

THE DILEMMA OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA: INSTITUTIONAL REFORM AS RECIPE OF PEACE

Dr, Vincent Alaba Esan

Department of Political Science and International Diplomacy,
Bamidele Olumilua University of Education, Science and Technology, Ikere-Ekiti, Nigeria
Email: esan.vincent@bouesti.edu.ng

<http://doi.org/10.35409/IJBMER.2026.3791>

Received: 14 May 2026/ Published: 21 June 2026

ABSTRACT

Rather than being influenced by its pursuit of reforming the various institutions and agencies towards attainment of sustainable democratic governance, Nigerian leaders engage in militarizing the civil society and introduce all kinds of palliative measures in order to divert attention of the citizenry from daily hardship and insecurity prevalent in the country. The study examines the dilemma of Nigeria's leadership in policy projections in the nation for promoting good governance that will enhance adequate service delivery in all sectors. Further, the study evaluates the constitutional impact in view of achieving ideal objectives of both government and the governed that will holistically result to sustainable democratic development in Nigeria. In this paper, structural conflict theory was used to explain causes of failed institutional reform and synergy between the theory and the themes of the study. The study relies on secondary sources of data, includes publications, journals, textbooks and internet materials on the studied subject. Data were analysed using descriptive method and content discussion. The study observed that lacks of political will, sectionalism, weak constitution and compliance, bureaucratic-bottlenecks among others inhibit policy reforms towards good governance in Nigeria. It concluded that strict adherence to constitution is the bane of good governance and democratic sustainability in Nigeria.

Keywords: Sustainable development, democratic governance, service delivery, bureaucracy, public policy, institutional reform.

1. INTRODUCTION

Historically, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, who took over as the Head of State after Abacha, seemed to have learnt enormous lessons from the legitimacy crisis suffered by his predecessor. He made it known that he was prepared to hand over to civilians as scheduled. His transition marked the shortest in the annals of military-mediated political transition programme in Nigeria (Ojo, 2004). Abubakar handed over the reins of government to Olusegun Obasanjo after general election in 1999. However, the reviewing Obasanjo's statement, which captures in a vivid manner the deplorable state of our national experience. Shortly after inauguration, he pointed out that Nigeria's problems are both institutional and moral. The parlous state of our society: the pervasive corruption, lawlessness, selfishness and cynicism that have taken over all areas of national life have led to a persistent deterioration in the quality of governance and functioning of all public institutions. This has led in turn to the attitude of indifference to the common good or general welfare (Obasanjo, 1999).

In other words, the various national institutions are afflicted by poor performance, while major infrastructural facilities are inadequate. There is low output in the public or social services and an absence of the sense of public duty. The entrenched phenomenon of corrupt practices, as the antithesis of development, is seen in the irredeemable disparity, indiscipline, selfishness, and narrow-mindedness, especially among the leadership class. All these have led to conflict breach of public trust, and loss of social confidence (Obasanjo, 2000).

Whereas the institutions created by democracy seek to provide a form of security for the democratic society. The extent to which these institutions and aims are achieved is actually another issue. However, to comprehend the processes involved in sustaining the democratic society, we need to examine in a systematic way the key democratic principles that facilitate the provision of security for the society (Ujomu, 2004). Democracy requires the participation of as many citizens as are responsible, committed, and willing to make their input to national governance and social affairs. Be as it may, this idea has been partly institutionalized in modern times through the system of representative government. Almond (1997) rightly observes that in the context of the search for democratic consolidation, the process of institutionalization does not in any way indicate that the affected institutions have taken root. Owing to the fact that sometimes these institutions serve as a mere façade or smokescreen and actual or for reaching political dealings take place outside them. In the same vein, Ake (1991) remarks that within democracies there could be aberrations, such that institutions designed to promote accountability could be used to make it void. Alternatively, it may be said that the problem of inefficiency of government institutions is a threat to the survival of the people. Given the deplorable institutional lapses and incompetence displayed by governments at various levels the questions we can ask is: to what extent have the institutions of the Nigerian state marginalized and alienated themselves from the needs and aspirations of the people?

2. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Chafee (1964) posits that the primary requirement for debating anything is to understand first and foremost the actual thing being talked about. No one is likely to dispute the suggestion that this elementary fact is often taken for granted, particularly as it relates to the debate on democracy, democratization, constitutionalism, institutional reform, public policy. Though these concepts are quite well known, widely used, and to large extent self-explanatory, it may nevertheless be useful to provide definitions of these principal concepts, in order to minimize the possibility of misunderstanding.

Sustainable Development:

The origin of the concept is a recent one. It was first used by the World Conservation Strategy presented by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources in 1980. However, it was commonly used and defined for the first time by the Brundtland Report in 1987: "Our Common Future", of the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 (Shingan, 2005). Anikeom (2013) describes sustainable development as a neoliberal development paradigm witnessed in post-cold war era precisely during the 1992 Rio Conference. To him sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present generation without jeopardizing the resources available to the future generation".

Similarly, sustainability as a concept lay emphasis on a simple principle that everything that we

need for our survival and well-being depends either directly or indirectly on our natural environment and as such, it behoves on us to protect and preserve the environment from being deteriorated. Be as it may, there exist as many definitions as there are scholars defining it. Nevertheless, the most helpful definition is that which was offered by Brundtland Report in 1987. According to the said report, the term sustainable development implies “meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the needs of the future generation”. In another dimension, Ihingam (2005) defined sustainable development in an instructive manner that development must be enduring, persistent, viable and everlasting such that it is not time-bound. This means that development must not be approached with selfish motive. It emphasizes a situation whereby the exploration of natural and ecological resources in catering for today’s need must not be compromised or allowed to deteriorate to the extent that it hampers the comfort of tomorrow’s people.

Democratic Consolidation

Originally, the term “democratic consolidation” was meant to describe the challenge of making new democracies secure by extending their life expectancy beyond short-term, of making them immune against the threat of authoritarian repression, of building dams against eventual “reverse waves” (Ojo, 2006).

Democratic consolidation could be described as a process of which democracy becomes so broadly and profoundly legitimate among its citizens that it is unlikely to breakdown. Larry Diamond posits that it involves behavioural and institutional changes that normalise democratic politics and narrow its uncertainty. This normalisation requires the expansion of citizen access, development and training, and other functions that civil society performs.

However, democracy has some legality around it. It is a rule-based concept which cannot flourish when laws guiding its operations are not made inline or applied selectively.

An attempt has been made to define some of the critical indicators of good governance which is perceived to be a catalyst for democratic consolidation. One needs to arrive at a stable democracy before proceeding to good governance. Nnoli (2006) argues that democracy is not the same as democratization. Democracy has to do with representation and empowerment, whereas democratization is a process leading to liberal democracy more of a crusade of neoliberal fundamentalism or market democracy prescribed for the third world. It is pertinent at this point that Nigeria is caught up in the webs of liberal democracy and democratization is in disarray, where the people are marginalized. and impoverished by the programmes of government. (Amin, 2004) captures this extensively in the following language: There is no better term than “pauperization” to moderate the long-term egalitarian tendency. After all, the fact of poverty itself is recognized and re-affirmed in the new dominant language; reducing poverty has become a leitmotif of the objectives that the ruling powers claim to achieve through the policies that they implement. But the poverty in question is only presented as a fact which is empirically measured, either even roughly through income observation (the poverty threshold) or a little less roughly through composite indices (such as those proposed for human development by UNDP) without posing the question of the methods and mechanisms that generate it.

In another dimension, David Collier has suggested that approaches to defining consolidations and democratic governance fall into three categories: actor-cantered, event-cantered and institutional approach (external or internal). The actor-cantered focuses on the willingness of significant actors

to work within democratic rules. The event-centered as markers, an internal institutional approach focuses on the degree of institutionalization, while external approach concentrates on the duration of new political institutions and the extent of meaningful changes therein. Clearly, no single approach is adequate for there are causal relationships among the actors, institutions and events. (Power and Borner, 1998) asserts that democratic consolidation and good governance goes beyond poverty alleviations or eradication, provisions of infrastructures and conducting credible elections, which Our political leadership has required it to be. It also goes beyond debt repayment which is a heavy burden on the citizens. Ake (2001) remarks that the task of democratic governance and consolidated democracy in Nigeria must of necessity involve a process of redressing the anomalies in the political system. The politics of presidentialism, ethnicity, corruption and institutional balkanization must be refers to as the four characteristics of democracy:

- A democracy in which people have some real decision making power over and above the formal consent of electoral choice.
- A social democracy that places emphasis on concrete political, social, and economic rights, as opposed to a liberal democracy that emphasizes abstract political rights.
- A democracy that puts as much emphasis on collective rights as it does on individual rights.
- A democracy of incorporation that will ensure that the legislative bodies will in addition to nationality, have special representatives of mass organisations, especially youth, the labour movements and women groups, which are usually marginalized but without whose active participation there is unlikely to be democracy development.

