

## **Democracy, Good Governance And Sustainable Development In Nigeria**

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### **ABSTRACT**

There is the widespread belief amongst scholars and practioners of public administration that good governance and development are the likely outcomes of democracy. However, what is yet to be given much attention is the sustainability of this outcome. This paper entitled, Democracy, Good Governance and Sustainable Development seeks to investigate critically the relationship between democracy, good governance, and sustainable development in Nigeria. In other words, it aims at establishing a nexus between democratization of the political process and the sustainability of its outcomes on the socio-economic and political well-being of the people. The study adopted the descriptive method mainly through the use of secondary data. Using the political economy paradigm as the unit of analysis, the research found out amongst others that democracy as practiced in Nigeria is yet to yield any significant outcome of good governance nor bring about any meaningful development that can be sustained overtime. And this is due to the observed perennial violations of the ethos of democratic practices exhibited by the political class and the dilapidated institutions in the structure of the Nigerian State. It recommends therefore amongst others that emphasis should be laid on democratization of economic opportunities (social democracy), the betterment of the people, and a strong social welfare system. The paper also suggests that it is only through orderly and consistent democratic good governance procedures and practices that gains of development can be sustained.

**Key Words:** Democracy Democratic, Practices, Good Governance, Sustainable Development.

### **INTRODUCTION**

There is this growing acceptance amongst scholars in the 21<sup>st</sup> century that development framework are based on the recognition that current development challenges are more complex in contemporary world than they were prior to the emergence of developing countries. In the light of the above reasoning, and in addition to the over decades of experience with developing history

especially, in developing countries, there are now widely accepted arguments that governance should play effective role in development agenda; effective governance institutions and systems that are responsive to public needs, deliver essential services and promote inclusive growth, while inclusive political processes ensure that citizens can hold public official to account (UNDP, 2017).

The emphasis in this argument is that there should be improvement in the democratic Processes and governance across many dimensions for development to be sustained. This argument is premised on the seeming generic opinion that, underlying the litany of African's development is a crisis of governance; where countervailing power has been lacking and state officials in many countries have served their own interests without fear of being called to account. Politics becomes personalized and patronage becomes essential to maintain power.

Ake (2001) recognizing this litany of Africa's development in general and Nigeria in particular argued that, the colonial legacy, social pluralism, and its centrifugal tendencies, the corruption of leaders, poor labour discipline, the lack of entrepreneurial skills, poor planning and incompetent management, inappropriate policies etc are critical and useful in explaining the failure of development. Ake further observed that political conditions of the continent are the greatest obstacles to development engineering, and these political conditions which have conspired to trigger a crisis of governance in many parts of Africa lie at the heart of the failure of development in Nigeria.

It is in the light of the foregoing that this research seeks to establish the nexus between democracy, good governance and sustainable development in Nigeria under successive democratic regimes. To achieve this purpose, the paper addresses the conceptual clarification of democracy, good governance, and sustainable development.

It draws an analysis between democracy and sustainable development, and good governance and sustainable development. The paper also discusses the implication of democracy and good governance on sustainable development. From the findings, recommendations are made. The study adopts the descriptive approach, and the political economy framework as the unit of analysis.

## **CONCEPT CLARIFICATION**

### **Democracy**

It is an onerous task to conceptualize the term democracy because it has suffered definitional problem since it entered in the lexicon of politics from the Greek city state to out contemporary world. This difference in conception depicts the applicability of the concept across nations and even within a nation across different regimes as they evolve at their different stages of societal transformation. Ideological differences is therefore one of the strong forces underlying the plurality in the meaning of the term. The differences in conception does not however suggests that democracy can not be defined, rather it shows the broadness in its meaning and utility.

One of the earliest definitions of democracy is that by Aristotle. According to him cited in Padover (1964), democracy is "a system of government where the supreme power is lodged in the people". Corroborating this definition, is a popular view by Abraham Lincoln cited in Lawal and Olukayode (2012) that democracy is "government of the people by the people, and for the people".

