making process but the participation of the minority. The findings of the study further showed that there was high level of violation of the rule of law, infrastructural decay, corruption and so on. The research work indicated that there was abuse of office by the ruling class in the fourth republic. The paper recommends the strengthening of anti-craft commissions to include issues of morality. The INEC or National Assembles to create room for independent candidacy. The need for the independence

of the judiciary. The need for the electoral commission to be independent.

Key words: Democracy, Good Governance, Fourth Republic

Introduction

So many scholars have carried out studies about democracy and good governance in Nigeria, but were unable to tell us whether democracy had really facilitate good governance in the country based on what is happening with the nascent democracy in the fourth republic. Though with the introduction of elective principle in Nigeria by the Clifford's constitution of 1922 which was limited in the southern part of the country. As stated in the word of Oluwajuyitan 2003:55 cited in (Evans, 2017) when he observes that, "Nigeria successfully conducted election through a secret ballot in 1922". Oluwajuyitan supported the fact that the elective principle started in 1922 in Nigeria. This was followed by other elections that were conducted during the colonial period. When independence was granted in 1960 Nigeria conducted several elections in the first Republic, second Republic and third Republic.

Thus, in 1999 saw the birth of the fourth republic with the emergence of Olusegun Obasanjo as the president of the country in an election that was conducted in 1999. In the words of (Evans, 2017:28); the administration of ex-President Olusegun Obasanjo lasted till May 2007, with the handing over of power to President Musa Yar'Adua. After the death of President Yar'Adua, the then Vice President in the person of Goodluck Jonathan became the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

However, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan became the President of Nigeria on May 6th, 2010 after the death of President Yar'Adua on May 5, 2010. There was doubt if democratic principles that enhance good governance were adhered to during the administration of ex-President Goodluck Jonathan (Evans, 2017:28). At the expiration of the tenure of Goodluck Jonathan, an election was conducted in 2015 which saw the emergence of

General Muhammadu Buhari rtd as the elected president of the country. The outcome of the election was claimed to be free and fair.

Conceptual Clarifications

Democracy

The origin of the concept ``democracy`` can be traced to Greece, the Ancient city of Athens. The social scientist in the western world believed that the word was coined in Ancient Greece. As appropriately stated; Western social scientists have traced the origin of the concept, democracy, to the ancient city states of Athens, which are in modern day Greece. Scholars who belong to this school of thought assert that the term “democracy” was coined in Ancient Greece in 5000BC (World Bank Encyclopaedia, 2006). In the views of Western scholars that as time goes on, the term democracy was not only limited to modern Greece but was made a universal phenomenon through the process of colonial administration which introduced modern democracy in the world including Nigeria.

As captured by Harry (2008) that it has been argued that the tenets and practice of democracy was later transmitted to other parts of the world including Nigeria, through colonialism. As stated by western scholars that democracy stated from Athens in Greece which spread to other parts of the world through colonialism was heavily criticised by African scholars like Alex Gboyega, Leo Oyewale and Sule Kano. Therefore, the concept ``democracy`` has many definitions given by different scholars depending on their understanding of the practice. Using the most popular definition of democracy by one time United States President, Abraham Lincoln who defined democracy as government of the people, by the people and for the people. It's clear in this definition that in a democracy the government is constituted from among the people for themselves to serve their collective interest and to carry out their wishes.

However, at the African front with Nigeria inclusive, it is imperative to note that democracy deals with popular participation of the majority in the act of governance, governance with the consent of the people as opposed to autocracy, it involves the rule of law, supremacy of the constitution above all, professional reportage by mass media of communication, autonomous judicial system to protect the rights of individuals and the constitution, independent electoral commission to guarantee free fair and credible elections, the existence of multiparty system and son on are essential ingredients of constitutional democracy that will provide good governance.

Good Governance

The primary aim of any government is to provide better living condition for the generality of the populace. Good Governance has to do with the judicious management of resources of a country for the benefit of all in the society. It is in line with this preposition that Udoete (2011) defines „good governance“ as the responsible use of political authority to manage a nation’s affairs. The view of Udoete is shared by Akomolafe and Bosede (2012:70) who contend that “good governance is, ruling the people well within the tenets of the constitution and other enabling legislation. Supporting the above positions, Sharma et al (2012:65) opine that, “good governance is a phenomenon that depends on the efficient functioning of the executive, legislature and judiciary, the three branches of government when each organ of the government performs the tasks assigned to it with integrity and commitment”.

