

Partisan Politics, Political Culture and Restructuring Drive for Good Governance in Nigeria

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Received 20 December 2019; accepted 14 January 2020

Published online 26 January 2020

Abstract

This paper discusses a number of partisan political attitudes among Nigerians such as party switching; especially by incumbent political office holders to a ruling party, taking kickbacks for party funding, use of money and material things to lure electorate, recruitment of party-militia to foment violence, party control by incumbent political office holders, and followers docile attitude to leadership service, and examines how they have constituted wrong political culture. The study also discusses the effects of such attitudes on good governance in Nigeria, and offers policy options for restructuring the behaviours. The study relied on secondary data and was content analyzed. The study argues for a need to restructure the wrong partisan behaviours among political stakeholders because they have made good governance elusive, incumbent political office holders more powerful and corrupt, partisan politics patron-client inclined and breed violence during electioneering periods. A number of restructuring policy-agenda were offered to move the country forward and put governance in enviable position.

Key words: Partisan politics; Political culture; Restructuring; Governance

Aliyu, M. K. (2020). Partisan Politics, Political Culture and Restructuring Drive for Good Governance in Nigeria. *Canadian Social Science*, 16(1), 28-36. Available from: <http://www.cscanada.net/index.php/css/article/view/11510>
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3968/11510>

INTRODUCTION

There have been tremendous arguments over the years on the significance of attitudes, values and beliefs as capable of promoting and retarding good governance (Aransi and Lamidi, 2017; Ekemam, 2017; Okeke, 2017). According to Authur (2012), attitude towards a political system termed “political culture” have profound effect on the fragility of democracy in any society. Thus, there is a link between the working of a political system and the political culture that exists in that system. According to Omodia (2011), good governance is a function of the political culture that exists in a particular society. In Nigeria, a number of wrong partisan behaviours have persisted overtime and are daily becoming values and norms in the country. Such behaviours include party switching by incumbent political office holders to the ruling party, taking kickbacks from political office holders to finance political party, use of money or material things to buy votes (electoral trading), and recruitment of party-militia to foment violence and trouble, as well as party control by incumbent political office holders, among others.

Unfortunately, the wrong beliefs have negatively impacted on governance in the country. Nigerians daily become deterred because of the long dated wrong attitudes towards partisan politics by stakeholders. Political practices since the return to civil rule in Nigeria have not been impressive enough on the account of such wrong attitudes. The political culture is degenerating and increasingly becoming uncivil. Partisan activities are not seen to be really contributing to the growth of the political system but on what it is likely to bring. According to Rosemary and Agbionu (2015), the victory of a party is now strongly connected to sharing the spoils of office and adherence predicated on material reward from public office holders.

In spite of their nauseating effects on governance in the country, the wrong behaviors are daily becoming a norm and embraced by political stakeholders. While a causal observation considers them as inanities, a critical analysis of the display of such behaviours reveal that they are practices whose values need urgent restructuring. The absence of appropriate orientation from Nigerians towards the wrong political behaviours has cost the country enormous injury on good governance. According to Olanrewaju (2015), the political culture of Nigerians on political scale is still primitive and undeveloped in a number of ways as discussed hereunder.

To start with, party switching by incumbent political office holders; especially to the ruling party is so rampant, such that it is daily affecting Nigeria's polity. Although, some scholars have argued that party switching is a way to exercise citizen rights, it is believed that it has assumed the dimension of impunity. As explained by Mbah (2011), party defection is weakening Nigeria's democratic consolidation. It is now a practice to see political office holders defecting to a ruling party with a mandate already secured from different political party. Accusation and counter accusation on the need for such office occupier to resign or not has become an issue that requires a quick attention. Up till now, the legality or otherwise of party switching by incumbent power holder is still contentious.

There is also the practice of taking kickback from public office holders to fund political party. In most cases, party leaders solicit for funds from their members who occupy political offices. The issue of party funding has posed a serious concern to the country's political scene. Funds for party activities, either for campaigns or other routine operations are more often solicited from plutocratic means such as incumbent political office holders. There has been apprehension that the so called 'moneybags' can pocket such political party that they so much financed. According to Adeyi (2014), patrons who contribute to party funding and fully control their political terrain tend to crudely manipulate the selection processes to the extent that only the anointed candidates are selected for party offices and national election as candidates. In the process, it breeds violence in the party. This practice unduly empowers such office occupiers to make them powerful to hijack political party. Another wrong attitude is electoral trading and use of money to woo electorate and delegates. Electoral trading influences the direction of electoral processes and its outcomes. Excessive use of money and material things has become norms without taking into cognizance their moral effect. In Nigeria, use of money for electioneering -rallies, political conventions, or campaign has posed a great threat to the development of politics. According to Fischer (2012), money is used directly to buy votes with its attendant downward development on governance.

