

POLITICAL CULTURE: AN APPRAISAL OF DEMOCRATIC RULE IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC (1999-2017)

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Abstract

Globalization has made military administration to be out-model, and this made Nigerian state to adopt democratic system in 1999. Since the inception of the democratic process in the Fourth Republic in 1999, the nascent democracy is facing inherent challenges and impediment that had constantly threatened the continuous survival of the democratic culture. This study seeks to examine the inherent democratic challenges that are gradually eroding the beauty and essence of democracy in Nigeria. It argues that, instead of having good democratic values, and culture; people are inundated with undemocratic ethics and culture to supplant established quality democratic values. Qualitative research methodology is adopted to carry out the study in which credible sourced secondary data are descriptively analysed. This study identified fundamental dangers and challenges to the continuous survival/success of good democratic culture in Nigeria as anointment of party candidacy, lack of ideology paradigm by political party to fashion out policy-based manifesto, swinging party loyalty by politicians, god-fatherism, incumbency factor, electoral robbery at the state level and monetisation of electoral process. This study discovered that bitter political rivalry, winners' take-all, poor political education, poverty and sentiment based political issues are partly contributing to the poor democratic and political culture in Nigeria. As a matter of necessity, the study recommends that political party campaigns and rallies be strictly made to discuss issues based public policy, and politicians be made to debate on proffering solutions to socio-economic underdevelopment confronting the country.

Key Words: Democracy, Democratic Culture, Political Party, Politicians, Politics

1 Introduction

Politics serves as an avenue for social and economic development where major issues affecting generality of people are thoroughly raised by political party(s) and deliberated by elected politicians as the representatives of people and come up with concrete policy output. In order to serve as tool for social and economic development, polity hinges on some fundamental principles that enable it to thrive; these fundamental principles are democracy, democratic institutions and ethics, norms, culture and processes. Regrettably, Nigerian political culture and conducts have been working conscientiously contrary to these noble ideals. In the post-cold war and globalization era, representative democracy has become an important orderly mechanism of establishing good governance that will fashion out good policies (for both political and economic aspect of life) for attainment of development of the state. Attainment of democratic society requires people of a state to imbibe certain attitudes, tenet, ethic, principle and culture for people to be fully rooted in democracy. For instance, it was poor political culture exhibited by political class in the first and second republics such as electoral violence, politically motivated killings and election rigging that led to military coups in 1966 and 1984. Consequently, democratic politics as the engine room of social progress and development of state, if it is affected by poor democratic culture will distress the smooth and effective operation of democratic processes, then achieving democratic dividends becomes elusive in the state. With the commencement of Fourth Republic in 1999, high expectation was placed on the in-coming Nigerian political elites because it was presumed that self-rule will tolerate freedom and allows inputs from citizens unlike the military regimes who have unconcealed arrogance and abuse of power (Yagboyaju, 2011; Saliu & Ifejika, 2016). Purported high expectation accorded the fourth republic democratic exercise is fast threatened by poor political culture that is driving the anticipated success of democratic system to canal of failure.

Accordingly, success of liberal democratic politics requires the existence of coherent political parties, cultured electorates and other established institutions such as independent electoral body, impartial judiciary and dynamic mass media to objectively feed and enlighten the citizens on political events. However, unfolding events since the inception of fourth republic democratic experience in which there are many reported politically motivated killings, absence of clear cut political ideology by political parties, constant defection from one party to another as well as monetisation of party politics (for stomach infrastructure) and electoral process which gave

birth to god-fatherism due to electoral finance. This also created many divisive factions within a political party that breed political thuggery and militarisation of political campaigns and rallies with armed body guards. Because of this Danjuma (2016) observed that:

*The practice of liberal democratic system of government is anchored on the observation of certain principles such as rule of law, multi-party system, periodic elections, human rights etc. fundamentally these democratic features form the fulcrum through which the various institutions of the state work effectively. They also provide the necessary enabling environment for the citizens of a state to pursue their self-development (political goal and self-actualisation). In the advanced Western democratic societies, the citizens have developed the **culture** of adhering to the laid down democratic principles. That explains why there has less tension in the political set up. On the contrary, in Third world countries like Nigeria, the citizens are **yet to develop good and strong political culture**; therefore, they resort to being selective in the choice of which principle of democracy to adhere to whenever it is convenient to do so. (“Emphasis is ours”).*

The participation by the citizenry in electoral process is the hallmark of democratic political system. But the level of political participation or apathy hinges on political behaviour and culture based on whether the citizens have positive or negative political orientations about what constitute politics in a political system. Political behaviour as encompassing body of political culture comprises of different ways in which people think, feel and act with regards to politics and political processes. As an important aspect of politics, there are certain forces that serve as determinant and sources of political behaviour and culture; some of these forces are: political and historical development of state, level of ethnic assertiveness, tolerance and integration, party orientation, socio-economic status, individual personality, public opinion and social class.

As a federal state, Nigeria like many African states is a multi-ethnic nation in which diverse opinions and beliefs exist. Unfortunately, despite Nigerian state claims to ‘Unity, Peace and Progress’, politics played in the polity is devoid of peaceful atmosphere that enable people to unite and achieve set goals that will propel the state progressively. In attempt to win political power by political elites whether at Local, State or Federal levels, politicians and political party(s) resort to the use of various means that are inimical to the peace, unity and progress of the state. These acts rather than uniting the people for common progress of the polity, have divisive acts that can cause retrogression in the polity which can prevent the state from achieving unity and other set goals. Democracy as adopted in Nigeria since the fourth republic in 1999 is faced with corrupt political culture of ethnicity, electoral fraud/mal-practices. Thus, instead of democratic politics to serve as the beacon of hope for commitment to political freedom and equality of citizens; it is full of denial of political freedom of choice and equality through imposition of candidate, monetization of politics and absence of internal democracy by the political party(s).