Good governance includes “both a broad reform strategy and a particular set of initiatives to strengthen the institutions of civil society with the objective of making government more accountable, more open and transparent and more democratic (Minogue, 1997:4)”. It involves the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. These include:

- i. The process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced;
- ii. The capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies, and
- iii. The respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interaction among them (kaufmann, kraay and zoido-Lobatan, 1999:1). However, from the forgoing explanation, good governance has to do with the operation of government at all levels, federal, state and local governments as well as the functioning of all the organs of government.

Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this investigation, the researcher make use of the liberal democratic theory in unfolding democracy and good governance in the fourth republic in Nigeria. Thus, in assessing democracy and good governance in Nigeria's fourth Republic. The liberal democratic theory was supported by the writings of scholars from Europe and North America like Thomas Hobbes, John Lock, Baronde Montesquieu, John Staurt Rousseau and so on. The basic arguments of the liberal writers are about a form of government. It is a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities.

The rights and freedoms protected by the constitutions of liberal democracies are varied, but they usually include most of the following: rights to due process, privacy property, equality before the law, and freedoms of speech, assembly and religion. In liberal democracies these rights (also known as "liberal rights") may sometimes be constitutionally guaranteed, or are otherwise created

by statutory law or case law, which may in turn empower various civil institutions to administer or enforce these rights.

They further argued that liberal democratic theory is characterized by tolerance and pluralism; widely differing social and political views, even those viewed as extreme or fringe, are permitted to co-exist and compete for political power on a democratic basis, periodically hold elections where groups with differing political views have the opportunity to achieve political power. In practice, these elections are nearly always won by groups who support liberal democracy; thus the system perpetuates itself.

In support of liberal democratic theory according to Kwasau (2013);

it is based on this premise, the central idea of the liberal bourgeoisie theory of democracy is how to design a political system which encourages individual participation and enhances moral development of citizens. It usually has universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership. It may take various constitutional forms: it may be a federal republic, as the United States, Brazil, India and Germany, or a constitutional monarchy such as the United Kingdom, Japan and Spain. It may also be a presidential or a parliamentary system.

However, the justification for the use of this theory is because it can help us to examine whether democracy had enhanced good governance in the Nigeria's fourth republic. Liberal democratic theory is very vital for this research work. The theory is very valuable because, it tells us about the expectation of a political system with emphasis on rule of law, periodic elections and freedom which are essential ingredients of democracy and good governance in Nigeria's fourth republic. Judging from the experience and leadership styles within the context of this work, the Nigerian democratic experience in the fourth republic has fallen short of the prescription of the liberal theory of democracy as explained in assessing democracy and good governance below.

Research Methodology

The methodology adopted for this research work was the trend and the content analysis approach. The data for the investigation was collected by utilizing documentary materials. The data were derived from secondary sources. The study was executed to assess the various efforts geared towards an assessment of democracy and good governance in Nigeria's fourth republic. In order not to depend on assumptions based on the study, the utilization of secondary sources of information and the content analytical approach becomes very fundamental.

Assessing Democracy and Good Governance in the Fourth Republic

In assessing democracy and good governance in Nigeria's fourth republic, the researchers used the following indicators; corruption, rule of law, militarism and governance and Infrastructures.

Using the liberal democratic theory which has to do with the majority rule and a representative government. The Nigerians fourth republic from the beginning was skewered towards a particular class of people, especially the ruling elite who have constituted themselves into classes. The dominant political parties in the fourth republic are People Democratic Party and All Progressive Congress. Thus, other political parties are silent in the democratic space. This scenario was adequately stated

However, the Nigerian experience of liberal democratic system sees the ideology as soothed for the dominant class in the society whose whims and caprices predominates such democratic institutions. The agenda of governance becomes skewed to one side, hence, Nigeria experiences high level of what can be referred to as elitist hedonism. For instance, from the beginning of the erstwhile Obasanjo's Fourth Republic in May, 1999, the political climate has been a function of the powers of manipulations of the few elites in the society. Developments in Nigerian politics shows that several political parties, 30 of them in number at that time, duly registered by INEC, out of which two: The People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressive Congress

(APC) held sway as the remaining 28 became silent in the scheme of things. This is a glaring phenomenon of elite politics in Nigeria (Erunken & Uchem---).