Cartledge (2007) posited that some scholars have argued that although the term democracy is derived from Greek word, 'demokratia', meaning peoples' power, democracy today has nothing to do with the people, let alone the power of all the people and if it still retains this meaning, it would have been during a free and fair elections (emphasis is ours). The modern usage of the term democracy as a form of government is defined in terms of sources of authority of government, purpose served by government and procedures for constituting government. In line with this thought, Appadorai (2004) described democracy as a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by themselves. This means that democracy provides institution for the expression in the supremacy of the popular will on basic question of social directions and policy. He identified other features of democracy such as economic equality, fraternal feeling, and political liberty. In modern democracies he stated, that the institutional expression are equal rights of all adults to vote and be voted for, periodic elections, equal eligibility for executive and judicial office, freedom of speech, publication, and association.

Siegel et al (2005) conceive democracy as governance system in which leaders are selected through free and fair elections, with institutions that foster a shared distribution of power, and citizens have extensive opportunities to participate in political life. This they argue explicitly requires a high degree of basic political freedoms, civil liberties and political rights. To them democracy involves equality before the law, due process, political pluralism as well as strong democratic institutions. These institutions include constitution, laws, values, rules of the game and practices, formal accountability mechanisms and sanctions. The foundation of democracy therefore is strong institutions free from executive or political interference that guide political action and inaction of both the ruling class and the ruled . similarly, Harvey (1989) sees democracy as setting affairs according to known rules of government, toleration towards minority views, regular elections, freedom of speech and above all, observance of rule of law. Kolawole (2004) conceives democracy as not absence of military rule nor it is necessarily the presence of civilian administrators, but a situation where political actors and institutions of state are oiled in democratic values, norms and ethos. In this respect, the impact and effects of democracy must permeate all the strata of society and governance.

The definitions above show some common denominators or threads that are associated with democratic society; it guarantees regular free and fair elections, freedom of expression and association, accountability of the state's administrative organs, universal suffrage, equal rights and participation of the local citizens in the formulation and implementation of development plans, as well as guarantee security to the population. It also enhances the provision and equal distribution of resources and basic human needs, as well as enable fragile state to manage its dividends peacefully.

This work adopts as the working definition of democracy, the view posited by Kia & Nnaa (2016). This paper therefore sees democracy in two dimensions;

Firstly, as a value, it involves moral imperatives or fundamental needs that make a political system more inclusive in manner that give people freedom to realize their potentials, invest in people and mobilize that talents and skills of a large number of individuals to economic growth. Secondly, as a social process, democracy is the process by which a society chooses the rules that will govern it. It

is more or less a system subject to social engineering, promoting development and ensures durable peace. In this process, power flows from the people through their representatives. Thus democratic institutions of a society are key determinant of the outcome of the system.

### **Good Governance**

Good Governance is sinequanon to effective service delivery in any given society. Indeed, it is the bedrock that midwives development. The contemporary use of the term good governance Basu (2010) posited, entered the lexicon of public administration in the eighties when the western countries under the influence of neoliberal theories of state contractionism were advocating increased role for the market and the private sector as key regulators of society and economy. According to him, the World Bank in a 1989 Document on sub-Sahara Africa for the first time distinctly unfolded the concept of governance in a four key parameters namely: public sector management, accountability, legal framework for development, and information and transparency. Since then development assistance to developing countries in post cold war era has been subject to the new politics of good governance.

In addition to the above reason for the emergence of good governance, Nnaa (2016) maintained that the collapse of USSR and the Eastern block as alternative to social transformation made liberalization and globalization key words in development. Moreso, the search by most third world countries for solutions to come out of the grip of severe economic crises brought in the World Bank to come out with its own prescription for a short term stabilization program and a long term structural reform of the economy that would reform these recessed economics towards sustainable level of growth. Their argument was that excessive governmental intervention in the society and economy account for failure, misallocation, misappropriation, distortion of priorities, institutionalized corruption, and abuse of power by public agencies which could amongst other things lead to stunted or arrested growth. The World Bank therefore prescribed its solution in deregulation and privatization allowing the market to engineer growth and development. This background information on good governance reveals that it is a new paradigm of development administration, which features were laid down by the international funding agencies.

