

GOOD GOVERNANCE, A KEY DRIVER TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper focused on good governance as a key to sustainable development in Nigeria. It discussed the concepts of governance, good governance and the principles underlying it. The provisions for good governance in Nigeria's 1999 Constitution were analyzed and the efforts made to actualize were assessed. Various development plans since independence were highlighted, and the current development efforts of Vision 20:2020 were examined. The analyses revealed that despite the various developmental plans, the foreign aids received, the natural resources tapped, the country is far from being a developed nation because of bad governance. It was recommended that the electoral process should be reviewed to ensure true democracy, the civil society groups should become more proactive to mobilize and enlighten the citizenry on their rights and obligations; political parties should field more credible candidates who are God fearing.

Key Words

Governance, Development, Transparency, Accountability

1. Introduction

In its over fifty years of independence Nigeria has drawn development plans, received foreign aids, loans have been acquired, national resources tapped, with a view to ensuring that it becomes a developed nation. But on the contrary, the country is faced with crises of underdevelopment manifesting through high level of poverty, low per capita income, corruption at all levels of society and unemployment. The question is why? This paper attempts to link Nigeria's underdevelopment to the problem of governance. The paper therefore, discussed the concept of governance, development, governance and sustainable development, Nigeria's journey towards good governance, summary and conclusion.

2. Governance

Governance has been variously defined. To Adetiba and Rahim (2012) governance can be seen as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. To them, governance has three dimensions – political, administrative and economic. Political

governance is the process of decision making to formulate policies, it seeks to prevent and reduce intra and interstate conflict, implement constitutional democracy, which include free and fair election, the rule of law and human rights. Administrative governance is the system of policy implementation promoting accountability and efficiency of public office holders. Economic governance refers to the decision making process that affects a country's economic activities and its relationship with other economies.

To Bliss (2002) governance includes not only the government but also the private sector and the civil society. United Nations Development Programme (1997) defined governance as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs, or the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and obligations and mediate their differences. It encompasses every institution in the society, from the family to the state and embraces all methods, bad or good, that society uses to distribute power and manage public resources and problems.

This shows that governance differs from government, because government simply discusses the political, economic and administrative process carried out by the state, while governance embraces the interactive process between government, the private sector and civil societies. Governance can be good or bad.

2.1. Good Governance

The Australian government defines good governance as the competent management of a country's resources and affairs in a manner that is open, transparent, accountable, equitable and responsive to people's needs (<http://www.usaid.govr.au>). Adetiba and Rahim (2007) see good governance as fair and equitable allocation of resources for the achievement of the end purpose of the state, which is the promotion of common good of the citizens. Good governance provides opportunity for popular participation in decisions that affect the life of people, access to power and transparency as well as accountability of those in power. A system of good governance would consist of a set of rules and institutions, a legal framework for development and a system of public administration which is open, transparent, efficient and accountable. It is devoid of corruption, nepotism, and discrimination. Good governance is measured by the level of its performance, its ability to effectively deliver most crucial socio-political goods, beginning with security to citizens, especially human security within which people are able to resolve and manage their differences without resorting to arms or other forms of aggression. It can also be measured through the provision of political and civil freedom i.e the right to compete for political office, tolerance of dissent and difference, fundamental human rights. These in turn create conducive environment for sustainable development.

Good governance according to UNDP among other things is participatory, transparent, and accountable. It is also effective and equitable and promotes the Rule of Law. It ensures that the voices of poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision making over the allocation of development resources, and that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus among the three stakeholders i.e the states, private sector and civil society. The three, according to UNDP, are important for development in the sense that the state creates a conducive political and legal atmosphere; the private sector creates jobs and incomes, while the civil societies facilitate political and social interaction.

The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), note that good governance has eight core characteristics which include participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and accountability.