Another damaging but growing wrong behaviour is

the recruitment of militia by political party and sometimes by party leaders. Often times, the assignment before the militia is to engage opposition party or other members in physical combat. According to Okeke (2017), dangerous weapons are freely used by the militia group before, during and after elections. In addition, some incumbent power holders equally use state apparatus to hijack political power, replace the party structure with their and manipulate decisions taken by elected party executive. There is also the growing docility on some Nigerians, who feel political leaders should not be questioned for their wrongs. Perhaps, because of poverty and unemployment, the docile members of the Nigeria's political system respect their leaders too much such that a wide gap has existed between the rulers and the rule against mutual cordiality expected. In view of the growing wrong political behaviours among Nigerians, this study examines a number of partisan political behaviours that are derailing good governance and how they have constituted wrong political culture in Nigeria. It also discusses the effects of the wrong partisan political behaviours on good governance and examines a number of policy options on how to restructure the wrong values.

CONCEPTUAL REVIEW AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS

To fully grasp the meaning of political culture, it is apt to properly situate its related connotations, which is culture. Culture means a variety of things, depending on the context in which it is used. Culture can be described as a process, as well as an institutionalized instrument of defining oneself in relation to others and the world in general (Okeke, 2015). But, by political culture; it means the ways people think and feel about politics and their cluster of attitudes about government (Almond and Sydney, 1963). Thus, political culture includes political symbols, values, beliefs, attitudes, opinions, expectations, goals, and so on. According to Barby (2015), political culture is conceived in terms of the morality, customs and public opinion of a particular people. In the view of Almond and Sydney (1963), political culture is a 'set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments, which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumption and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. Thus, political culture could be seen as encompassing both the political ideal and the operating norms of a polity (Maundeni, 2010).

Almond and Verba viewed political culture as part of a general culture which has to do with the political orientation of the people. This shows that states are dynamic political entities which could either grow or degenerate from one stage to the other. As a result Almond and Verba discussed three typologies of political culture which are: parochial political culture, subject

political culture and participant political culture. By parochial political culture, the conception is that, there is poor political socialization in the system in that the citizens may not only be unaware of the existence of government, its structures and functions, but even when such awareness exists, it is in a cloudy form. Thus, the citizens tend to have a negative perception of governance, the implication of which is poor political participation on the part of the people. In the subject political culture, political orientation is such that, though the people are aware of the existence of the structures of government and the expected functions, but the perception is such that the understanding of governance on the part of the citizens is a divide between government and subject, thus hampering active political participation by the masses. Participant political culture on the other hand, unlike parochial and subject focuses on functional orientation of the people which is geared towards active participation of the citizens in government.

From the foregoing therefore, one could state that the above classifications are not mutually exclusive in that there could be upward and downward movement in terms of categories depending on the orientation and attitude of the people at a point in time. That is, a state could transform positively from parochial to subject or participant culture, just the same way transformation could be negative, from participant to subject or parochial culture, either of which could truncate or consolidate good governance (Ekemam, 2017). Subsequently, Shiping (2004) interpreted political culture to mean a subjective mass phenomenon that consists of orientations toward key objects of the political system and toward the individual's role in it. It is consequently the subjective realm which underlies and gives meaning to political actions (Yoder, 2005).

In the same way, the concept of good governance does not have universal definition. It is however necessary to examine the term governance to fully comprehend good governance or bad governance. Governance denotes how people are ruled and how the affairs of the state are administered and regulated. Governance also refers to how the politics of a nation is carried out. Public authority is expected to play an important role in creating conducive environment to enhance development. On this premise, Author (2012) viewed governance as encompassing a state's institutional and structural arrangements, decision-making process and implementation capacity and the relationship between government officials and the public. Governance can therefore, be good or bad depending on whether or not it has the basic ingredients of what makes a system acceptable to the generality of the people. Accordingly, good governance is the process through which a state's affairs are managed effectively in the areas of public accountability, financial accountability, administrative and political accountability, responsiveness

and transparency, all of which must show in the interest of the governed and the leaders. In the view of Adeyi (2014), governance denotes how people are ruled, and how the affairs of a state are administered and regulated. Linus (2015) describes 'governance' as the activities and process of governing not necessarily about outcomes, but how such outcomes are reached. In essence, governance means all processes by which public resources are utilized as to ensure accountability and transparency.