Service Delivery and public service

Service delivery has been an old concept which draws organizations to their responsibility to render service to their customers, in the most satisfactory manner. The terminology varies depending on the time, place or context. Example, the terms like quality service, total quality, service performance, etc have been used in one place or the other. Currently, service delivery is in the vague. Whatever be the case, the essence of service delivery is to strive for the best or ideal standard of service to the customer, especially in the context of the public service. However, the following are the expectations of Nigerians from the public service in terms of service delivery:

- An organization that is staffed with competent men and women and is well managed.
- Courteous, friendly, receptive, and helpful relationship with public.
- Faster and proactive offer of information to the public with feedback and follow-ups.
- Transparency, honesty, and averse to corruption, fraud, and extortion of the public in official dealings.
- Exemplary standards of efficiency in production and reduction of services with minimal waste.
- Punctuality and time consciousness in all official business.
- Well-planned programmes with activity schedules and calendars that are firm and respected.
- Prompt response to problems and complaints of the public which are conclusively attended to.

-
- Objective, professional, fair, and patriotic treatment of matters of public interest or cases involving competition among persons or organizations.
 - Services and products that are almost cutting-edge standards and are rendered with minimal need for members of the public to leave their homes to visit office concerned or to spend substantial amounts of money or provide documents and passport photographs;
 - Charges and billing systems that are affordable and convenient to the public;
 - Public infrastructure facilities that are built to unblemished standards, regularly maintained and promptly repaired;
 - Continuous improvement in service mix and methods, based on communication and feedback from the public (Shala 2006).

Obviously, at the time of change-over to democratic regime in May 1999 the state of the Nigerian Public Service in terms of image, operational modalities and service delivery was rather dismal. Be as it may, early in that first term of the Obasanjo Administration, government realized the urgent need to embark on a massive revamp of the character and orientation of the public service. It has become imperative and urgent for the public service to change its orientation and organize itself for quality service delivery. A number of factors have accentuated this need. Firstly, the public is becoming more enlightened and vocal about their rights and responsibilities of government and its agencies as well as the private sector. The public service therefore has to brace up for the challenges lest it becomes further marginalized and eventually relegated to irrelevance. Secondly, the government of the day is committed to the institutionalization of good governance which needed has become the corollary of efficient and effective service delivery.

Theoretical framework

The study adopts of structural conflict theory to deepen the understanding of key themes of the study. This theory is often explained on the basis of two main sub-orientations-the radical structural theory and liberal structuralism. The former is represented by the Marxist dialectical school with exponents like Karl Marx and Engels, V. I. Lenin, amongst others while the latter is represented by Rose, Scarborough, and Johan Galtung's work on structural violence (Faleti, 2006).

The structural conflict theory holds on the fact that conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organised. It further traces social challenges such as bad governance, economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, disease, exploitation, inequality and so on as sources of conflict. Structuralists are of the view that conflict occurs because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies' domination of one class by another and structural decadence, among others.

In a situation where social, political and cultural processes are monopolized by a group coupled with ineffective and unresponsive government institutions that impose to provide adequate service delivery to the citizens, it creates the conditions that make people to adopt violent approaches to conflict. Scarborough (1998), in his own view posits that in situations where existing structures are tilted in favour of one group while putting the others at a disadvantage. When cultures are seen as exclusive; where holders of certain powers or privileges are unwilling to acknowledge the rights of others to be different, or where people find it difficult to identify with the political and economic ideals of a particular regime, there is tendency that conflict will emerge and escalate if nothing is done to address or correct such anomalies.

Structural theory has been associated with factors that make the emergence and escalation of internal conflicts inevitable. Some of these factors are political and institutional factors such as the structure of the state, discriminatory political institutions, intergroup and elite cohesion or fragmentation; security factors such as national security dilemma, cross-border criminality, and civil-military relations; as well as socio-economic factors and ethnic factors such as demographic and physical geography (Brown, 1996).