Political behaviour of a group is a function of environment that moulded individual personality, it is the two together (environment and personality) that produce political culture of a state. Because individual personality is being moulded in environment makes it a creation of environment. Thus, cognisance of the environmental factors on politics and democracy is very vital political scientists (Johari, 2003). This is because politics, politicians and democracy operates within a given environment, which invariably influences citizens’ political behaviour that culminates in political culture. Influence of environment on politic, political behaviour and democratic culture was seen as fundamental and germane to uniqueness democratic culture exhibited by people of a given state (Olaniyan, 2009).

The objective of the study is establishment of a clear linkage between poor political culture and inability of good democratic culture to be instituted in Nigeria body polity. Thus, poor democratic political culture have prevented ideal democratic system to be fully entrenched and practice Nigeria as it is been practiced in other advance democracy and notable African state like Ghana and Botswana. To also see the linkage between poor political and unstable polity, because where there is violent and volatile political and electoral processes with militant and unprincipled political elites, political system will always experience continuous upheavals and crisis. Thus, there is a correlation between militant political elites and political instability that emanates from political tension that is heating up the polity during the electioneering process in Nigeria. It will be of important objective to enlighten average young Nigerians electorate about these ugly developments and it is implications on the polity.

It is the established political culture of a state that defines the kind of traits and characteristics exhibited by the people of the state towards political system, political activities and political processes in the state. Established political behaviour and culture determine the level and kind of knowledge as well as values imparted to the young ones which habitually affect how the younger ones conceived and practice democratic politics. Democracy and party politics shape and promote a particular kind of political culture through its political education, tactics and strategies demonstrated by the politicians in the course of playing competitive politics. Political behaviour and culture has its imperative on national unity, integration, nation-building and development. Then, how do Nigerians come across problems of corrupt political culture? What are the likely consequences of these political nematodes on the healthiness of the state? How can Nigerian state overcome bad political culture for the country to move forward? These are the concerns of this paper.

The study methodology is archival and purely qualitative in a descriptive analysis setting. The paper is divided into six sections. Next to introduction section is the conceptual review as section two, origin, basis and development of corrupt political culture in Nigeria is section three; Noticeable corrupt political culture and behaviour in Nigeria is section four; Consequences and effects of poor political culture in Nigeria as section five; and Recommendation is section six.

2. Conceptual Review

Although, every society have their peculiar pattern and ways of life, but there exist a general practice in which every state must imbibed or subscribed to the same tenet of modernity and universality. This modern and universally ideal model becomes parameter of measuring the level of civility and development in the state.

Political Culture: This is the situation of citizens' awareness of issues in the political system, their evaluation as well as acceptance or rejection of the system, (NOUN Reading Manual). It is the consciousness of one's environment, matters/issues generated and how this will affect us based on individual value judgement that crystallised into political culture. Tylor (1924) cited in NOUN Reading Manual, posits that political culture "is the complex whole which includes knowledge beliefs, arts, laws, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society". Because political culture involves habits and characters of man, Pye (1962) cited in NOUN Reading Manual, clarifies political culture as "the set of attitudes, believes and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provides the underlying assumption and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. It encompasses both political ideas and operating norms of a polity". Pye description shows that political culture is not uniform but varied from one political system to another. It is this variation in political cultures that make Almond and Verba (1965) cited in NOUN Reading Manual to postulates that "patterns of individual political orientations, the attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and to the role of the self in the political system". And that explains difference between Western states political culture and Third World nation's political culture.

Divergence in political culture is a function of value orientation imparted on the civil society from childhood to adulthood, this makes the practice of democracy differs from one society to another. Knowledge imparted and observed becomes what is learnt and imbibed, thus enable people to develop and exhibit pattern of political culture based on the formed mind-set. This affects how citizens of a state played out their politics and democratic process. Political culture exhibited by the people of a given society towards politics may be positive or negative. It is this negative disposition that in Nigerian polity exhibited during transition to democracy under the military regimes that Fela, Nigerian Afro beat icon refers as "army arrangement" and "demonstration of crazy" and Bako (2007) refers to it as 'garrison democracy'.

Whether psychological or sociological, environmental socialization has a lot of effects in moulding personality just as it moulds political culture. Thus, political culture as an aspect of human life does not evolved arbitrarily, it learnt through observation and participation in the political environment. Political socialisation is very crucial in body polity because of the role it plays in human live. In NOUN reading manual, political socialization was described as "the process of transferring knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and general dispositions about politics from one generation to the other". It is through this that political knowledge and value are accumulated unconsciously by citizens and people through interactions with social and political institutions, family, school, party, government agencies such as National Orientation Agency and Nigeria Television Authority. In order to provide better explanation politically for actions and inactions of citizens in a state it is necessary to comprehend political culture of such political system and how such political culture is formed. Political culture is not genetic or innate; it's something that is learned out of which many certain values are imbibed. Political culture is very crucial in identifying individuals or group behaviours in the course of playing politics and political process in a

political environment. This is because individual and groups are actors in politics and political process. Political culture examines the behaviour of political actors as voters, politicians and ordinary citizens within the state.