What then is good governance? The definition given by Popoola (2013) provides more understanding of good governance and its major components. He contends that governance consists in the exercise of authority in the name of the people while good governance is doing so in ways that respect the integrity and needs of everyone within the state. Good governance, according to this conception, is said to rest on two important core values, namely: inclusiveness and accountability. Joseph (2014) contends that good governance is tied to the ethical grounding of governance and must be evaluated with reference to specific norms and objectives as may be laid down. The ingredients of good governance include freedom, accountability, and participation (Olanrewaju, 2015). The basic features of good governance include the conduct of an inclusive management wherein all the critical stakeholders are allowed to have a say in the decision-making process. For emphasis, good governance is one of the minimum international standards required of governments to be recognized in the global community.

In essence, good governance should be concerned with an effective process of management of public affairs, which embraces the normal basis of political authority and the essential demands for peace, order and stability. For good governance to be acclaimed, government must be responsive and responsible to its citizens (Linus, 2015). In this sense, public organizations or institutions and political leadership are the trustees of the nation's political authority to serve in the interest of all with a view to enhancing the standard of living of the people in the society. Most fundamental to the various definitions of good governance are three key terms: accountability, which denotes the efficiency with which the electorates or the governed can exercise influence on their elected representatives; legitimacy which is concerned with the right of the state to exercise power and authority over its citizens and the extent to which the power and authority is perceived to be rightly exercised by the citizens; and transparency which is grounded on the existence of mechanisms of ensuring public access to decision-making. According to Babawale (1999) "transparency carries with it a powerful array of moral and political associations including honesty and openness." Good governance, as a minimum requirement in the global community, must embrace accountability of those in government to the people they govern, transparency, rule of law (or due

process), in addition to a political system that allows for popular participation of citizens in decision-making process. The opposite of these good governance principles is arbitrary policy making by those in government; unaccountable bureaucracies; unjust legal system; corruption in high and low places; mismanagement of public resources; and civil strife in the society.

WRONG PARTISAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR: AN APPRAISAL

There are a lot of wrong partisan political behaviours among Nigerians that put good governance in danger and threat. Such issues continue to generate agitations and have sufficiently blocked the channels of the extent governance should be put in place. They are discussed in this section.

Funding of Political Parties through questionable source is an issue of concern. Political parties are expected to be funded by their members, and through government subvention (Awofeso and Irabor, 2015). But in Nigeria, government subvention is not regular, making political parties' finances to fall on incumbent political office holders, such as serving local government chairman, councilors, senators, ministers, commissioners, and special assistants, members of House of Representatives, governors and even president. In return, these people use the opportunity of sponsoring political parties to dominate and hijack them. During elections, when money is expected to be generated by political parties among members, most times election campaigns are offset by party candidates; making them not to deliver when they invariably win (Crick, 1973). According to Chang (2010), in some instances, party leaders are accused of pocketing part of what party candidates donate. On the long run, good governance is derailed. In the process of soliciting for funds from incumbent political office holders, some of them perpetuate fraud to meet up.

There is also carpet crossing of serving political office holders that occupy key current positions. The term 'cross-carpeting' has been used interchangeably with some other concepts such as party-defection, party-switching, floor-crossing, decamping or party jumping (Ilo, 2015; Joseph, 2014; and Mbah, 2011). Political defection is not often a serious matter when it affects ordinary person or group of persons but generate crisis when it affects incumbent power holder. This is even worrisome when key political office holder or group of persons switches their allegiance to another party without resigning the position(s) they occupy. Incumbent power holders are fond of crossing to the ruling party and not to the opposition party except in recent times when prominent political office holders crossed from the ruling All Progressive Congress, APC to the People's Democratic Party, PDP. Many politicians in key positions, such as the Senate President, Bukola