Table 1: Eight Principles of Good Governance

S/No	The Eight Good Governance Principles	The Principles and related text on which they are based
1	Participation	All men and women should have a voice in decision making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their institutions. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech and capacities to participate constructively.
2	Rule of Law	This involves legal frameworks that are enforced impartially; protection of human rights, especially those of minorities; impartial enforcement of laws, independent judiciary, impartial and incorruptible police force.
3	Transparency	Decisions taken and their enforcement follows rules and regulations; information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement; information is provided in easily understandable forms.
4	Responsiveness	Entails responding to the needs of all stakeholders and serving them with a reasonable time frame.
5	Consensus oriented	Involves mediation of the different interest groups in the society to reach a broad consensus on what is the best of the whole community and how this can be achieved, broad and long time perspectives on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goal of such development.
6	Equity and inclusiveness	Here all members of society feel that they have stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society; all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing.
7	Effectiveness and Efficiency	The process and institutions produce results that meet the needs of the society while making the best use of society resources at their disposal; the concept of efficiency covers the sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment.
8	Accountability	Governmental institutions, private sector and civil organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

Source: ESCAP 2000 – Human Settlement, a Society's Wellbeing

<http://www.unescap.org/husel/gg/governance.htm>

Basically, good governance is a subset of governance wherein public resources and problems are managed effectively and efficiently in response to the critical needs of society.

2.2. Bad Governance

Bad governance can be described as a situation where the relationship between the government, private sector and the civil society is not in order. It is a state where government fails to manage the resources (material and human) and the institutions of the nation for the optimum benefit of the generality of the populace. It is where the rule of law does not take its course; a state where the socio-political atmosphere is not stimulating economic activities that would advance the country. Owoye and Bissassar (2010) note that bad governance in Africa is manifested by its long list of dictatorial leaders, non-free media and undemocratic elections, large scale corruption which have negative effects on the level of production, consumption, gross private domestic investments, government spending, net exports, employment and money market. Other symptoms are excessive costs, poor service to the public and failure to achieve aims of policy.

The World Bank Report (2010) summarized the major symptoms of bad governance as follows:

- Failure to make clear separation between what is public and what is private.
- Failure to establish a predictable framework of law and government behaviour conducive to development or arbitrariness in the application of rules and laws.
- Executive rules, regulations, licensing requirements and so forth, which impede functioning of markets and encourage rent seeking.
- Priorities inconsistent with development, resulting in a misallocation of resources.
- Excessively narrowly based or non-decision making.

2.3.1. Good Governance and Sustainable Development

Gboyega (2003) as cited in Tola and Oluwatoyin (2011) defined development as an idea which embodies all attempts to improve the coordination of the human existence in all ramifications. This implies improvement in material wellbeing of all citizens in a sustainable way such that today's consumption does not imperil the future; it also demands that poverty and inequality of access to the good things of life be removed or drastically reduced.

Naomi (1995) further opines that development involves economic growth, some notion of equitable distribution, provision of health care, education, housing and other essential services. Chavismen (1984) views development as the process of societal advancement, where improvements in the wellbeing of people are generated through strong partnerships between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. It involves economic, socio-economic and political issues and pervades all aspects of social life.

When we talk of sustainable development, it's a situation where basic operating structures and processes that would ensure the continuous development of a nation have been established and are working efficiently. Researches have shown that good governance is the foundation of national development (www.siv-g.org/index.php) Arviden and Chandram (2007) who carried a study in India observed that over the years India had established diverse structures and made several developments to ensure national development and yet poverty and other social and economic vices prevail because, India like many developing countries lacked good governance. Arviden and Chandran noted that, where good governance is lacking, progress be it economic, social or ecological, has not taken place. On the contrary, in most cases, stagnation has taken place. Poor governance generates a social environment detrimental to development. But good governance puts people into the centre of development, where people grow and profits grow.

ESCAP (2000), notes that good governance helps a country to gain maximum utility from its resources in a manner which is economically, environmentally, and socially sustainable. It ensures the political and economic activities benefit the whole society rather than a few individuals.