Political diseases: These are damaging political culture, behaviour and values exhibited by Nigerian political elites in the course of playing politics which are negatively impacting on the effective operation of democratic system and denied Nigerian state opportunity of realising benefits of democratic system. Political diseases are infectious behavioural attitudes affecting Nigerian polity such as abuse of electoral process, entrenchment of bad political values and culture, all of which affect the healthy growth and effective functioning of the state. It also impact viability of democracy and democratic institutions, as well detrimental to peace, unity and integrative purpose which the state suppose to enhance. Political malaises are different challenges and predicaments emanating from the kind of political culture imbibed by Nigerian political elites which now become political behaviour. Political disease and malaise are very prominent in the politics of third world or developing countries.

Unscrupulous political culture such as party defection, political thuggery and imposition of candidates are major re-occurrence in Nigeria democratic polity since the First Republic. These attitudinal behaviours besiege the previous Nigeria's democratic experiments of First, Second and aborted Third Republics. Although efforts were made by the military regime of Murtala/Obasanjo in 1979 and Babangida in 1989 to eliminate and correct some of these corrupt political cultures like sole financier of political party, ethnic politics and imposition of candidates. While Murtala/Obasanjo makes it mandatory that political party must not have ethnic name and logo; all political party must have their national Headquarters in the Federal Capital Territory. The military regimes also entrenched it in the democratic and electoral rules that 'a party must have at least $\frac{1}{4}$ of its votes from $\frac{2}{3}$ of the states in order to be declared winner in a General Election. Babangida even went ahead to form and imposed two-party system on Nigerians in order to minimised identified corrupt political culture such as ethnic politics, imposition of candidates and lack of internal democracy as the basis of democratic politics in Nigeria. Instead of politicians to take to correction introduced by the military regimes. These offensive political cultures are not only reoccurring, but it's becoming intense and severe in both magnitude and dimensions, and this is negatively affecting democratic in Nigeria (Baba, 2009).

Existence of corrupt democratic political culture by the emerging/winning political party in the present fourth republic denies successive administration complete/unalloyed citizens' supports and legitimacy to rule without resort to force. But in a good democratic culture attainment of political power entails legitimacy and undivided citizens' support for government and legitimacy which is right to rule without resort to force. These are only possible if political party show sign of attitude, viewpoint, tolerance and good policy proposal, decent and blameless internal democracy, accountability and good governance as avenue of mobilising the citizenry to the side of the political party. Thus absence of good democratic culture created problems of legitimacy and political apathy and where government lacks legitimacy and support of people to rule, it may result to force as medium of exercising power.

It is undisputable fact that due corrupt political culture political parties have dismally performed below expectation in the current democratic dispensation (4th Republic) as observed by Saliu and Ifejika (2016) that political parties has dismally performed below expectation in the current democratic dispensation. But, our position is that, character exhibited by political elites and parties is as result of value and philosophy imparted to Nigerians directly and indirectly which now becomes their major political culture and behaviour. Politicians in the political parties as sample of larger population of Nigerian society represent various instilled opinion in individual Nigerian. Democracy and democratic rule means than going through the general election rituals; it entails open play ground for recruitment, fairness in accessing aspirants, as well as free and fair internal democracy or primaries to authentically determine party bearer or candidate. It also includes body language, actions and inactions of political elites, politicians as well as before, during, and after the electoral process.

Development of democracy in a state is nurtured by value orientation and political culture prevalent in a given society based on impacted knowledge, discernible characters of the players by younger ones. This noticeable characters form the basis of perception of what and how democracy should be operated in their political system. Therefore, the single most important factor that influences civility in democratic practice is political value preference and value judgement of the people and the maturity of the political system in which democracy is practiced (Mohammed, 2009). An assessment of Nigeria democratic experience since inception in 1999 shows existence of variation between the real ethics of democratic system as it is been practiced in the Western Europe and invented democratic ethics been practiced in Nigerian state. It is the tolerance of corrupt political culture by Nigerian political elites that Olaniyan (2009) aptly described as 'notorious'.

3. Origin, Basis and Development of Corrupt Political culture in Nigeria

In a clearer term, 1922 was watershed year in Nigeria's political history, because it was the year that ushered in party politics and democratic dispensation to Nigerians. The 1922 Clifford Constitution as the first written Constitution in Nigeria made available to Nigerians 'elective principle'. Since inception of election that created room for participatory/ representative democracy, Nigeria had launched its own brand of democratic ethics. It is this Nigerians brand of democratic culture that truncate high hope and expectation of Nigeria emerging as one of the greatest countries in the world based on the available resources (human and mineral). This is because corrupt democratic culture and practices is making the polity to be sliding down the scale of development and be moving toward indices of a failed state.

Origin and basis of corrupt political culture in Nigeria is copious, and all are traced to nature, structure and dynamics of socio-economic of Nigerian state. Fashagba and Ajayi (2014) traced unscrupulous political culture in Nigeria to 'Nigeria's complexity and heterogeneity that gave birth to complicated struggle for survival by the politicians'. This complexity and heterogeneity shaped the character of Nigerian state as well as define its political mood and behaviour. The duo also posits that forced union of diverse ethnic nationalities created widespread political, ethnic, religion polarization and violence; regional or sectional loyalty rather than national loyalty; adversarial political competition; and struggle for political power and resources by the various groups. In order to nurture Nigerian state to an independent state, colonial government embarked on gradual transformation and re-ordering of political, economic and social order of the emerging state. Corrupt political culture of tribalism/ethnic politics came into Nigeria during the colonial era when colonial government created two administrations in one state where the Northern and Southern Protectorate were governed differently. This was followed by regionalisation of party formation, membership and support leading to the struggle and unhealthy competition among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria.