This theory fits into this study because it explains the emergence of destructive conflicts predicated on bad governance, institutional decay and unjust distribution of national wealth. In Nigeria for instance, challenges of power organisation and power acquisition power sharing, segregated socio-political institutions and other demographic factors that put pressure on democratic governance are often seen as the main factor responsible for incessant demands for institutional reform.

The theory suggests that Nigerian leaders should embark on strong institutional reform that will have constitutional backing and prepare to apprehend any officer who float or circumvent any parts of procedures of the reform upon which Nigeria can achieve sustainable democratic governance.

3. METHODOLOGY

The study is position papers that rely on secondary sources of data include publications, textbooks, journals and internet materials. Hence, it will be analysed using descriptive and content discussion on the following items political will, Constitution, Sectionalism, bureaucracy, their nexus to failed institutional reform and implications on good governance.

The Fourth Republic, which began in 1999, has been marked by efforts to restore democracy and establish institutions that could foster good governance. However, the prevalence of political corruption during this period has undermined such efforts, hindering effective governance and poverty alleviation programmes. Owolabi and Olowole (2022) remarked that the persistence of corruption, Structural and material contradictions underpinning the Nigerian social formation (Mimiko, 1998). Obviously to begin to correct this situation would require comprehensive constitutional reforms, the type that we have been unable to put in place. The constitution is a set of rules and body of laws governing a state. This is to say that there is a linkage between democracy and constitution, because democracy as a system of government must operate within the ambit of the constitution of a state. Constitution is therefore, a set of rules upon which democratic governance operates and functions. Democratic regime derives its legitimacy through the provision of the constitution, as elected officials and government fulfil the requirements of the constitutional provisions. Constitutional democracy, therefore requires that the elected government is adequately responsive to the needs of the people for the protection of their fundamental rights, the maintenance of their safety and of peace and order among them. Democracy will be sustained when the governance recognizes and sticks to the dictate, spirit and morals supremacy of the constitution, while compliance also regarded as a way of life based on tradition, habit, national attitude, honourable and above political struggle for power. Such democratic culture values fair play, mutual tolerance and rules which promote acceptance and respect for the wishes of the people as the ultimate authority of government and above all values the principles of 'rule of law'. Ake (1989) talked about absence of a democratic attitude on the part of most Nigerians as thus, Africans are not democratic in nature, both the rulers and the ruled. This, however, does not detract from the fact that our traditional political system was essentially

democratic, as against the assumptions of the kabiyesi syndrome. Be as it may, it is a fact that the concept of constitutional democracy is a process of assimilation of democratic values; it is important for the sustainability and consolidation of democracy.

For, constitutional democracy ensures a stable and just society, and its process has always been marked with respected crisis, and contradictions in the constitutional governance while it is imperative to note that constitutional democracy may not flourish if the rule of law is in crisis (Belgore, 2007).

Public Service as Impediments to Reform

The public service constitutes the major service provider in Nigeria. It is the machinery charged with the responsibility of implementing policies and programmes geared towards government policies and for the people. The demands of globalization, MDGs among other international agenda has placed the public service in a more pressing pressure to provide/render these services more effectively and efficiently. However, corruption in Nigeria has continued to be a major impediment hindering public service ability to provide these services. Corruption is more endemic in the Nigerian public service as substantiated by Olasanjo (1999) and quoted in Adegoroye (2006). Our beloved nation has been initially on the brink of collapse. At least, the past decades have been characterised by calamitous retrogression in almost every conceivable sphere of life. Nigerians have indeed passed through harrowing times and watched their standards of living plummet drastically, just as their human rights are steadily eroded. Ironically, every regime in Nigeria tried to make input to reduce the level of corrupt practices that render all reforms and policies in productive but the main source of problem to the success of all these lofty intentions of successive governments in Nigeria is public service that have turned themselves to a cult. There was institutionalization of legal frameworks aimed at combating corruption in Nigeria but has faced significant challenges from the public service and politicians. Despite the establishment of institutions such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), the effectiveness of these bodies has been undermined by the influence of corrupt public servants and political elites and the weaknesses of judicial system. The psychological impact of corruption among the public servants in Nigeria cannot be underestimated. As corruption becomes normalized, citizens lose faith in their leaders and in the political system as a whole. However, it is perceived that if institutions are seen as having the character of uniformity and as systems of control that extends beyond personal relations, then the need to ascertain the institutions that are germane for democratic stability is of utmost importance. This observation has become complex to identify institution that is supportive of democratic governance, it has concluded that the only institution that is dependable and reliable at all times is the Constitution. As Rousseau noted, the most important of all laws is not graven on tablet of marble or brass, but on the hearts of the citizens (Friedrich, 1950). So, emphasis is on the spirit of the constitution rather than the letter of the constitution.