Major developmental benefits often delivered by good governance include:

- Stable political and economic environment which will encourage investments and flourishing business;
- Sustainable development of a country's resources both human and material;
- Improvement and development of infrastructure, related to basic living standard e.g sanitation, housing, water and light;
- Development of health and educational facilities which are accessible to all;

- The protection of human rights. It's only through good governance that a community can guarantee the basic needs of its citizens such as the right to food, security, shelter, health care and to fair, equitable and accessible justice system.
- With good governance, the security of life and property will be ensured and people will go about their daily functions without fear. This will enhance the productivity level of the nation. Besides, the human capital often lost due to crisis will be saved.
- With good governance, an attractive and conducive business environment will be created and sustained. This will in turn not only encourage local investors to invest in any part of the nation but will attract foreign investors into the nation. With encouraging political and economic policies, with the assurance of the security of their investments, and with a sure large market in Nigeria, investors will pull their resources to invest.
- With good governance, there will be peaceful co-existence within and between communities, within and between political parties, in and between religious groups, in and between the different arms of government. Besides, there will be ease of movement in different parts of Nigeria with a harmonious co-existence, ideas will be shared in honesty. Objective and constructive criticisms will be offered and the nation will be better of.
- With good governance, justice will be administered in Nigeria without fear or favour. The guilty will be punished under the provisions of the law, while those not guilty will be set free. This will not only promote peaceful co-existence but will deter all kinds of crimes that people commit and go scot free. It will also ensure that people pursue truth and are honest all the time. In this way our value system will be better developed.
- With good governance in Nigeria, bribery and corruption, embezzlement of public funds will become strangers in Nigeria. This in turn will ensure that the right people are placed in the right positions. With embezzlement nipped, the monies meant for development projects will be judiciously used. Thus money voted for electricity, roads, agriculture, education health, water resources, industrialization, poverty alleviation etc will be spent fully and adequately in the relevant areas. This will put Nigeria on a progressive and sustained path of development.
- With good governance, an enabling environment will be created for effective participation in governance by the entire population. This will enable the poor, the rich, literate and illiterate, men and women, young and the old, people of diverse religions and tribes to have a say in the affairs of the nation. In the long run there will be trust and confidence in both the government and the process of governance.

2.3.2. Nigeria's Efforts at Good Governance.

Nigeria in its desire to ensure good governance and national development has made efforts to imbibe the eight principle of good governance in the 1999 Constitution. Table II provides a highlight of some constitutional provisions on good governance and some efforts made to actualize them.

Table 2: Highlight on 1999 Constitutional Provisions on Good Governance and Structures for Actualizing them