Saraki, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Yakubu Dogara were asked to resign their positions due to carpet crossing and retention of the mandates they were given by the political party they left. Evidenced from the literature, some of the reasons for carpet crossing are to: settle personal aggrandizement, seek for more power or to retain it, preserve position, cover past atrocities, benefit economically from a ruling party's largess (federal might and other gains it brings), and show how powerful one is to others. The first carpet crossing occurred in 1951 and was an attempt to stop Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe from becoming the premier of Western Region (Awofeso and Irabor, 2016). Atiku Abubakar, former vice president of Nigeria defected from Peoples Democratic Party, PDP to Action Congress, where he contested the presidential election (Mbah, 2011). Also, Senator Ehigie Uzamere (Edo South) defected to the Action Congress of Nigeria ahead of 2011 elections and was subsequently re-elected (*Daily Post*, 2017).

There were series of carpet crossing after the merger of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), All Nigerians People's Party (ANPP) and Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) to form All Progressive Congress ahead of 2015 general elections (Joseph, 2014). According to Okeke (2017), the defection followed formation of New PDP, and five former PDP governors; Murtala Nyako (Adamawa), Abdulfatatah Ahmed (Kwara), Rabiun Kwakwanso (Kano), Aliyu Wammako (Sokoto), and Chibuike Amaechi (Rivers) decamped to APC ahead of the 2015 general election. Also in the defection train were governor of Imo State, Rochas Okorocha from All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) to APC. There were also eleven PDP senators; Bukola Saraki (Kwara Central), Umaru Dahiru (Sokoto South), Magnus Ngei (Rivers South), Wilson Asinobi (Rivers West), Bindawa Muhammed (Gombe Central), Aisha Jummai (Taraba North), Mohammed Ali (Borno South), Mohammed Shaba (Kwara North), Abdulahi Adamu (Nasarawa West), and Ibrahim Abdullahi (Sokoto East). In addition, thirty-seven members of the House of Representatives also crossed from PDP to APC.

Electoral trading and excessive use of money to woo electorate and delegates are other issues that constitute wrong political culture. In election periods, political parties and candidates readily offer money to voters while voters go for highest bidder, making the issue more or less a market thing. We expect voters' preference or choice for support to be influenced by issues placed before them, but in most cases their choice is influenced by the amount of money they were offered. The use of money takes different forms. It could be direct offer to buy votes or delegates; it could be in the form of material things like rice, bread, domestic items and empowerment money by the government. According to Okeke (2017), common things in exchange for votes are t-shirts, bags of rice, salt, groundnut oil, sugar and so on. The higher the amount of money or gift the candidate can pay or give per head, the

more votes or support he gets in return, especially from illiterate voters. When money is used as bait, it catches illiterate-voters more than their literate counterparts (Aransi and Lamidi, 2017). On the contrary, candidates who are unwilling to part with gifts attract very little supporters. However, it is not to say that there have not been instances of candidates who successfully conducted issue-based campaigns or voted into an office without vote buying. According to Omodia (2011), the use of money in Nigeria's electoral system is rising because of the following reasons. There is poor monitoring of campaign funds by the electoral management body – INEC. Past experiences of failed-promises by public office holders cannot also be discarded. There is also rising poverty which makes majority of voters to demand for money in exchange for support/votes. Desperation on the part of contestants and political parties to win at all cost also account for vote buying. According to Rosemary and Agbionu (2015), in most cases where votes are traded, political party/candidate is guilty of offering money first. Poor enlightenment/illiteracy equally accounts for electoral trading. Lack of articulated national programme that can liberate the economy from its limbo also accounts for electoral trading. When a political party/candidate has no blue print, money or material things are freely used as cover up. Unemployment also makes jobless Nigerians to scramble for money or any other thing in exchange for votes.

Recruitment of party-militia by political parties to foment violence during elections is another wrong political behavior. Party militia ordinarily should be youth segment of the political party, who mainly mobilize supporters, raise funds, maintain discipline, and carry out other assignments that are vigour-inclined for the party during electoral processes. Unfortunately, they are now being assigned dangerous duties ranging from attacking opposition within the same party or outside, assassinate fellow human beings; especially from the opposition party, disrupt primary election, snatch ballot boxes and so on (Olanrewaju, 2015). Naturally, the above ulterior duties are not what party militia should ordinarily do. Most times, party militia is not committed members of political party but paid-agents from other organization such as the National Union of Road Transport Workers, NURTW.