Before the 1946 Richard Constitution, corrupt political culture such as ethnic politics or imposition of candidate was very minimal in political party formation, membership and aspiration. When Herbert Macaulay formed NNNDP, it was Nigeria National Democratic Party, while the Lagos Youth Movement transformed to Nigerian Youth Movement in order to give it a national stance both in orientation, membership and interest. Even when National Union of Students induced the formation of NCNC, it was nationalistic by naming it National Council of Nigerian and Cameroon. And when Cameroon left to join Northern Cameroon, old NCNC simply transformed to National Council of Nigerian Citizens with Herbert Macaulay as the President and Nnamdi Azikiwe as the secretary-General, while Mallam Dipcharima was a prominent member from North. The seed of ethnicity and ethnic politics as a corrupt political culture was sown in the collapse of the NYM. It was nourished to flourish, fruitful, matured to dispersal level during the promulgation of 1946 Richard Constitution that divided the country into three regions along and among the three major ethnic groups. This led to the official birth of corrupt political culture of ethnic politics as an aspect of political culture in Nigeria (Oni, 2016).

The basis of corrupt political culture in Nigeria to Kayunga, et al (2010) cited in Fashagba and Ajayi (2014) is lack of democratic consolidation. While democratization has taken place there was no concomitant process of change in institutions of governance and orientation of disparate ethnic groups in Nigeria, thus electoral process and methods like first-past-the-poll leads to adversarial politics in which election periods become a period when ethnic groups competed for political power and supremacy. This unhealthy ethnic rivalry led to competing identities and rising of influence of ethnicity and religious on voting. Fatile and Adejuwon (2010) cited in Fashagba and Ajayi (2014) traced the origin of corrupt political culture in Nigeria to 'artificial origin' that creates challenge of integrating people into a cohesive socio-political entity. It this mal-integration of diverse ethnic groups who are with wrong political perspective and behaviours in which all groups has 'distrust' and 'hatred' for one another Ojo (2002) cited in Fashagba & Ajayi (2014).

Another contributory factor of corrupt political culture identified by Fashagba and Ajayi (2014) is 'Imbalance Federalism' that resulted in monopolisation of power by a section of the country. Imbalance federalism stimulated mistrust and adversarial politics because of the disproportionate allocation of resources. Wrong allocation creates perceived injustice in the resource allocation and led to assertive ethnic agitation and support for an ethnic party to fight for the oppressed. Thus, it is the poor management of diverse ethnic groups that failed to harness their potentials for advancement of common goods that will provide visible development impacts on all groups irrespective of their size, location and socio-economic position in the state. Weak, monocultural and dependent economy of Nigeria created socio-economic problems such as high unemployment rate, high level of poverty and conflicts which invariably engender clamour for ethnic representation and politics. All these affect democracy, internal democracy and quality of elected leadership. Because it created

avenue for corrupt electoral finance by the super-rich politicians who now imposed candidates on party members due to their financial muscle which is used to compel party control/obedience.

Notable scholar like Egwu (2014) attributed poor political culture in Nigeria to 'state system and mode of class relations' because the two significantly provides the ethnic-politics its content and dynamics. To Egwu 'inequality of power relations in a state engenders corrupt political culture of ethnicity discourse. Where state manifests inadequacy in its basic and fundamental functions of providing law and order; where state failed to deliver development and social justice as the basis for building hegemony and legitimacy and resulted to repression, suppression and intimidation. A given set of people will result to invention of corrupt political culture of ethnicity and fostered ethnic politics as a strategy of creating political consciousness among ethnic group in order to provide a platform for launching that politician into the ruling elites'.

The beginning of corrupt political culture in the 4th Republic to Mohammed (2009:8) is the take-off of the civil rule in 1999 which bequeathed 'military culture' as a form of new political culture in Nigeria. Ever since 1999 successive civil administration in Nigeria continue to build on this corrupt military culture incorporated in the national politics and many new one continue to emanate from the on-going 4th republic in Nigeria. Mohammed (2009) posits that 'emerging politicians from prolonged turbulence period of military were moulded in and guided by military politics and culture which are anti-democratic and anti-good governance'. Some identified military politics and culture transferred to the 4th republic politicians are lack of adequate consultation with constituency by the elected representative, militarisation of politics as exhibited by the first elected president (Obasanjo) in the 4th republic, crony politics, and neo-patrimonial tendencies. Political scientist like Jega(2007) refers to these new set of politicians who imbibed military culture in a civil administration as 'Militicians' and Momoh (2007) refers to the new democratic system with infusion of military culture as 'authoritarian democracy'.

Mohammed (2009) citing Momoh (2007) who traced basis of corrupt political in the present fourth republic to 'prolong period of military authoritarian rule' in which civil Nigerians were incorporated into military political culture, those incorporated civil citizens had practically imbibed this corrupt political culture of authoritarian polity which are now transferred to the present fourth civil democratic rule. Deceptive and endless transition to civil rule make Nigerians willing to accept some crude form of democratic culture in their political system in order to ease out the military out of power. Couple with this is the suddenness of return to democratic system after the death of Gen. Abacha, this caught most of civil society organizations and political grouping off guard and enable corrupt political culture to be introduced by those still left on the field to play the game. Adekeye (2017) postulated that 'haste transition plan organised by the last military regime led to rushed formation of political parties which permeate infiltration of all kinds of people as politicians'. Momoh (2007) cited in Mohammed (2009) referred to these set of people as '*politicians of all shades who are mixture of ex-military officers and business magnates who are mainly 'gate crashers', 'money bags' and 'opportunists' who opportunistically ventures into politics for ulterior gain*'. This is because those that initially struggle for democratic rule were already in disarray having been subjected to adversarial opposition and balkanization during the military reign of terror.