Lack of Political Will / Attitude to Public Policy and Reform.

Public policy and reform agenda in Nigeria have turned to mirage very long ago because of lack of political will. Therefore, despite the availability of public policies and institutional reforms put in place to better the lot of the average Nigerian, the State unfortunately lack the political will to positively realize such objectives. The argument is that, even though the set objectives of

government stand to benefit the public, the cabal that holds the top echelon of government hostage, at any point in time, will jeopardize or frustrate the implementation of reform or public policies. Egbalefu (2009) remarks that in the energy sector for instance, Nigeria with a population of over 140 million people generates only a miserable 1,800 megawatts capacity. And despite the shrinking of a copious 13.2 US dollars in the sector by the President Olusegun Obasanjo between 1999-2007, no tangible result was achieved.

Sectionalism and Ethnic Biases:

Sectionalism and ethnicity have also continued to mar institutional reform towards good democratic governance in Nigeria. Evidences abound that some national policies are implemented fully in some parts of the country, but simply abandoned or marginally implemented in other areas. For instance, the school feeding programme started earlier in the Northern part of Nigeria before it was extended to the Southern part. Momoh (2006), confirmed how drugs and health consumables worth over N7.528 billion supplied by PTF in 2003 were wasted under the chairmanship of Muhammadu Buhari of the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) under the Bamako Initiative, because they were supplied more than what the state required. While the yearly drug requirement of the state is N1 million, but PTF supplied a total of about N198 million worth of drugs and hospital consumables to about ten General Hospital in Yobe State between 2001-2003 (Momoh, 2006). Juxtaposing the Yobe state experience with Niger Delta and South East states of the federation reveals that those areas suffer from gross inadequacy in the supply of drugs. It is obvious that implementing officers benefit their immediate ethnic group and abandon other areas. Likewise, cultural and religious factors, in Nigerian context, the state in some instance play the culture and religious card to undermine the effectiveness of institutions of the nation. For instance, the purported link between polio immunization and infertility that have continued to limit the polio eradication process in Northern Nigeria and the imposition of the Sharia law in some of the northern states when the constitution of the Federation professes secularism is a potent issue that inhibit success of government programmes and reform.

4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

That Nigeria is passing through a turbulent period is visible even to the blind. Drums of bad governance, insecurity and criminality are currently beating so loud across the country. What are difficult to appreciate are the rhythms of Nigeria's celebration of democracy. Lending credence to this are the implications, ineffectiveness and inefficiency of government institutions and why unsuccessful democratic governance remains unabated chronicled earlier in this work. That public service, lack of political will, weak constitution compliance and other related issues are threatening the success of reform and the implementation of public policies of the country is an understatement. However, it is beyond pretence that initially all the problems associated with the sorry state of Nigeria are caused by Nigerians either covertly or overtly. And at the centre of it all is the competition for power as well as positions amongst the component units of the federation. This perhaps makes the negotiation for staying together non-negotiable. In creating a new template, conclusively, it is obvious that Nigeria's situation is not beyond redemption. The call for a paradigm shift becomes imperative as militarizing the civil society and wasting public resources on palliative become unrealistic. It is against this background that the following recommendations are made:

-
- Leadership by example with such traits as political will, commitment, passion, integrity etc.
 - Strengthening of the institutional mechanisms for caring out the business of governance – EFCC, ICPC, ministries, departments and agencies.
 - Embracing the concept of good governance so that poverty-related indices are drastically reduced.
 - Total obedience to the constitution of the land without partiality.
 - Eradication of all forms of corrupt practices from the system.
 - Embrace unity and shun ethnicity with total understanding of secularism that permits religious freedom.
 - Strengthening our judiciary system by ensuring that justice is dispensed no matter whose ox is gored. Nepotism and culture of impunity must be eschewed from our national psyche and life.