Voters'-electorates and public office holders' relationship is also a wrong political behavior that needs to be addressed. Contestants often parade voters/electorate with a view to voting for them before elections. Shortly after elections in Nigeria, the relationship between electorate and public office holders becomes master-servant. Public office holders do not often wish to see electorate around them again until when another election is around the corner. There are a lot of reasons that are responsible for such bad or frosty relationship. One, heavy pay given to public office holders strengthens them beyond control. Two, there is poverty and unemployment

(joblessness) on the part of most voters. Most public office holders are also corrupt. In addition, many Nigerians respect political office holders too much and give them names they are not entitled to. All the factors individually or in combination enhance the status of some political office holders to distance themselves from the constituents that elected them.

It is also a wrong political behaviour to see political office holders arrogating control of political parties to themselves in manners that are strange to party constitution. Most times, elected or appointed political office holders such as senator, House of Representatives member, minister, and ambassadors hijack political party in their constituencies. It is observed that political office holders deliberately work against existing political structures in a way to put up their own. Several other political surrogates have expressed dissatisfaction of such wrong attitudes. For instance, Barrister Adebayo Shittu indicted Governor Ajimobi of manipulating established structure of All Progressive Congress in Oyo State in an attempt to put up a new one for his use. Also in Oyo State, the split-away APC group called 'Unity Forum' accused Governor Ajimobi of single handedly hijacking the party structure to his side. In Ogun state, Governor Ibikunle Amosun was accused of using power of incumbency to hijack and control APC. Governor Rochas Okorocha was also accused of being behind the crisis of APC in Imo State because of his effort to hijack the party for the realization of his son-in-law's governorship ambition. Beyond the loss of governorship elections for APC in Oyo and Imo states, all is still not well in the party because of the weight of the incumbent governors. Even in Ogun state, where APC won the governorship election, the scar of the wrong attitude is yet to fade away.

AGITATION FOR RESTRUCTURING WRONG PARTISAN POLITICAL CULTURE IN NIGERIA

The agitation for restructuring has been on for some time but appears more concentrated in the areas of inter-governmental relations, security, resource control and fiscal allocation while issue of partisan political behaviours that is the pillar of governance remains somehow neglected. Over the years, scholars have not given the issue of wrong political behaviours much attention compared to others. Inwardly, the country needs urgent intervention to enhance governance and move the country forward. This is evident in the calls by prominent politicians such as former Vice President and People's Democratic Party presidential candidate in the 2019 general elections, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. Yakubu Dogara who called for attitudinal changes on the part of Nigerians, which indirectly suggested a form of agitation

for restructuring (Punch, 2019). It is therefore germane to focus more on restructuring of wrong political behaviours that draw partisan politics more backward and retard the speed of good governance.

The idea of trading votes for money is becoming terrible and dreaded due to the followings: one, there is poor monitoring of campaign expenses by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in the country. It is difficult if not impossible for INEC to give accurate information on how much a candidate/political party has spent in a particular election. Two, past experiences of failed-promises; that is, unfulfilled promises in the past by political public office holders make voters to demand for money before elections are held. Three, high rate of poverty amidst many Nigerians makes them to demand for money in exchange of support/votes. Four, desperation on the part of contestants and political parties to win at all cost is also responsible for trading of votes for monetary benefits. Five, there is poor enlightenment of the public which makes illiterate-electorates to see monetary/material requests as their way of sharing from politicians loot from public tilt. Seven, people also ask for money due to lack of articulated national programme from public office holders that can lift the burden of the average Nigerians. Eight, unemployment also makes people to request for money before they vote for their party/candidate choice. However, for whatever reason, request for monetary or material things in exchange for votes is condemnable, yet it is growing on daily basis.

Soliciting for kickbacks from public office holders to finance political party increases anarchic character. When so much money has been collected from a political office holder, it becomes a do or die affair because losing to another person would pose serious economic consequences for the donor. In addition, elite politicians perceive politics as investment (Omodia, 2011). The mentality makes such people to take loans in banks to fund their electoral ambition or find a god father/mother who subsequently determine their political fortune or governance track if they later emerge victorious. It is also the expectation of some Nigerians to be given money or material thing during electioneering process before a candidate can be supported. According to Aransi and Lamidi (2017), for now, no matter how good a candidate could be in Nigeria, if he is only campaigning without 'mobilizing' with money or material things; he is not likely to win election. Invariably, the political terrain is seemingly becoming a political market, where votes are been traded for either monetary gain or material things.

