

Research Article

Democracy and Good Governance in the Fourth Republic: A Focus on Subnational Level

Alfred Idachaba Odaudu* 

Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Edo State University, Iyamho, Nigeria

Abstract

Many States in Africa, including Nigeria have taken to democracy so that they could realize the expected societal transformation. But since the inception of the Fourth Republic, there seems to be vivid and real perversions in the democratic experiment in Edo/Nigeria, Fourth Republic. Has democratization and democracy projects achieved the desired development in Nigeria, particularly at the sub-national levels? This study investigated democracy and development in Nigeria, evaluating Chief Lucky Igbinedion and Comrade Adams Oshiomhole's Administrations, Fourth Republic (1999-2007 and 2008-2016). Essentially, the study is meant to be a historical comparative analysis of the two administrations. The main objective of this study is to examine democracy and development at sub-national government level, Edo/Nigeria, and how the practice of the former could translate to development for the benefit of the citizens. The research design for the study is descriptive involving survey method. The study used qualitative and quantitative methods, deploying primary and secondary sources; primary source in form of questionnaire and interview, while the secondary source concerns textual and statistical data. For the purpose of the study, *The population of the study is Edo state. Using stratified sampling method, two local governments each in Edo North, Edo- Central and Edo- South respectively were selected.* There are several theories, but the study utilizes Elite theory. The theory explains the different aspects of the study (topic). The findings show as follows: there was no real Government's commitment to social welfare of the people as a result of non- justiciability of the constitution; that Godfatherism impacted on legislative performance negatively, contributing to the dearth of public policy in Edo State; that bad governance by public leadership militated against infrastructures development, leading to poor service delivery coupled with abandoned projects; and that challenges, such as godfatherism, corruption, non-justiciability of the constitution among others hinder the effective operation of democracy/good governance in the Fourth Republic. Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principle of State Policy should be made binding governmental obligations (justiciable) for their realization both immediately and in the future; political leaders should be established for work and service delivery at sub-national government level in line with democratic tenets- 'transparency and accountability' among others.

Keywords

Democracy, Governance, Godfatherism, Eiectoral Malpractice, Development, Accountability

*Correspondence: Alfred Idachaba Odaudu (odaudu2014phd@gmail.com), Alfred Idachaba Odaudu (odaudu.alfred@edouniversity.edu.ng)

Received: 9 September 2025; **Accepted:** 3 June 2026; **Published:** 22 July 2026



1. Introduction

Democracy as both theoretical and conceptual practices has now become the new focus in Comparative Political Analysis and this focus is centered on the derivation of democracy of the West as the best form of political system to practice globally [9]. Said A. (2010) argued that democracy and development are inseparable but they should not simply copy Western political and economic models [5]. Similarly, democracy and development are mutually reinforcing, democracy creates accountability, transparency and participatory institutions which are essential for sustainable development [12], strengthening further, Edigheji (2010) noted that democracy and development should not only reinforce each other but also should not be treated as competing goals [34, 44]. This is why Third World Countries, most of which have found themselves in a web of leadership and structural crisis have been forced by inevitable exigencies of the New World Order with its one agenda of democratization (5; 8). This position which is summed up in the Liberal Peace Theory formed a major selling point for the universalization of liberal democracy in the 1990's after the Cold War in what was described as the 'Third Wave of Globalization' [44]. The 'Third wave' of globalization emphasizes the issue of democratization among others nations which dominate world interest in Africa, including Nigeria [15]. Many States in Africa, including Nigeria have taken to democracy so that they could realize the expected societal transformation.

According to Said (2000), the Ibrahim Badamoshi Political Bureau (1988) laid the foundation for the Fourth Republic [5]. The Fourth Republic ushered in a democracy. Since 29th May, 1999, inception of Fourth Republic, the Popular Slogan, 'Dividends of Democracy', has pervaded the political landscape of Nigeria/Edo, indicating high expectation of the people from democratic rule since it is believed that democratic dividends is the gains of democracy, such as, the prevalence of rule of law, observance of the fundamental human rights, and regular, credible elections, equal share of political power among members of society, infrastructure development amongst others" [13, 27, 29, 38].