### ***Good Governance Defined***

It has been pointed by scholars that there is no single and exhaustive definition of good governance nor is there a delimitation of its scope that commands universal acceptance. The term is used with great flexibility because it is an extremely elusive objective. The definitional problem pointed above notwithstanding, the search for a commonly and universally accepted definition of the term both in academic and professional application continue to gain currency. Good governance according to Al-Rodhan (2009) is the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law. Its true test is the degree to which it delivers on the promises of human rights; civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. In a UNDP (1997) work entitled, "Governance for Sustainable Human Development", Kofi Annan, the former United Nations Secretary-General defines good governance as ensuring respect for human rights and the rule of law; strengthening democracy; promoting transparency and capacity in public administration.

Corroborating the definitions above, Sharma et al (2012) described good governance as phenomena that depend on the efficient functioning of the organs of government in a manner that ensures responsive, accountable, transparent, decentralized and people friendly (citizen-centric) administration. Similarly, the World Bank document entitled, "Governance and Development" cited in Goel (2007) conceives good governance as involving creating and sustaining an environment, which fosters strong and equitable development and it is an essential complement to sound economic policies. From a broader perspective good governance can therefore be viewed as a subject area that includes economic liberalism as reflected in private ownership, investment and greater equality; political pluralism which refers to democratic participation of people in the development process and decentralization of authority from the centre; social development which includes human rights, rule of law, an independent judiciary and a free press; administrative accountability which refers to transparency, zero tolerance for corruption, economy, efficiency and effectiveness; and public sector reforms, strategic planning and management of change. UNDP (1997) and Al-Rodhan (2009) listed some principles which are conceived as expressions of the fundamental values of democracy that can sustain an environment for good governance to include participation, rule of law, transparency, responsive, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision. From the conceptualization of good governance above, this study posits that, to fill the existing gap in the knowledge of literature, it will be more encompassing and balanced to include in its definition as it relates to Nigeria, equality in the distribution of the resources and wealth of the country, equal power sharing among the constituent units that make up the federation and strong and virile political institutions. It will then be obvious to state that there is good governance in Nigeria when the aggregate citizen (or people) organized under it has a consciousness of belonging to a common sovereign political community, enjoy equal political freedom, human rights, economic opportunities, and when the state itself ensures independence in its development policies.

### **Sustainable Development**

The Concept of sustainable development as a subject of scholarly enquiry is said to be of recent origin. According to Okaba (2005) cited in Nnaa (2009), the concept was first used in 1980 by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in the World conservation strategy. It is to be noted however, that at the time in reference the emphasis was on the sustainability of physical environment. An attempt at a universal definition has suffered set back. Hamel (2004) posits that sustainable development applies quite differently to the 'developed' North, which is struggling with the unwanted consequences of overdevelopment or misdevelopment, and to 'developing' Africa, which is struggling with the unwanted effects of slow or non-development. He therefore concluded that knowledge-sustained development is not on course on a global scale. The problem of search for a catholic conceptualization of sustainable development began to attract less attention when a broader definition was given by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). The commission conceives it as meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the needs of the future generation. Corroborating WCED's definition, Thingan (2008) asserts that sustainable development means that development should keep going; being development that embraces the present and the future. Ascher and Healy (1990) argued that sustainable development stresses not the need to limit development, but the need to develop in order to be able to conserve. Sustainable Development is therefore conceived by them as the helpers of development and the guardian of the interests of future generations. Relating it to Africa, Hamel (2004) opines that the essence of sustainable development in Africa commands a dramatic reduction in poverty and

hunger, and improved development prospects for future generations; and that considerable progress on these fronts is necessary to achieve meaningful sustainable development.

From the above definitions, it can be concluded that sustainable development is that which addresses the needs and aspirations of the people in the present without jeopardizing their future and that of the generation after them. In other words, it is development on a continuous basis. This study is therefore of the opinion that the needs and aspiration of the people could only be met or achieved on sustainable basis through effective policy engineering (good governance). In this view, the role of good governance and sustainable development can not be overemphasized. Sustained development therefore calls for good governance-people-oriented policies. This will create sustainable improvement and growth in social, economic, political, technological, and cultural life of the people devoid of incessant crises.