Scholar like Nnoli (1980) cited in Danjuma (2016) the basis of corrupt political in Nigeria is urbanization. Creation of urban centres leads to formation of tribal association to solicit for *tribal solidarity* and not *tribalism* but out of the urban tribal solidarity groups emerges tribalism and tribal politics as an aspect of Nigerian political culture due to competitive party politics. To Danjuma (2016), corrupt political culture emanated from divide and rule tactics introduced by British colonial government among the various ethnic groups and after independence various ethnic groups in Nigeria saw corrupt political culture as intermediary means to make demand in sharing state resources through ethnic identity, unethical statement, political violence, compromised party primary etc. These inherited colonial values which Nnoli (1980) cited in Danjuma (2016) argues is a product of socialisation created by colonialism and Nigerians have internalised this acrimonious and discriminatory classification of their countrymen. These internalised discriminatory social values poisoned the minds of many Nigerians.

4. Noticeable Corrupt Political Culture and Behaviour in Nigeria

Imposition of Candidate: One of the beauties of representative democracy is internal democracy where aspiring party members signified their intention, canvass for support of their party members to elect them as party candidate. This enriches party sustainability as well as ability of the party to pick credible candidate that have the backing of majority of party members. The recent development in the party politics Nigeria is worrisome as many political parties anointed an aspirant to the detriment of other aspirants. The candidate

anointed may not be the best option but, in as much as the candidate is having the backing of ‘party caucus and financier’ he remains credible. It is electorate who will suffer for party corrupt practice because electorates will not have opportunity to vote for credible candidate in the general election and this will invariably affect governance and policy output. Imposition of candidate and lack of internal democracy normally breed frustration and Meredith (2006) noted that ‘frustration is a fertile ground for ethnic nationalism and militancy which can breed unprecedented political instability and disrupt economic production, development and prospect which will have negative effects on the welfare and well-being of citizens. This unconstitutional candidature also manifested in the naïve political culture of substituting or replacing elected party candidates after party primaries with another person such as what transpire between Rotimi Ameachi and Celestine Omehia in the PDP Rivers State Governorship election in 2007, similar occurrence took place in Lagos between Hilda Williams (widow of Funsho William) was elected as Governorship candidate of PDP in Lagos but was substituted with Musiliu Obanikoro (Adekeye ,2017).

Private Campaign Vanguard. There is prominence use of faceless private campaign vanguard raised by the incumbent political office holders either to ‘advertise’ whatever little projects embarked upon by the political leaders(such as Bore hole), as well as campaign for what is term appeal to the incumbent political office holder to run for second term or proceed to another elective post. This appalling syndrome was originated by Association for Better Nigeria (ABN) during Babangida regime. The outfit was led by maverick politician Arthus Nzeribe; their outward mission was to compel Babangida to ‘put on hold’ June 12 Presidential election. But in actual fact it serves as mouthpiece of IBB succession plan that drummed up support for the elongation of IBB in power. This system was perfectly modified by Gen Sani Abacha when he wanted to transformed to civilian president. It was code name ‘Youth Earnestly Asking for Abacha’ (YEAA); it was led by Daniel Kanu. It organised a grand carnival like campaign in Abuja for one week in which invited musicians and Nollywood actors took turn to entertain the audience and along the line the organiser extolled the quality and exemplary leadership of Gen. Sani Abacha. Since inception of Fourth Republic in 1999, politicians are not faring better as many elected political office holders still borrow this technique to raise campaign groups and use public funds to sponsor them. It is becoming trend to see Nigerian politicians to raise and organise one vanguard group to drum up support for their political ambition. It is not the campaign that is problematic, after all mobilization is part of party politics. What is worrisome is using of the state resources to fund pro-personal groups. For instance the ‘Goodluck Support Group’ had in its kitty ‘Transformation Agenda’ as the main umbrella responsible for the second term ambition of former President Jonathan. But when the Presidency was accused of funding the group, the response of Prof. Rufai Alkali, one of the Special Adviser to the President, while denying the allegation was irritating; Prof. Alkali said ‘the Presidency do not fund any group, they were being privately funded by their sponsors.’(The Punch Sept. 7, 2014, P6.). Here it is pertinent to ask question of who these private sponsors are and what is the motive behind the sponsorship? The same ugly seen are already coming up under the Buhari Administration.

Deterministic Local Government Election: Local government as the third tier of government is usually in the hands of state Governors. The trend in the Fourth Republic is worrisome since unsuccessful attempt by former President Olusegun Obasanjo to elongate the tenure of elected chairman in 2002. Each State Governors in different part of Nigeria defers the conduct of Local Government election to the time that they have fully consolidated power in the state. In the conduct of the Local Government election no opposition political parties will ever win a single seat in state despite effort put up to contest the local government election. Apart from the 1999 INEC conducted Local Government Election; all other local government elections conducted by the State Independent Electoral Commission were fraudulent. Desire to dominate and perpetuate party hegemonic reign at the local government level through the state is a common feature of the Fourth Republic democratic practice. Any party that is able to be at the helm of affairs at the state level will use all possible means to make sure that their party control all Local Government Chairmen and Councillorship positions. Continuous domination and manipulation of the State Electoral Commission enable the political party to exhibit political culture of party hegemony at the grass root level. The purpose of this domination of local government is to have effective control of the state at the general elections.