A critical look at Nigeria's democracy reflects that it has failed woefully to improve the quality of lives of the populace (2). The democratization process has engendered poverty, insecurity, corruption among others in African nations, including Nigeria. It is not surprising to observe the decline in standard of the social infrastructures, educational system and relative signs of Nigeria economy recovery, hence, no meaningful development [15]. But has the democratization and democracy projects for development fair in Edo State Fourth Republic? Have the political leaders used their power and the opportunity of their good offices to embark upon the mission of development in Edo state together with the people?

That democracy could lead to development if there are purposeful leaders is not in doubt [31]. So, expectations were high that political leaders would address the perceived poor performance and maladministration/underdevelopment of the previous administrations the Fourth Republic. The most important rubric or measurement of the performance of any government is the livelihood and social welfare of the people-- a focused agenda on both development reform and service delivery but Governor responding to this task presents major challenges [3]. During the "Day of Tributes" organized in honour of late Elder Statesman, Chief Anthony Enahoro, as part of the burial ceremony, Comrade Adams Aliyu Oshiomhole, the then Christened 'People's Governor' of Edo State remarked:

shall we therefore move the motion and adopt that from now on we shall move away from politics of accumulation for ourselves to politics of development for our people. [11].

This extract not only succinctly captures what should be the driving spirit or outcome of an ideal democratic governance but also clearly distinguishes between the two natures of democracy in Nigeria as revealed in Edo State, They are: one, 'Democracy' as a threat to development (politics of accumulation by political leaders, whose ambition is to make money and not to govern). Two, 'Democracy' for development for the people (politics for development for the people). Again, another important inference from the above message is that 'it is not just mere government in existence that brings people oriented development but credible political leaders that are committed to public goods by implementing policies and action programmes towards achieving overall development. So, the question is 'How have these political leaders used their power and the opportunity of their good offices to embark upon the mission of development in Edo State together with the people?'

This study was an attempt to examine democracy and development at sub-national level. By so doing, it examined how the practice of democracy has contributed towards achieving overall development in Edo/Nigeria, evaluating Chief Nosakhare Igbinedion Lucky and Comrade Adams Aliyu Oshiomhole's Administrations, 1999-2007 and 2008-2016). Essentially, the study was a comparative analysis of the two administrations.

So, to be in line with the democratic practice across the globe emphasizing efficiency, democratization, development, popular participation, political leadership, transparency, issues of accountability and governance in democracy, it has become necessary to examine the concept of democracy and development in the democratic dispensation which for want of better nomenclature, is called the Fourth Republic. How has the State administration maximize its delivery, drawing comparison from the administrations of Lucky Igbinedion and Adams Oshiomhole of Nigeria Edo State?

2. Clarification of Concepts

2.1. An Overview of Democracy

Obessing and Mabogunje (1992) defined democracy as an ideology and politics; as an ideology, democracy is the philosophy of governance, which puts a high premium on the basic freedom, or fundamental human rights of citizens, the rule of law, the right to property, the free flow of information and the right to choose between alternative political options; however, as politics, democracy is concerned with institutions and procedure of governance which foster consensus while simultaneously promoting and sustaining respect for the ideology of democracy [10, 21].

The concept Democracy is a system of electing representative government operated under the rule of law, where the most significant groups in the population participate in the political process and have access to effective representation in the practice of making government decision, that is, of allocation of scarce resources [1].

Many States in Africa have taken to democracy so that they could realize the expected societal transformation, Adejumobi, (2004), notes that the framework of democratic governance has its root in liberal and neoliberal economic agenda. In democratic governance, the state is expected to practise and enhance democratic principles such as, “constitutionalism, respect for rule of law and human rights, popular participation, accountability and transparency, and probity in the management of people and resources (1). Omonia & Aliu hold these values to large extent represent the core essence of democratic governance and these key attributes are critical to the capacity of democratic governance to encounter and strengthen the social contract, popular trust, state legitimacy and enhance social economic and political development in the society (1).