### **IMPLICATIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE NIGERIA EXPERIENCE**

#### **Democracy and Development:**

In liberal democracies, democracy is extol as sinequanon to development. It is the belief therefore that higher dividends of democracy is a function of functional and improved democratic processes through strong democratic institutions. Corroborating this view, Lawal and Olukayode (2012) stated that, the higher democratic practices in a society, the higher the dividends of democratic; and the higher the dividends of democracy, the better the level of sustainable development. This depicts that no society can witness or achieve meaningful development when democratic norms and values are not in practice or adhered to by the administrators or leaders. This is because adherence to democratic principles replicates effective and efficient performance and greater service delivery.

From the explanation above, Democracy and Development could be conceived as inseparable. Reason being that indices of development such as provision of basic needs, genuine participation of the people in determining priorities of development, its implementation and equitable distribution of its outcomes, freedom to decide its political course, feeling of self respect, commitment, discipline, accountability amongst other are also ethos of democracy (Nnaa, 2009).

The relationship between democracy and development can therefore be likened to the “hen and egg” analysis. This informed the reason why Huntington (1997) opined that without orderly process of political organization and procedure, the gains of development may not be sustainable. Corroborating this line of thought, Ake (2001) submitted that, “the well-being of the people will only be supreme law of development if they have some decision making power. It is possible of course that someone can exercise public decision making power to benefit others, but only one way to ensure that social transformation is not dissociated from the well-being of the people is to institute democracy”.

The theoretical perspective of democracy-development discourse above can best be understood by critically assessing the performance of governance under democratic regimes in Nigeria from 1999 to date. In a recent study by Ijere (2015), it is recorded that from 1999 when democratic rule (second republic) was instituted, the economic development data suggest that Nigerian economy grew at an annual rate of 7.8 in 2010, 4.9 in 2011, 4.3 in 2012 and 5.4 percent in 2013. Also, the Nigeria Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Annual Growth Rate 2019 Data Chart show that the economy

of Nigeria advanced 2.4 percent year-on-year in the last quarter of 2018, following a 1.8 percent expansion in the previous period and beating market expectation of a 2.1 percent gain and this was seen as the highest growth rate since the third quarter of 2015. On quarterly basis, the Nigeria economy expanded 5.3 percent; lower than 9.5 percent in the prior quarter. In 2018, the Nigerian economy grew 1.9 percent, quickening from 0.8 percent in 2017, being the fattest expansion since 2015 (National Bureau of statistics, 2019).

Nigerian who values the quantitative indices explanation above, would reason that the country has witnessed or recorded some meaningful development under the various democratic dispensations. However, from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as well as Human Development Index (HDI) framework and Perspective, if these figures do not address the questions of poverty, unemployment, inequality, education and political freedom, then development remains an elusive one. This is the experience in Nigeria where poverty has been on the rise with over 100 million people living below “bread” level (poverty line), with a life expectancy at 53 years in 2013 (World Bank, 2015). Unemployment is on the increase with its attendant consequences, there is crisis in the education sector (as shown in the Academic Staff Union of Universities ASUU and Academic Staff Union of Polytechnics, ASUP strikes which paralyzed high institutions in the country between November 2018 and February, 2019). The disturbing trend of poverty, unemployment, pressure of inflation, political alienation and other national questions that are recurring decimals on Nigeria development agenda, show that the nexus between democracy and sustainable development is a paradoxical reality. Affirming this position, Ojakorotu and Allen (2009) cited in Okeke (2014) demonstrated that democracy in Nigeria neglects the welfare of the citizens and such a system that fails to guarantee the welfare of the citizens will be difficult to market as democracy. It is in the light of this fact that Ake (2001) argued that for development to be sustainable, it requires that a democratic political organization and process must emphasize the primacy of the people and their resources in the development process.

### **Good Governance and Sustainable Development: An Appraisal of its Performance in Nigeria.**

Proponents of the import of good governance have appraised the model as being of immense value in achieving sustainability in the bureaucracy and political development. According to Stocker (2003) cited in Nnaa & Abeki (2016) the concept of governance is concerned beyond the retooling of governance to a broader concern with the institutions of social and economic fabric beyond governance. He further stated that the practice of good governance points our attention to the fact that the world of governing is changing in ways which mark a substantial break from the past and the emerging new experimentations are therefore worthy of study.