IMPLICATIONS OF WRONG POLITICAL DISPOSITIONS FOR RESTRUCTURING

Governance is undoubtedly undermined by people's partisan political behaviours. It makes civil regimes in

Nigeria to be accompanied with conflicts and violence. Wrong political attitudes have triggered political tensions and constitute the bane of democratic governance in the country (Adeyi, 2014). The roles a state plays in economic development are determined by the prevailing political culture of the people in the state among other factors (Barby, 2015). The fact that majority of Nigerians live below poverty level in a society so blessed by natural resources amount to failure of leadership; which inadvertently are also the outcomes of behaviours of followers. This is however increasingly expanding as better option to be out of myriads of governance challenge that followers daily confront and therefore important to look beyond making provisions for leaders but followers alike.

For now, it appears the masses in Nigeria, through political culture have come to internalize the norms of doing everything to please political office holders as long as they are in power. Followers find it so difficult to challenge or criticize leaders they put in political positions via electoral contest. Political office holders are being treated as tin-gods even when they fail to deliver. There are few exceptions only when they are re-contesting. The norm in Nigeria is; if the behaviour of the incumbent leader is similar to that of the past corrupt and ineffective leader, then we should continue to grab with the usual as long as our democracy is growing. The belief of holding to narration expressed above weakens democratic practice and makes it to suffer. Perhaps, Nigerians are being exploited by their embrace of democratic project to circumvent institutional restraints put in place from making them to maximally gain.

In an electoral democracy, one of the powers that the people have is to question the governance pattern periodically. If politicians perform well, the people will renew their mandate, but if not, they have the right to kick bad politicians out of government; especially at the next election time. But when people heavily rely on their political leaders for virtually everything, including buying their votes; it produces commensurate effect on them to the extent that they will not be able to demand accountability from government. It is simple, he who pay the piper dictate the tune. And when it is parochial, the effects are that it produces underdevelopment because of poverty, ignorance and illiteracy indiscreetly embraced by the old order. Lack of governance, sit tight syndrome, maladministration and poor governance will be the order of the day because only few people will be in government with the aim of rotating power among themselves to siphon public funds.

Restructuring of wrong political attitudes makes civil transition stable and indirectly results in mutual trust. The political culture of a state to a large extent determines its level of political participation. An economically-average Nigerian who is convinced of the failure of the state would want to get as much money as possible from politicians.

Given this scenario, the tendency of giving and taking of money in exchange for votes enable politicians who are willing to buy votes to look for ready-sellers whose electoral conscience can be bought. On the other hand, voters who are willing to be paid go to polling booths on the election-day without the interest of any party or candidate in mind but for the highest bidder. Invariably, elections are becoming a 'cash and carry' issue as voters grab as much money as they can from politicians; with little or no attention paid to campaign manifestoes (issues). On the long run, this mentality kills civic culture.

Another effect of wrong political culture on national development in Nigeria is that there is no development. There is still high percentage of the poor in Nigeria with its enormous wealth. If in the 21st century we are still where we are now, then that is not development. And the reason is that we have not been able to effectively define our political culture. Political culture is expected to engender our wellness from birth through socialization process. When you go to countries like United States of America or Israel, you will see strong nationalistic attitude in their citizens, and this actually start from the time they were born. But in Nigeria, large percentage of the people is still in a primitive life as they die daily. This is not unconnected with the way public office holders embezzle money meant for infrastructure. The case is that people's lives are not valued, and when life is not important, development cannot occur.

The justification for regulation of un-authorized funding of political party is to ensure protection of public money. It is believed that those that fund political party from their personal covers are likely to dominate it and use the opportunity to make more money from public treasury. When incumbent public office holders are consulted to fund political parties, they use the opportunity to negotiate for second term. In the process, they prevent other new breed and promising politicians from emerging as party candidate. On the long run, the polity gets heat up. In other countries, political parties are allowed to raise funds through several avenues and not necessarily to negotiate electoral contest. There is also a limit to which individual or corporate bodies can contribute to parties. This has not satisfactorily worked in Nigeria. Government funding of political parties is desirable because it serves as means of assisting weak political parties but unfortunately it has not been forth coming.