Therefore, these ruling elite in the fourth republic continue to cross carpet from one political party to another. The electoral empire has streamed down the political parties from 30 to 18 in preparation for the 2023 general elections. At this point, the ruling elite can only change in form but not in structure, that is why the movement between the two major political parties become visible as we prepare for the 2023 general elections.

Thus, the overview of governance from the inception of the fourth republic in 1999 to date using some indicators;

Corruption

In the area of corruption in the fourth republic based on the liberal democratic theory which is against corruption. The transparency international has been rating the performance of democratic government from the inception of the fourth republic. There were high expectations by Nigerians in 1999 that more dividends of democracy will accrue to the people because it was a democratically elected government. But atlas, it was a disaster as rightly stated:

In the area of corruption, Nigeria is one of the leading most corrupt countries in the world. The Transparency International in her annual rating made Nigeria third, fourth and fifth most corrupt nation in the world in 2003, 2004 and 2005 respectively. Corruption has become part of governance in Nigeria. General Abacha was said to have stolen more than \$3 billion between 1993 and 1998 (Falola, 1999:2008).

In addition, according to Amalu (2006;1); cumulatively, Nigerian leaders, according to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, (EFCC), had within the last 40 years stole a total sum of \$500 billion.

In the same vein, the amount of finance that was used in the fourth republic for infrastructural development was huge compared to the infrastructural development which was meagre based on the

money made available to them by NNPC and CBN. This preposition was supported by Ndujihe (2016):

the developmental initiatives that the various democratic regimes of the Fourth Republic put up are meagre compared to the money available to them, especially from petroleum resources. CBN Annual Report and Statement of Account (2007) observes that a breakdown of the earnings from petroleum resources shows that between 1958 and 2007, Nigeria earned 29.8 trillion nairas from petroleum resources; while the country earned 66.412 trillion nairas between 2008 and June 2016 from petroleum resources.

In this regard, it was observed that the money made available to the democratically elected government in the fourth republic was enough to build the necessary infrastructural facilities needed by the people of Nigeria. The situation in the fourth republic was even compared with the era of military dictatorship and it revealed that the military government performance in terms of infrastructural development was more than that of the democratically elected government in the fourth republic. Thus, it was observed that:

The money that accrued to the democratic government of the Nigeria Fourth Republic is enough to build the needed infrastructure that the country needs. By observation, the achievement of the military governments in terms of infrastructural development out-weigh that of the democratic regime from 1999-2015, the simple reason is because Nigeria realized huge amount of money from petroleum resources within sixteen years of democratic regimes of the Fourth Republic from 1999 to 2015 when compared to the money realized by the military regimes from petroleum resources for over twenty-nine years of their rule.

Rule of Law

In the sphere of rule of law, the principles of democracy and good governance hinges on the principle of rule of law. In the same vein, the liberal democratic theory deals with the rule of law. In the case of the fourth republic, the democracy supposed to enhanced good governance in the country, but the process has been grossly abused

by political class. In some cases, some of the political elite obeyed court orders but majority of public office holders in the fourth republic violates court orders. According to Oluwagbamila (2017); in line with the above preposition stated that the principles of democracy like rule of law that ought to bring about good governance has been abused by public office holders in the Fourth Republic, though public office holders like Late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua abided by the rule of law. Corroborating the above, Onwubiko (2004) contends that:

In a judgment of the Supreme Court delivered on Friday 10th of December, 2004 by the Chief Justice of the Federation (Muhammadu Lawal Uwais) on the case between "the Lagos State Government and the Federal Government of Nigeria". The Supreme Court ruled that President Olusegun has no constitutional power to withhold funds for a local council or tamper with the Federation Account. His lordship, therefore, ordered the disbursement of funds to the 20 local councils of Lagos State recognized by the constitution. He further that former President Obasanjo refused to comply with the Court order in 2004. The implication of former President Olusegun Obasanjo not to comply with court ruling is that the affected local governments might find it difficult to pay salaries of workers and even the infrastructural development in their localities will not be possible.