Scholars and practitioners of public administration have also argued that with good governance, central planning is rapidly given way to the development of sectoral strategies and there is greater propensity to seek out and cultivate local and regional partnerships. There is also growing recognition of the interconnectedness of governance and public service providers as well as emphasis on public sector reforms, strategic planning, and management of change.

Good governance implies the efficient and management of state institutions and resources in accordance with the rule of law to promote the general welfare of the citizens. Good governance embraces such requirements as efficiency, curbing corruption which inhibits development and investment, guarantee of civil and human rights and accountability to the people. UNDP (2006) has

posited that good governance enhances development on sustainable basis. Therefore, democratic governance seek in common with good governance, efficient institutions and predictable economic and political environment that make economic growth possible and public services effective. It is the sustainability of the means and ends of good governance that nurtures development in human society. The development indices stated in this work, are significant part of the requirements of good governance which the environment of democracy is expected to promote and entrench.

Some scholars in the good governance – development discourse according to Ozohu-Suleiman (2016) however, have questioned what they described as the blind faith in the relationship between democracy, good governance and sustainable development. They observed that good governance is not about a mode of polity, or a procedural arrangement, but a holistic and consequential variable. It is not about forms of government, but the result of governance. It is not the process or course of a political rule, but its effects; it is about effective and productive government. It is this line of argument that informed Musawa (2014) cited in Nnaa (2016) that good governance is yet to yield any positive or meaningful outcome/result in Nigeria.

He argued that in spite of Nigeria's enormous natural resources and huge potential as well as good social and economic policies that have been formulated and implemented by successive governments/administrations, Nigeria remains undoubtedly underdeveloped; laggard in social, economic, and political development. Political instability, object poverty, severe youth unemployment, heightened crime rate, poor health facilities, pervasive malnourishment and to add to it, militancy, insurgency/terrorism and separatist agitations continue to be the predominant features with the polity. This development anomaly has indeed made governance a major problem in Nigeria, and these problems can be attributed to the absence of good governance. In Musawa's view, he contended that, it is an unassailable fact that democracy as is currently practiced in Nigeria has produced unpalatable results associated with the nature of the Nigerian state and the character of the elites. It is the view of this study that Nigeria democracy and the practice of public administration are in contrast with or contradict the principles of good governance; it promotes inequality rather than equality. There can be no genuine or good governance in a country where citizens are grossly unequal in wealth and the poor who are invariably the majority are dependent on the few wealthy. How can we appraise or assess the government of a country where there are visible unequal distribution of the resources and wealth of the country amongst its constituent units as well as unequal power sharing among the various ethnic groups that make up the country; Or where exist national insecurity, and systemic corruption as exemplified in the ongoing recovered loots by politicians, as well as lack of strong political institutions?

Assessment of other principles of good governance such as participation built on freedom of association and speech; transparency built on the free flow of information; consensus orientation through mediating between differing interests to reach a broad consensus; Effectiveness and Efficiency built on results that meet the needs of the people while making the best use of resources; Accountability which demands that decision-makers in government and private sector be accountable to the public, as well as institutional stakeholders; and strategic vision which demands that leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on governance and human development, indicate that Nigeria is far from adhering or practicing these principles but rather living in the wide sepulchre of bad governance. Governance is termed bad when it fails to achieve the

purposes of being transparent, responsible, responsive, accountable as well as limit participation of the people and flagrant disrespect to the rule of law.

The symbiotic relationship between these attributes of bad or lack of good governance, and underdevelopment are not far fetched. For example, the insecurity in the country as being currently experienced are reactionary protests arising from bad governance. Its implications on economic development are two fold; (i) on potential investment, and (ii) on existing enterprises. A World Bank report on investment climate in nine African countries portrays that 29% of business operations in Africa and 36% in Nigeria perceived insecurity as a major constraint on investment. This situation affects Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria because it is considered high risk zones due to the high level of uncertainty about the safety of investment and lives of the managers and staff (Nnaa & Kia, 2017). The insecurity situation in many cases also halted business operations as experienced in the Niger Delta and North Eastern regions. The ongoing recovery of loots by public office holders and their cohorts shows that Nigeria has lost some trillions of naira meant for development to selfish individuals who siphoned it for private gains and sometimes as capital flight abroad. All these have devastating effects on sustainable development.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