Defection: Political prostitution is fast gaining ground in Nigeria politics. Politicians who are dissatisfied with the outcome of stage managed primaries or abuse of internal democracy do swap from one party to another party in the process of seeking a platform to contest general election. This is because there is no provision for private candidate in the Nigeria electoral process. Continuous defection from one party to another party most especially, to the ruling party is bane to existence of a viable opposition party. Absence of good opposition party denies Nigerians the platform for constructive criticisms which is the sustainable means of getting best policy output from government party. Meredith (2006) inferred that ‘a healthy democratic system is built on constructive criticism and critique lubricates democracy’. Defection is not only causing death of viable

opposition but it is making mockery of party politics and muddle up ideological posture of party as well as creating large number of 'political prostitutes'. For instance, Dr. Olusegun Mimiko defected from PDP to Labour Party to contest Governorship election and after winning the governorship election he defected back to the PDP (The Punch Sept, 7, 2014, p9). With Buhari victory at the poll, many politicians defected from their former party to APC.

Electoral violence: Election period is now becoming a very tense period in Nigeria as many politicians recruited thugs to unleashed terror on their perceived opponent camps. This is to demoralise opponent camps and creates state of insecurity in the country. Electioneering period and campaign is an avenue where aspirants and political candidates make themselves available to electorate for assessment; this is done when political party candidates are able to present or articulate issue based campaign that touched the lives of people in term of identified problems and how they intend to address these problems if elected to power. Based on issue raised by electorate and solution proffered party candidate many prospective voters especially the 'floating' and 'enlightened' electorates who are not party faithful or loyalists tends to be convinced on mission and vision of candidate and capability to perform if elected. But, as result of naïve political culture in Nigeria, making unethical and inflammatory statement and tilting election campaigns toward frivolous matters that are not issues based through evoking of sentimental subjects like religion, ethnic and tribal sentiments which now promote different acts of violence is fast gaining ground in the 4th democratic dispensation. The major cause of unethical/unguided statement are suspicion and fear of losing election to a better prepared candidate who have good policy programme to mobilize people, desire to win at all cost in a free and fair election, unhealthy political rivalry by the ethnic groups due to fear of ethnic domination in federal appointment and incompetent candidate who do not have good policy to attract large followership. Thus, corrupt political culture of unethical statement is fast becoming the cheapest means campaigning to garner support in individual territory.

Poor Political Party Culture: Fourth Republic is becoming prominence with poor party cohesion and discipline. There is lack of coordination between the party executives and party caucuses. This lack coordination and cooperation is seen in a situation where a single party will have two executives and secretariat at the same time and at the same time presenting candidates for general election. It manifested with Senator Mojisoluwa and Chief Bisi Akande of the Action Group (AD) until the party fizzle out. Because of personality clash between two factional chairmen, All progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) almost went down before reason prevailed. People Democratic Party (PDP) the acclaimed largest party is not left out of this crisis. The party almost lost its relevance when Senator Makarfi led faction went on prolongs legal battle with Alh. Modu Sheriff. The same poor party culture has caused rift between the executive and legislature in the APC led Government of President Muhammad Buhari. The rift is desire of Bukola Saraki to contest for and his emergence as senate president without the party prior arrangement and consent. This political infighting always leads to lack of synergy between the ruling party's executive and legislature. This was prominent under Obasanjo tenure where more than three senate presidents were impeached within four years. This corrupt party politics manifest in the show of power during presentation and deliberation on the appropriation bill at the National Assembly. There is always showing of power between the executive and legislative to the detriment of citizenry.

Lack of Ideology: Politics and political parties formed in the 4th republic are devoid of any known ideology on which political party can be identified with like the parties in the second republic where UPN will stand for welfarist, NPN was known as conservative, and PRP was synonymous with leftist. Lack of ideology by the parties in the 4th Republic has denied Nigerian electorate the basis on which to identify political party line of operation. The dearth of ideological position has giving room to tenet of political 'Osmosis and Diffusion' that is now becoming trends in the 4th republic democratic dispensation. Political Osmosis is the movement of party members from smaller parties to a bigger party that is able to secure electoral victory at the poll in order to have fair share in party as 'ruling party' or 'party in power'. Political diffusion is the process whereby party members will leave as a result of loss suffered by their main aspirant or candidate to secure party ticket. Diffusion involves the mass movement of members from a bigger political party to any smaller political party (just as Olusegun Mimiko left PDP for Labour Party when he was denied contest with Olusegun Agagu, the then Ondo state Governor) where they are sure they will secure the party ticket to contest general election. It is the movement from higher concentration to lower level. In either of the two ways, one major political culture exhibited by the politicians and their supporters alike is politics of self-centeredness in which politician do not believe in waiting for another time to test their popularity. The supporters are moving with their main candidate not because of any major policy conviction rather because of what they stand to benefit or lose should they decide to leave that candidate. Nigerian politicians are no longer thinking about policy proposal with which to sell their aspiration and candidacy and which electorate can use to assess their performance and serve as medium of differentiating Party A from Party B. Policy proposal is also used as a means of measuring success

or failure of political party; in terms of how far the party have been able to execute itemised policy proposal on which people voted for them.