Thus, in one of the regimes ie late President Yar Adua complied with the order of the court by directing the Accountant General of the Federation to pay the withheld money by the Obasanjo administration. As stated in the Nation Newspaper (July 7, 2007) observes that;

the late President Yar'Adua directed the Accountant General of the Federation to immediately release the N10.8 billion naira withheld by the previous administration of ex-President Olusegun Obasanjo. It is a fact to say that the President, an ex-General who governed the country between 1999-2007 did not adhere to the principle of democracy, like the rule of law that ought to bring about good governance.

Therefore, based on the liberal democratic theory and practice of democratic principles is what is known as good governance or

governance as the case may be. However, the features of democracy and good governance include freedom, equality of all citizens before the law, electoral system that is independent, observance of the rule of law, majority rule, participation of citizens in the decision-making process of their country. The statement has been captured by Sergent (2006:57) who observes that:

the following are key elements of democracy "citizens" involvement in decision making, a system of representation, the rule of law, an electoral system- majority rule, some degree of equality among citizens, some degree of liberty retain by citizens and education.

In another regime after the demise of late President Musa Yar Adua, the emergence of ex-president Goodluck Jonathern as the president of Nigeria, there was doubt if democratic principle like rule of law was followed during his regime. To clarify the above assertion Nwankwo, Akinwunmi, and Nadozie (2015) observed that;

in an unanimous judgment delivered by a panel of three Justices, the Court of Appeal voided the verdict of Justice Abdul Kafarati which had earlier removed Olagunsoye Oyinlola from office as PDP scribe. Justice T.J Tur, who delivered the judgment of the Appeal Court, held that Olagunsoye Oyinlola was not given fair hearing by the trial judge and therefore reinstated Olagunsoye Oyinlola as National Secretary of the People Democratic Party. They further stated that there was a Court of Appeal order that Olagunsoye Oyinlola should be reinstated as National Secretary of People Democratic Party (PDP). The ruling party (PDP) under the leadership of Ex-President Goodluck Jonathan did not comply with the Court order that favoured Oyinlola.

Therefore, it was stated that the ruling party during the regime of ex-President Geoduck Jonathan did not obey the rule of law, the administration ignored court order, hence good governance which is a prominent feature in democratic government was totally neglected.

Militarism and Governance

Thus, the prolonged military rule in Nigeria has affected the entire system in terms of governance. The centralization of political power has shown in the governance of the fourth republic. The transition from autocracy to civilian administration can best be described as `totalitarianism` however, supporting the above assertion that:

elected leaders in the three tiers of government in the country exhibit military traits and values in governance. Most culpable in this regard is the former president (Obasanjo) who in power assumed the position of 'Alpha and omega' in administering the country. The ex-president was dubbed "impatient, intemperate and very often dictatorial" (Utomi, 2002:29).

Also in the words of professor Wole Soyinka, democracy has been openly, blatantly and contemptuously rubbished by the president" (Soyinka 2005;1). In line with the above argument, the administration was seen as an extension of military dictatorship rather than democratic governance. According Ake (1991:39-40) who opines that:

democracy cannot be obtained by trying to convert undemocratic regimes through bribery and coercion. Democracy is not simply bestowed upon a nation from above. It may prevail with minimal conflict in those rare instances in which the rulers, recognizing the inevitable, concede gracefully.

The claim was further expatiated by Evans (2015) who stated that Ake says that democracy cannot be practiced by converting undemocratic regimes through bribery and coercion. It can be opined that the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo is an extension of the Military Government because his administration did not have respect for the rule of law. Flowing from the above, development is the function of adhering to democratic principles. The practice of democratic principles is what is known as good governance or governance as the case may be.

These militaristic characteristics are detrimental to democracy and cannot enhance good governance in Nigeria's fourth republic.