S/No	Principle	Provision in the Constitution	Structures put in Place or Actions taken
1	Participation	Section 14(1) the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice. 14(c) The participation of people in the government shall be ensured in accordance with the provision of the Constitution. 15(2) national integration shall be encouraged whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic association shall be prohibited.	Political parties where all citizens (male/female) are free to belong Appointment and elections of women into various positions of government companies and civil societies.
2	Rule of Law	17(1) The state social order is founded on ideals of freedom, Equality and Justice 17(2) Every citizen shall enjoy equality of rights, obligation and opportunity before the Law (b) the independence, impartiality and integrity of courts of law, and easy accessibility thereto shall be secured and maintained.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishment of court of law all over the federation Right for litigation in the courts Fundamental Human Rights Setting up of ICPC and EFCC, Civil defense, Nigeria Police Force
3	Transparency	15(5) The state shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of power 22 – The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The freedom of Information Act (2011) President Jonathan's Mid-term Report delivered on Democracy Day 2013. Establishment of Public Relations, units in all establishments.
4	Responsiveness	16(1) The state shall (a) harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient and dynamic and self reliant economy. (b) Control the national economy in such a manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Setting up of the Revenue sharing committee Solid mineral resources commission The NNPC The National Planning Commission The national Economic Commission Development Plans Annual budgets of federal, state and local governments. Provision of roads, health and educational facilities.
5	Consensus Oriented 58(3) 56(1)2	(47) There shall be A National Assembly For The Federation Which Shall Consist of A Senate And A House of Representatives – Three Senators From Each State And One From The Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, House of Representatives Shall Consist of Three Hundred And Sixty Members. 56(1) Any Question Proposed For Decision in the Senate or The House of Repetitive, Shall Be Determined by the required majority of those present 58(1) The Power of The National Assembly to make Laws Shall Be Exercised by Bills passed by both the Senate and the House of Representatives And assented to by The President.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Debates In the National And State Houses of Assembly The Committee System In the Legislature and general administration Public Hearing on Sensitive National Issues. Joint Sitting of The Senate and House of Representative.
6	Equity and Inclusiveness	17(3) The state shall direct its policy towards ensuring that: (a) all citizens, without discrimination on any ground whatsoever, have the opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood as well as adequate opportunity to secure suitable employment. (d) There are adequate medical and health facilities for all (f) Children, young persons and the aged are protected against any exploitation whatsoever, and against moral and material neglect.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry of Labour and Productivity The Federal Character Commission The National Health Insurance The Child's Rights Act The National Pension Commission Universal Basic Education Various Committees on Education for specialized areas.
7	Effectiveness Efficiency	153(1) There shall be established for the Federation the following bodies: Code of Conduct Bureau; civil Service Commission; Federal Judicial Service Commission, Police Service commission 158(1) In exercising its power to make appointment or to exercise disciplinary control over persons, the Commissions, shall not be subject to the direction or control of any other authority or person.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Code of Conduct Bureau Civil Service Rules and Regulations Professional Ethics of the Progressions Conditions of Service for Various Organization Efforts at Resuscitating the Energy, Communications and Railway System. Investments in Education, health and Agricultural sectors.
8	Accountability	24(f) It shall be the duty of every citizen to declare his income honestly to appropriate and lawful agencies and pay tax prompt 85(1) There shall be an Auditor-General for the Federation. The Public accounts of the Federation shall be audited and reported of the Auditor-General who shall submit his reports to the National Assembly 85(4) The Auditor General shall have power to conduct checks of all government stationery corporations, commissions, Authorities agencies, including persons and bodies established by an Act of the National Assembly.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Asset Declaration Act Setting up of the Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) Oversight function of members of the legislature Assessment of Budget Implementation Litigation in Courts Tenure of Office and Elections.

As can be seen from the table, there are constitutional provisions for each of the eight principles of good governance. In other words, those who drafted, debated, finalized and those implementing the Constitution are aware of the need and the principles of good governance. But the issue is how far have they ensured good governance in Nigeria? There is no doubt that besides the provision in the Constitution some attempts have been made to ensure their implementation. But to what extent has this been done?

Looking at the issue of participation, although in principle, room is open to everyone to belong to a political party, and appointment of both sexes is made to various positions, there is much in-balance. Only about thirty five percent of appointive offices have been allotted to women at the federal level; only 9% of legislators are females. Besides, the process of selection for elective offices is often tele-guided by 'heavy weights' who believe that they are 'king makers' and only those they desire should be allowed to contest specific offices. The factors of religion, gender, ethnicity, place of birth are known to influence selection at both the party level and at general elections.

On the Rule of Law, in principle, we are all equal before the law, but in practice some are more equal than others. It is a known fact that people from rich and influential families, big time politicians, those with 'godfathers' enjoy preferential treatment. It is a known fact that questionable judgements have been delivered at different instances. In a few cases, higher courts or tribunals have had the courage to quash some of such verdicts, on appeal. But how many have the capacity to appeal against court verdicts, especially taking into consideration the high cost of hiring a counsel. Some of the trials are also so prolonged that by the time judgements are delivered, they mean little or nothing to the winners.

The affairs of government are not truly transparent. Despite the Freedom of Information Act (2011), journalists are forced to be courteous in the search for information on certain issues of public interest else, they will either lose their jobs or their lives. The case of Dele Giwa, is only one out of so many. Many government ministries, agencies have become very corrupt such that transparency will expose their dirty deals.