Politically motivated killing: Perception of many Nigerian politicians towards politics is that of life and death; strong political aspirants are seen as political opponent or enemies and not political competitors. Politics is not seen as game where there emerge both winners and losers. Rather politics is seen as war which candidate must conquer his 'political enemies' at all cost especially since when Obasanjo declaration that election is a 'do or die affairs'. Strong political aspirants are seen as possible obstacle to the realisation of their political goals and objectives of vicious political aspirants. Instead of engaging in best platform to prove their worthiness and capability, feeble political aspirants do resort to brute alternatives. Average Nigerian politicians will recourse to threat, intimidation and possibly elimination of perceived political aspirants that stands on their way. The beauty of democracy is the healthy competition between the aspirants within the party and flag bearers of different parties who are able to convince the electorate of their ability to lead. But this democratic ethic is being threatened by culture of political motivated killing. This is what Ashiru (2009) refers to as 'the very high premium placed on the capture of political power in order to have unfettered access to the state and privileges it confers'. This situation gave birth to the struggle for political power to be conducted in a war-like manner (do or die), just like Machiavelli postulates that expedience is the key in politics not rationality or compromise. In just a decade of democratic existence in the fourth republic in Nigeria more than Thirty (30) outstanding political motivated killings was listed by Enojo (2016) notable among them are Chief Bola Ige, Chief Harry Marshal, Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, Eng. Funsho Williams, Dipo Dina a Gubernatorial aspirant in Ogun state who was assassinated by unknown gunmen.

5. Consequences and Effects of Poor Political Culture in Nigeria

Corrupt political culture and behaviour contributed to failure of democratic administration to excel in the Fourth Republic as culture of 'self-enrichment' (corruption) is becoming more pronounced. The impact of graft on socio-economic development is enormous, because funds meant for socio-economic development are either diverted to private purse or sabotaged in order to render the developmental projects ineffective; for instance, politicisation of power supply and award of roads construction. This has further contributed to infrastructural decadence that heightened the level of poverty that are used to rate the Nigeria as a poor country.

Corrupt political culture contributed to unhealthy ethnic political rivalry, because where quality of individual are given preference in selection of candidate for party primaries and candidacy, the issues of integration will be easier and the rate of ethnic dominance would have been down placed (Abdullah & Baba, 2014). Thus less political instability in the polity due to ethnic politics that has caused hatred and crisis. This politics is a great impediment not only to integration but also development, because issues of national importance are trivialised under the lens of ethnic interests. Thus, development and peoples' welfare are compromised in the interest of ethnic politics and rivalry.

Nigeria's corrupt political culture had great effects on the citizens' access to political offices and public goods which in turn affect political participation and apathy as well as the perception or opinion by segment of Nigerians on what constitute politics, Saliu & Ifejika, (2016). Limited participation by people in democratic process to Olutayo and Abisoye (2009) is due to how highly influential party patrons wield overriding influence on political parties' machineries and government functionaries.

Corrupt political culture cause bad political behaviour such as ethnicity, politically motivated killing, politicisation of religion and money politic, Davies(2014), all of which prevent critical analysis of aspirant and candidates on the quality possessed rather than ephemeral things. Monetisation of electoral process makes elective positions to be expensive and this prevent ideal candidate from participating in politics, because electoral mechanism only laws wealthy individuals to dominate and participate in politics. This politics of exclusiveness leads to development of bad idea about politics in the minds of youths who now see politics dirty game and an avenue for political zealots to monetised politics as a place to invest and make money.

Corrupt democratic culture is a major contributor to the dearth of development policy that can move the country out of her underdeveloped to a status of developed states. Because, where incompetent candidate(s) emerges from compromised internal democracy, elected leaders may lack ideas or interest in concrete policy, debates, reforms, issues and programmes that will address causes and plight of Nigerians affected by poverty. Poor articulation of policy options for debates as party manifestos by candidates contributed immensely to poor response by the elected officials to drive for national development since many of the elected leaders have the

culture of not rendering account to electorates rather, they rendered account to the party caucus or godfathers who will 'endorsed' such politicians with a new mandate for second term or transform to another elective post.

To Mohammed (2009) democracy thrives on enabling ethos, practices and institutions that are fully cultivated by people of a state that guarantee stability/instability; continuity/ discontinuity; through fair/foul play; debate/dispute; compromise/confrontation. The political culture and behaviour of Nigerians is yet to fully adapt and adopt democratic philosophy and practices as being witnessed in Western Europe. This lack of good democratic culture is a recipe for driving away men of integrity and virtue from participating actively (in terms of contesting and campaigning) in politics in Nigeria. Absence of men of proven integrity in politics will expose such polity to dearth of quality policy output. Therefore, corrupt political value and culture had deprived Nigeria of policy focused government. Where government is bereft of quality and purposeful policy to guide its administration, maladministration and underdevelopment crept in this usually bring forth political instability. Political instability arising from ethnic politics and electoral violence do turn back the wheel of progress of state.

Corrupt democratic culture and behaviour can project a country in bad light in the international community as people of low ebb, indirectly it accounted for mild treatment given Nigerian leaders in international for a as well as Nigerians in Diaspora. State susceptible to politically motivated killings and electoral violence, before during and after election makes domestic economy unpredictable. Volatility of electoral process disrupt local economy, because during the time of election and electioneering campaign people are sceptical of unfolding events and its likely impact on business. The fear of unknown atmosphere cause lull in the business circle most especially production and distribution. Vulnerable economies do have negative impact on the image of the country outside the world and fright away foreign direct investment (foreign investors) from such country. There are great consequential effects of erratic electoral process such as opening the country to external forces to take undue advantage of political violence to interfere in the internal politics of a state (Gadhafi in Chad and Liberia)

Improper conduct of democratic processes as an aspect of corrupt political culture (such as election and electioneering campaign) is a waste of a nation's resources whether the budgetary expended on election, human resources of the electoral official that conducted the election, valuable time of the genuine electorate who had casted their vote only to realize that there is compromise of electoral process. God fatherism reduces the beauty of having floor members to have a say in the party's choice. All this discourages Nigerians from having genuine party members who are committed to the party ideal. Election of neophyte into legislative chamber through compromise or godfatherism denies the country of healthy house in which issues are thoroughly debated on merits, rather than house where matter for deliberation will become issue of dispute where there will be free for all fight on floor of the house.