Infrastructures

In the sphere of infrastructural development in the fourth republic liberal democratic theory and good governance hinges on transparency and accountability in the use of public resources. The fourth republic can be banded with lack of accountability, transparency in the governance of the country characterised by corruption, external borrowing, the depreciation of the naira compared to a dollar, lack of participation of the majority of the people in the governance of the country. The political space has been closed by the minority ruling elite. As a consequence there is generally infrastructural decay as stated by Oke (2010):

this could be explained in the culture of profligacy arising from the low level of accountability that characterized governmental administration resulting in unbridled corruption, borrowing from the international market, instability of monetary, fiscal and especially investment policy, general climate of political instability, global economic meltdown as well as the problem of limited participation by the public in the formulation of economic policies and the strategies for implementing such policies.

It was further stated that the failure led to these infrastructural decay, for instance, lack of functional institutions of government, roads, hospitals, water, electricity and so on have collapsed. The humongous budgetary allocations running into trillions of naira for infrastructural development seems not to be working in Nigeria. According to Oke (2010):

these abysmal economic failures culminated in serious infrastructural decay to the extent that most institutions of government were not working to expectation. The country's road, rail, electricity, water, postal and telecommunication infrastructure were in a state of decay and total collapse. In spite of the huge budgetary allocations made to the country's road infrastructure, most remained in a state of disrepair and, in the worst cases, were unmemorable all year round.

Similarly, the national railway system virtually collapse, in spite of the recourse at huge financial costs, first to Indian and then Chinese technical support to revive it. The dilapidation of the road network and the virtual collapse of the railway took its toll both on intra and interstate economic transactions

The launching of the fourth republic in 1999, the country's democracy descended on a good structure that will enhance democracy and good governance. These institutions include associations, mass media of communication, political parties, constitution and son on. These democratic structures are capable of producing the much needed dividends of democracy that will facilitate good governance in the country. However, it is important to note that our democracy since 1999 till date is still immature. Instead of progressing in the practice of democracy, the country is still having a nascent democratic structures with unstable system bedevilled by plethora of challenges.

Conclusion

Therefore, for development to occur in Nigeria's fourth republic, the practice of democracy must follow certain principles for it to translate into good governance. The findings from this research work can be stated as:

The findings of the research showed that in the Nigeria's fourth republic, the developmental programmes been run by successive governments were monumental failure. As a consequence, their programmes were far below the standard of democracy and good governance. The findings revealed that in the Nigeria's fourth republic, public office holders did not abide by the principles of democracy that will enhance good governance. For instance, the violation of the rule of law like constitutional breaches, violating court orders, using military mentality in the administration of the country. The study showed that popular participation by the majority of the people was not put into practice. It is rather, the participation of minority who constituted the ruling class

circulating the leadership of the country among themselves. This is contrary to the principles of democracy and good governance; the findings of the study indicated that in Nigeria's fourth republic, there was gross abuse of office by political office holders. This attitude of the dominant class is inimical to democracy and cannot enhance good governance in the Nigeria's fourth republic.

The paper recommends the following for the improvement of democracy and good governance in Nigeria fourth republic;

To reduce the challenges of corruption and godfatherism, which is the basis for the draining of the resources meant for the development of the country by the ruling elite. The Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) or the National Assembly should formulate a law to have an independent candidacy in our electoral act. It will mitigate some of the challenges of mismanagement and corrupt practices in our body polity.

It is imperative to strengthen the anti-graft institutions like the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offenses Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) since most of the challenges in democracy are centered on mismanagement and corruption by the ruling class. The responsibilities of these anti-graft commissions should not only be restricted to the issue of finance; it should incorporate the question of morality. In addition, the names of corrupt office holders and electoral offenders should be published to serve as deterrence to those planning to engage in such act. This is because, these corrupt individuals involved in primitive accumulation of capital using the state resources to contest elections and formed the government of the day.

The enthronement of free, fair and credible election by the Independent National Electoral Commission is fundamental in enhancing democracy and good governance. In this regard, funding of the commission should come from independent sources, especially, a special fund should be set aside after appropriation by

the National Assemblé. The funds should be released on time to reduce unnecessary delay in the conduct of the elections.