Political culture helps to bring about service delivery in the state. If the government is aware of its duty to the people, and is certain that it is enjoying the mandate of the people, it translates to national development. But, when the opposite is the case such that the predominant political culture is parochial, progress is retarded. The way we think, behave and react to political issues makes some of the challenges of governance to be defying solutions and instead growing, thereby making democratic governance infective. Most of the leaders are fond of selfish and

personal goals at the expense of broader national interests. Due to the type of political culture practiced, the leaders are what Almond (1989), aptly called consummator-leaders. They use official power and influence primarily in the pursuit of private goals. This is possible because the citizens are not fully aware of the input/output processes of the political system.

CONCLUSION

Nigerians need to dethrone wrong partisan political behaviours discussed in this study. It is necessary for political practitioners and allied stakeholders to have a reordered behaviour; that is truly civic, for good governance that is predicated on socio-economic and political transformation to emerge. Indeed, to have good governance that would be anchored on justice, equity and fairness, transparency and accountability, it is important that partisan political stakeholders imbibe new civic behaviours. It is only when the changes are acceptable and truly imbibed that good governance can be truly fostered in the country.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Arising from the discussion and findings of this study, the following recommendations are made. It is important that public office holders are no longer patronized for party sponsorship. It is a ready avenue and tool to steal public fund. Electoral law that addressed this issue and forbid public office holders from been unnecessarily generous to their political parties from the public treasury should be more rigidly implemented. Party candidate(s) alone should no longer fund their campaigns as well. INEC should be more precise on the role political party should play in assisting candidates in their electioneering expenses. Party leadership should be accountable, and government should continue to give subventions to political parties to assist them. Effective periodic auditing is important for political parties to be accountable and transparent to members.

Democracy is not a bus top; it is a work in progress, a process not an end. Of course, it is not run by angels, it is run by human beings, so there is room for consolidation and perfection. Thus, if we have a kind of political culture that allows the people to fully participate in politics by being courageous to question political leaders, rather than only during election; it means that the gap between the rulers and the ruled would not be wide. There will be forum for them to interact and this will propel the people to demand accountability and the rulers will be on their toes because they know that after their first four years' term, they will want to seek the mandate of the people to vote them in again. It also gives the people the confidence since they have the power to choose and reject politicians at will. So it closes the gap between the elites and the people.

Quality education can propagate ideal political culture that promotes and sustains good governance. An enlightened society will know their rights and duty as citizen, including what they expect from the state. An enlightened mind will be far from selling his conscience for monetary or material thing. Election should be made to count appropriately. Hence, there is need to have an unbiased electoral umpire. If we have electoral umpire that is fair, it will enhance participatory political culture that good governance would rest upon. Citizens should be re-oriented on the importance of participation both at the input and out-put stages. To reduce people's docile attitude, electoral attitude can be introduced to primary and secondary pupils by allowing them to begin to elect their prefects right from primary four with the guidance of their teachers. If the electoral attitude becomes embraced, the pupils would grow up into it and become more active as they grow up.

It is implied that political party members should fund their parties themselves. If this is embraced as policy option, there is tendency that party members would take their parties more seriously and would not want them to be forcefully hijacked by use of monetary means. When party members willingly pay their dues they become more committed.

We should also have patriotic citizens and look beyond the issue of religion and ethnic sentiment. This is because, the citizens just support government based on their immediate gain, and after that they are abandoned. So citizens and leaders should imbibe patriotism. Active civil society organization and the media could enhance and propagate ideal political culture that promote and sustain good governance as well. Beyond this, Nigeria needs political will, nationalistic values, right values that will shun all forms of vices and uphold national integration and unity. Nigeria should also shun vices and add values that should be inculcated right from the family. Nigeria should evolve a political culture that will be people oriented in line with its peculiar needs and aspirations. The citizens must elect leaders who share the same value with the society, people who are rooted in the civic culture. Citizens need to elect the people that are well informed about the political system and know the values and belief of the society. When such people get to the helm of affairs, they will use their understanding to bring about a good political conducts. More so, the leaders should have a national outlook, devoid of ethnic or religion sentiment in reaching out to all and sundry.

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