This study as stated earlier aims at establishing the symbiotic relationship between democracy, good governance and sustainable development in Nigeria during the democratic regimes. Following from the theoretical discourse and practical evidences in the democratic practices in Nigeria, it is established that democracy does not birth good governance nor engenders development on sustainable basis. Put differently, it is noted that democracy has achieve little or not much success in bestowing to the people their basic needs or even the requirements of participation in decision making. It has neither not provided the peaceful atmosphere that can bring about development and the well-being of the people. The democratic experiment we have had in Nigeria since 1999 up till now could best be described as “jawjaw” democracy or “rhetorical” democracy. Nigeria democracy falls short of the demands of liberal democracy imposed on the country by the colonial masters, let alone of the inclusive nature expected of a developing nation like ours. The democracy in Nigeria does not concede any aspect of decision making to the masses. From the electoral processes which are characterized with rigging to the feedback system, there is no semblance of true democracy.

The inability to put into practice the democratic principles (norms and values) or put differently, the lack of democratic principles has really affected national development. The questions on resource control, power shift, revenue allocation, terrorisms, insecurity etc are evidences of lack of democratic norms and good governance in Nigerian society. This paper also reveals that since the inception of democracy in the second republic (1999) till date, Nigeria has produced unpalatable and contradictory results associated with the nature of the Nigerian state and the character of the ruling elites which tend to promote inequality in the distribution of resources and power sharing, insecurity, lack of strong political institutions, and systemic corruption. The paper also found that good governance can not be expected to a democratic system that is not people-oriented; and where the electoral umpire can not conduct a free and fair elections without massive electoral fraud as experienced in the general elections of 1979, 1983, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and presently 2019 (Presidential and National Assembly elections conducted on 23 February, 2019 after a postponement from the scheduled date 16 February, 2019).

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Weighing the negative implications of lack of democratic norms and practices, and lack of good governance on sustainable development in Nigeria, this paper recommends amongst others as follows;

- i. The government should strengthen the necessary legal and institutional framework that will encourage the entrenchment of internal democracy in the political parties as well as adequate building of the parties as opposed to it been funded by some few individuals. A situation where political parties are hijacked by the few wealthy individuals who determined those presented as candidates during general elections and for political appointment negates the principles of democracy. An example of this, was the case of distortion in the internal democracy of the All Progressive Congress (APC) gubernatorial Primary in Rivers State in the 2018 party elections.
- ii. There should be a strong and credible political institutions to steer the democratization process devoid electoral malpractices and post election violence. On this note, the paper recommends an electronic voting system designed to cater for our peculiar environment but not below the internationally recognized standard.
- iii. An inclusive democratization process is required to foster good governance and sustainable development. A process that must incorporate all stakeholders, civil society, organized labour, professional bodies, the media etc to achieve transparency and accountability in governance.
- iv. Attitudinal transformation on the part of political elites. There should be value rearmament to correct the idiosyncracies of public office holders towards the national treasury.
- v. Functional legislature on part-time basis with take home allowance a little above the salary of a permanent secretary that should differentiate politics from governance.
- vi. Building strong and inclusive institutions (political and economic). This will increase confidence in investors in the Nigerian economy and attract foreign direct investment (FDI) as well as strengthen the private sector.
- vii. Social democratic option – one that can set in motion a democratization process that places emphasis on the people's active participation in the development process.
- viii. There should be a total overhauling of the entire system, political, economic, and social, and a social mode of production emphasized so as to discourage greed, systemic corruption, inequality, violence and the likes.

The opinion expressed by the authors of this work is that good governance should engender an enabling governance environment and finish the required institutional infrastructure for sustainable development. This is because what Nigeria needs is not more strongmen to wage war against corruption (an outcome of bad governance and weak structure), it needs more strong democratic institutions that will stand the test of time (sustainability). Without good governance no amount of effort can guarantee sustainable development in Nigeria. It is the opinion of the paper that any policy change or paradigm in Nigeria which fails to address the various national questions arising from the effect of bad governance such as resources control, fixed federation, true federation in the Nigerian context and other issues that re-echoed at 2014 National Conference, will continue to experience policy rape which could lead to development – abortion or bastard development that can not be sustained overtime.

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