As observed by Ogbedi (2012), in Nigeria, there is consensus among all well-meaning individuals and foreign nations that corruption has inevitably become a major clog in the quest for sustainable growth and development. Corruption is seen as the single most critical impediment to the achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Ogbedi further notes that a clear consequence of corruption on the economic wellbeing of Nigerians has been the distribution of government expenditure. Transparency International (TI) has often listed Nigeria among the most corrupt nations of the world, a sample of which is shown on table 3.

Table 3: Nigeria's ranking among most corrupt countries in the world

Year	Position/Rank	Number of Counties Investigated
1996	1 st	54
1997	5 th	85
2001	2 nd	91
2002	3 rd	102
2003	2 nd	133
2011	29 th	147 th
2012	35 th	176

Source: Transparency International Reports 1996-2003; 2011 and 2012

This should not be surprising because some of the cases have been in the news media. For example, the alleged fuel subsidy scam, the embezzlement of pension funds, scams at the security

and exchange commission and the Bureau for public Enterprises. What is clear generally is that transparency is a very far cry from our governance in Nigeria.

Responsiveness is about harnessing Nigeria's resources and to use them to secure the maximum benefit and welfare of the society. It is however, very true that the resources of Nigeria are being enjoyed mostly by politicians and the few rich. While senators earn in millions of Naira a month, the minimum wage of ₦18,000 accepted by government is not yet being paid by some state governments. While the few rich live in affluence, most of the Nigerian population can hardly have a meal in a day. As indicated in World Bank Report (2011), and Ogbedi (2012), despite the substantial natural and human resources, Nigeria is one of the poorest countries in the world. In 2010, Nigeria's GDP per capita of \$2,160, left the country in the 127th position out of the 215 countries listed in the World Bank Development Indicators Database (World Bank, 2011). In essence, Nigerian governance does not seem responsive to Nigeria's real needs.

Consensus oriented - This requires wide consultation on issues before taking a stand that is acceptable and beneficial to the entirety of the population. This is potentially being achieved by the debates in the legislature and occasional public hearing on some national issues. But the fact remains that some of the legislators are bench warmers, only interested in their allowances and hardly contribute to house debates or committee discussion. When it comes to public hearing, many of the people are hardly mobilized enough, to contribute to debates. Some are not enlightened to even know what is going on. In other words, while the voiceless and the vulnerable are supposed to have the power to make their needs heard and to affect political incentives that operate on the ruling government, only a few elite have the opportunity to do so.

Equity and inclusiveness – This involves giving a fair opportunity to all groups in the society, especially the vulnerable, to acquire a sense of belonging and have wellbeing. Opportunities, in theory, have been created for everybody. But the cost implication and the economic status of many citizens makes the availability of a level play field a difficult one. Besides, on issue of appointments, having access to influential personalities has become a determining factor. This has denied the vulnerable and rural community, the opportunity to benefit from many social services offered, such as, paid employment, good roads, electricity and portable water.

Effectiveness and efficiency demands that processes and institutions such as NITEL, Power Holding Company, The Nigeria Police Force, Water Boards, INEC, Nigeria Airway, Educational Institutions and processes like legislation, court proceedings, contract award, etc, produce results that meet the needs of society. But as it is obvious, in the Nigerian society, most processes are very tedious and often undemocratic. Many institutions are hardly effective or efficient. For example, because of the inefficient nature of various organizations, government has had to take drastic measures and commissions of enquiry were set for some. Accountability is required in every sector of the society, if good governance is to be effective. The Constitution has made many provisions on accountability, and several structures have been set up to ensure accountability. The government has three arms – executive, legislature and judiciary, with each accountable to the others. Besides, various agencies have been set up to enforce accountability, transparency and the rule of law. These include the National Drug Law Agency, (NDLE), the Economic and Finance Crime Commission (EFCC), the Independent and Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), the Standards Organization of Nigeria (SON), the Nigeria Police Force (NPF), various courts of law etc. Despite these provisions, accountability still remains low. People who are found wanting in diverse areas are not held accountable for their actions. In many instances corrupt public officers who are qualified for dismissal are transferred to even higher positions. Politicians who should never be mentioned in public are appointed into or selected to contest key positions. Because the internal checks and

balances enshrined in various organizations have been ignored, corruption has grown by leaps and bounds in Nigeria. It has gone down to every level of society.