It may not be out of place to say that the above recommendations are by no means exhaustible; however, it is assured that if the above are given consideration and adhered to, it will go a long way in curbing the menace of institutional reform challenges in Nigeria, thereby ushering good governance and sustainable democratic development.

REFERENCES

- Adegoroye, G. (2008). Corruption and Nigerian Government: Public Service Reform for Sustainable Development – The Nigerian Experience. Being a keynote address at the Commonwealth Advanced Seminar, Wellington, New Zealand, 20th February – 3rd March
- Ake, C. (1989). How Politics Underdevelops Africa. In Nnoli (ed.), *The Political Economy of Crisis and Underdevelopment in Africa: Selected Works of Claude Ake*. Lagos: JAD Publishers, pp. 54–65.
- Ake, C. (2001). *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books, p. 32.
- Amin, S. (2004). *The World Wars: Permanent War and Accumulation of the North, North–South Relations*. New York: Monthly Review Press, p. 35.
- Amiekan, E. E. (2013). *The World of Development and Underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Global Inequality*. In Amiekan, E. E. and Oyobosi Aiyom (eds), *Readings in International Political Economy*. Ibadan: Book House Publishers
- Apter, D. (1991). Institutionalism Reconsidered. *International Social Science Journal*, 129, p. 470.
- Belgore, A. (2007). Rule of Law in Crisis in the Nigerian Economy. 2007, p. 1.
- Brown, L. (1998). Ethnic Identity, Democratization and State of the African State. *African Development Review*, Vol. 28(2), pp. 29–35.
- Chafe, K. S. (1994). The Problematic of African Democracy: Experience from the Political Transition in Nigeria. *Africa Zamani*, No. 2, p. 131.
- Faluti, T. (2005). Challenges and Opportunities for Dealing with Measuring Human Security. *Disarmament Forum* 3.
- Friedrich, A. (1950). Political Institutions in Rousseau. In A. (ed.), *Comparative Politics: A Reader*. New York: The Free Press, p. 133.
- Hermet, G. (1991). Introduction: The Age of Democracy. *International Social Science Journal*,

-
- 128, pp. 256–257.
- Jhingan, M. H. (2005). *The Economics of Development and Planning* (8th ed.). Delhi, p. 22.
- Larry Diamond and Ebere Onwidiwe(eds.) *Nigeria's struggle for Democracy and Good Governance*, Ibadan University Press, pp. 63–82.
- Momoh, A. (2006). *Democracy and Sustainable Development in Nigeria*. In Mohammed, S. (ed), *Civilian and Military Relations in Nigeria*. Abuja: Federal Government Press, p. 13.
- Obasanjo, O. (1999). Inaugural Speech of 29th May, 1999. In Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN), No. 1 (January 2000).
- Obasanjo, O. (2000). Address at May Day Parade of 1st May, 2000. In FRN, No. 2, January 2001.
- Ojo, O. (2004). *The Military and Political Transition*. In Agbaje, Larry Diamond and Ebere Onwudiwe (eds), *Nigeria: Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance*. Ibadan: University Press, pp. 63–82.
- Ojo, E. O. (2006). *Imperatives of Sustaining Democratic Values in Nigeria*. In Ojo, E. O. (ed), *Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, pp. 5–24.
- Owolabi, S. A. and Olumole, T. (2022). *Political Corruption in the Fourth Republic and its Socio-Economic Consequences*. *Journal of Development and Governance*, 13(1), pp. 76–89.
- Power, T. and Powers, N. (1988). *Issues in the Consolidation of Democracy in India, America and Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective: A Report in Kellogg Institute*. Available online.
- Shala, D. (2006). *Service Delivery in Public Service in Nigeria*. In Obasanjo, O. (ed), *Challenges of Democratic Governance*. Ibadan: Macmillan Nigeria, p. 18.
- Scarborough, F. (1998). *Development and Security Conflict Research and Development*. Vol. 14(3).
- Ujomu, P. D. (2004). *Democratic Institutions, Participation and the Problems of Social Engineering in an African Nation State*. In Kunle Amuwo & B. Ayodele (eds), *Perspectives on Democracy and Development in Post-Military Nigeria*. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd, pp. 30–54.
- .