Corrupt political culture of unhealthy ethnic political rivalry and inflammatory statement has created a wide hole among Nigerian citizens who are coming from different backgrounds. Based on this, minor misunderstanding between members of different ethnic groups normally leads to violent clashes and confrontations. Therefore corrupt political culture contributed to inability of Nigerian political elites/leaders to cultivate enduring process of nation-building because people subscribed to acrimonious political culture. Corrupt political culture in Nigeria has generated mutual hatred and suspicion in the minds of people. Where people are deeply divided along ethnic lines political consensus on nation-building is usually difficult to achieve. This usually leads to political instability in the state as witnessed in Nigeria of today.

Corrupt political culture has reduced the beauty and seriousness of competitive election to mere struggle between disparate groups rather than contest between competent political aspirants or party candidates. This makes electioneering campaign to focus on narrow sentiments instead of addressing broader national issues. Unscrupulous political culture makes political elites to engage in inflammatory statements in the name of championing ethnic cause. It is reduction of contest between aspirants/candidates for political offices to mere contest that Adeogun (2006) cited in Danjuma (2016) refers to as "primitive struggle among the ethnic groups. Corrupt political culture leads to abuse of democratic principles and procedures by the political elites through election rigging, personalization and autocratization of political parties and other institutions, corruption, unhealthy competition for power and widespread anti-democratic culture such as militarisation of conflicts, intolerance, apathy, ethnic nationalism among Nigerian masses (Baba, 2009).

Lack of clear cut ideology as a platform for mobilization and campaigns leads to emergence of quack/shoddy ideas such as "stomach infrastructure", "empowerment programme", and embarking on epileptic community "development project" by aspirants and elected officials. Some elected political leaders creates political offices with functionaries for frivolity position such as 'Ministry of Happiness and Family Affairs' and some will

organise mass wedding for young unemployed couples in which the Government will foot the bill of the wedding and dowry. One of the effects of corrupt political culture is the act of continuous rivalry between the Executive and Legislature over Appropriation Bill and the amount allocated to National Assembly for 'Constituency Project'. The oversight function is now considered as more important than the main job. Many Assembly members have taken the Constituent Projects as their main duty in which revenue must be appropriated for (the highest of this was when Gbenga Daniel, the then Governor of Ogun state had clash with Hon. Dimeji Bankole, the Speaker, House of Representative, over who should commission a small bridge constructed in Otta, Ogun state). Corrupt political makes National Assembly and the Executive to embark on show of power instead of 'complement' and 'compromise' in the interest of public good.

A thorough appraisal of Nigeria 4th democratic republic in term of characters and political behaviours exhibited by the political elites shows great influence of corrupt political culture in the course of playing game of politics in Nigeria. This corrupt political culture had negatively impacted on national unity, peace and progress of the country and is the main factor pushing Nigerian state towards political crises, economic underdevelopment, infrastructural decadence and failed leadership. These depraved political cultures are traceable to many origins and in the 4th democratic republic many functional factors are contributing to its continuous survival and sustenance. From the foregoing, it is obvious that for the country to make progress politically and join the ranks of civilized states, as well as take her rightful place in comity of nations, there is the need to inculcate worthy, decent and upright political culture to citizens through continuous civic education for younger generation. There should be continuous public enlightenment and orientation for the adults who are corrupted by the virus of unfortunate political culture. While electoral commission should make it mandatory for government and political parties to continuously organise seminars, in-house training and workshop for both the elected politicians and party members. As a matter of necessity it should be put into law or Electoral Act that evidence of attendance in-house seminar/training/workshop and compliance with electoral protocol to be prerequisite for application and registration of political and political aspirants that want to contest under INEC.

6. Recommendation

The study recommends mass political education and campaign to both electorates and politicians as a means of re-socialising and re-orientate the people on democracy and democratic process in order to develop new and positive political culture. Nigerians need to be enlightened about what politics is all about, and contrary to general perception that politics is a 'dirty game' and that democracy means more than voting and party politicking. Politics is a game of intellect for those who can think on how to advance the well-being of people in the polity. Good politics enable people to rub minds and have cross fertilization of ideas that will permit understanding, tolerance and deliberation on positive policy output. The Government needs to have sound policy statement on electoral finance and external funding of candidates and party(s). Enacted regulatory policy on funding must be effectively implemented in order to make meaningful impact. The Electoral Commission must be given power to enforce this legislation on party politics and funding. Pegging of nomination fees and enforcement by Government will reduce 'money-politics or monetisation of political processes'.

Since the basis of corrupt political culture in Nigeria is traceable to failed nation-building and development. An antidote to it is having good and accountable Government and, worthy development plans that are fully implemented and is making meaningful impact on the lives of people irrespective of geo-political, ethnic or political party. There is need for Government to design programme for political parties at least once in a year (most especially their youth wings) on importance of good political values, quality leadership, and good governance. The programme is to be organised by Electoral Commission, Ministries of internal affairs, and information. Attendance should made mandatory for registering political party for elections in Nigeria. Notable scholars are invited as resources person and the course should be pro-active, interactive and practical based on what constitute positive value-based politics.

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