2.4. Development Planning

In its drive towards sustainable development, Nigeria has drawn series of development plans since independence with a focus on various sectors in the economy. Some of the development plans include: 1st - 1962 – 1968; 2nd - 1970-1974, 3rd – 1975-1980 and 4th – 1980-1985. Other plans made include the Structural Adjustment Programme; The vision 2010; the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) 2003-07, the Seven Point Agenda. Each of these had national development as its focus. But as observed in the vision 20:2020 document (2009) majority of these programmes failed to deliver on the objectives for which they were introduced.

Currently, we are on Vision 20:2020 Development Programme which seeks to place Nigeria among the 20 most developed economies by the year 2020. The vision embraced all the key principles of good governance and sustainable development. Its objectives include:

- Develop efficient, accountable, transparent and participatory governance
- Establish a competitive business environment characterized by sustainable macro-economic stability
- Enhance national security and improve the administration of justice
- Promote unity in diversity, national pride, and conserve the nation's cultural heritage
- Develop sufficient and efficient infrastructure to support sustained economic growth
- Preserve the environment for sustainable socio-economic development
- Promote sustainable development of Nigeria's geo-political regions into economic growth poles (Nigeria Vision 20:2020: pp. 125).

These are very clear and focused objectives which if achieved will raise Nigeria to a very significant level of development. But as also observed in the document, Nigeria has never been in short supply of policies or reforms aimed at alleviating the failing economy and livelihood insecurity since independence. The major bottlenecks include corruption, lack of continuity of policy implementation, inappropriate fiscal policy and macro-economic policies, ethnic and political divide resulting in unstable political and social environment. What is the guarantee that in these seven years ahead all these bottlenecks will be removed so as to ensure the full implementation of the programme? Will corruption be curbed to a significant level? These can only be ensured through good governance.

2.5. Summary and Conclusion

The analysis so far has shown that good governance is based on eight fundamental principles of participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus oriented, equity, effectiveness and efficiency and accountability. Such principles have been enshrined in Nigeria's 1999 Constitution and have been reflected in various development plans and programmes, especially the Vision 20:2020. Nigeria as an independent nation has drawn various development plans and the current one, Vision 20:2020 embraced in full the principles of good governance and national development. It was observed that, the problem with Nigeria's development is not the lack of plans and initiative but that of governance. Although provision have been made for effective national development, the governance is corrupt, inefficient, not responsive and therefore has been unable to deliver the benefits of good governance to Nigerians.

To enable Nigeria rise to the challenge of its development, the governance of Nigeria must be practiced as enshrined in the constitution. The development strategies earmarked in the Vision 20:2020 must be pursued vigorously. To achieve this, the following measures would need to be addressed.

- The electoral process right from the party level must be addressed to ensure true democracy. The selection process at the party level, in many cases is undemocratic. Often times the highest bidder and not the most popular candidates are fielded to contest elections. Similarly, at the general election level, instances exist where figures have been falsified. This has resulted in the declaration of unpopular candidates as winners:
- Candidates should be strictly screened by all the relevant agencies to ensure that only people of high reputation contest elections
- Most people occupying political positions appear religious but lack the fear of God. Efforts should be made to ensure credible people who are conscious of the mortal nature of man and judgement of God, come to power.
- Corruption at all levels of the Nigerian society should be addressed more vigorously.
- Rule of Law must be enforced to ensure people become accountable.
- Civil societies should become more proactive in mobilizing and sensitizing the populace to pursue and enforce their rights.
- Efforts must be made to ensure reconciliation at communal, state and national levels. Similarly, reconciliation efforts should be embarked on at the party levels. This will minimize the amount of sabotage by aggrieved members. Similarly, it will minimize incidences of crises, communal and religious conflicts in the country.

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