The Independence of the judiciary is very essential in enhancing democracy and good governance. To this end, the judiciary should not be under the country of any organ of government. The appointment of judges and magistrates should be done by the National Judicial Council and not by the executive. The remunerations of judges and magistrates should be paid through a consolidated account and not by the executive arm of government. This is to ensure that there is proper dispensation of justice in electoral cases.

To enhance democracy and good governance in the fourth republic, there is need to place more emphasis on the rule of law. In the fourth republic, the executives have been violating the rule of law, court orders and so on. Since rule of law hinges on strict adherence to the law of the land which is the constitution of the country. The ruling elite should observe the application of the rule of law in their administrations.

References

- Achebe, C. (1984). *The Trouble with Nigeria*, Fourth Dimension publishers, Enugu.
- Amalu, C. (2006): "Over N60 trillion was stolen by Nigerian past leaders – EFCC
- BBC News (March 31, 2015). Nigeria's Goodluck Jonathan, the profile of a defeated president. www.bbc.com/news/world-africa. Retrieved on October 17, 2015.
- Erunke C. E.& Uchem R. -----Democracy, Good Governance and Sustainable development in Nigeria: Retrospecting the Obasanjo's Fourth Republic.
- Evans O. A (2015) democracy and good governance in Nigeria (1999-2015) Wukari Journal of Public Sector Management, Volume 1, Number 1, 2017 26.
- Falola T. (1999): *The History of Nigeria*. London Greenwood Press.
- Harry, D. M., & Kalagbor, S. B. (2021). Electoral Violence and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges.

Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal, 8(7), 140–156.
<https://doi.org/10.14738/assrj.87.10440>

- Harry, D.M. (2008), Democracy and good governance: The Nigerian contemporary experience in Nosike, A.N. Berchtold, G.&Nelasco, S. (eds) *Perspectives On Globalization, Development and Public Policy*, Granada: Global Age Publishers, Pp1179 -1195. in the Cometh, August 24.
- Kwasau, A.M. (2013). The Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, *European Scientific Journal*, 9(8), pp.181-192.
- Lijphart, A. (1999), *Patterns of democracy: Government forms and performance in thirty-six countries*, London:Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Moses .M. A (2015) Challenges of Democracy in Nigeria's Fourth Republic Public Policy and Administration Research www.iiste.org ISSN 2224-5731(Paper) ISSN 2225-0972(Online) Vol.5, No.12, 2015
- Ndujihe, C (2016). Under Jonathan, Nigeria earned N51 trillion from crude oil. *Vanguard Newspaper*. Retrieved from www.vanguardngr.co. On September 15, 2016.
- Odock, C.N. (2006). *Democracy and Good Governance*, NOUN, Lagos.
- Oke, Leke (2010) Democracy and Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *African Research Review*. An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia
- Oluwagbamila E.A (2017) democracy and good governance in nigeria (1999-2015) Wukari *Journal of Public Sector Management*, Volume 1, Number 1, 2017.
- Onwubiko, E. (December 11, 2004). *Supreme Court asks FG to release withheld council funds*. www.nigerianmuse.com/import. Retrieved on October 15th, 2015.
- Sergent, L.T. (2006). *Contemporary political ideologies: A comparative analysis* (13 ed.). USA: Thomas Wadsworth Publishers.
- Sharma, M.P., Sadana, B.L., & Kaur, H. (2012). *Public administration in theory and practice* (48th ed.). New Delhi: Kitab Mahal Publishers.
- Soyinka, W. (2005): "Soyinka knocks deal on Lagos funds; Rule of law endangered"

The Nation Newspaper (July 7, 2007). *N10.8b Lagos fund released.*

<http://www.thenationonlineng.net/achive/tblnews>. Retrieved on October 15th, 2015.

Udoete, J.A. (2011). Cost-effectiveness and good governance in Nigeria: Lessons from the electoral processes and the legislature. *In Journal of Management and Corporate Governance*. Volume 3, December 2011

World Bank Encyclopedia (2006), Democracy, World Book Inc.