Despite three decades of preoccupation with development in Africa, the economies of most African nations are still stagnating or regressing; for most Africans, incomes are lower than they were two decades ago, health prospects are poorer, malnutrition is widespread, and infrastructures and social institutions are breaking down [31]. However, the democratization process has engendered poverty, insecurity, corruption among others many African countries [7].

At this junction, there is need to ask ‘how has the practice of democracy helped in achieving overall development of Nigeria/Edo state?

In Nigeria/Edo, people expected that democracy lead to the nation’s development [14]. On 29th May, 1999, General Abdulsalam Abubakar gave the mantle of leadership to Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as the democratic President of Nigeria, thereby making Nigeria a democracy in the Fourth Republic. [14]. Meanwhile, according to Avidime and Usman (2014), most Nigerians expected the return to democratic governance on to set the stage for the socio-economic and political transformation of the country. However, one can’t imagine if Nigeria has really experienced twenty three years (1999-2022)

of unbroken civilian rule. Okeshola & Igba (2014) noted that the standard of living continues to decline by the day while social infrastructures and educational system are still on the elective. In fact, the duo noted that Nigeria economy has not shown enough signs of recovery [15], on this note, Okeshola & Igba (2014) asked, “With the democratic rule in Nigeria from 1999 to date, can Nigerians testify to any meaningful change, in terms of health, employment etc. that has brought any positive change in their lives? Have they reaped any meaningful dividends of democracy”? [41] It is not surprising therefore that that “recent poverty index reports 2020 shows that Nigeria is now considered as one of the 20 poorest countries in the world with over 70 percent of its population is poor with 35% (percent) living in absolute poverty, and that 59% women die during or soon after childbirth every year; the second-highest in the World after India” (Poverty Index Report, 2020) Therefore, it beats one imagination to think if Nigeria is really serious with democratization that will lead to the delivering of the expected dividends of democracy.

Okeshola & Igba (2014) noted that only few Nigerians could testify that democratic rule from 1999 till date has direct positive impacts on their lives and that the very few are the politicians themselves, their families and cronies, business moguls and consultants who have connections with politicians professionals and academics given appointments as defenders and promoters of politicians while the Nigerian people who do not have connections with politicians are continuing to live in hardship and uncertainty, insecurity, un-development, corruption, rigging of elections, lack of electricity, lack good drinking water and road, etc. [41] On this note, Usman & Avidime (2014) clearly submitted that the democratic experience seems to be or have been tainted with poor governance, the problems of poverty, de-industrialization, widespread unemployment, large scale collapse of infrastructure, illiteracy, insecurity of lives and property, political corruption, and weak governance institutions; consequently, public trust in democratic process, institutions and actors is in decline [14].

Omodia & Aliu in agreement with the above, observed that many years after democratic rule, the expectations of most Nigerians have been largely undermined by poor governance with its attendant socio-economic and political challenges, for example, the Nigerian economy is overwhelmed by the problems of poverty, widening income inequality between the rich and the poor, disinvestment, inflation industrialization, mass unemployment arises, the crises of widespread collapse of social values, and infrastructure, illiteracy, insecurity of lives and property, political corruption, authoritarianism, electoral malpractices, politically motivated violence and weak governance institutions continue to undermine the socio-political realm in Nigeria [1].

From the foregoing, one can say that the return to civilian administration on 29th May, 1999 is laudable and ought to provide the opportunity to overturn underdevelopment and political problems associated with prolonged military rule and at the same time offers a wide expectation of improved quality

of wellbeing and governance. The citizens do not enjoy dividends of democracy though, it is a fact that democratic governance primarily exists to provide public goods and improve the welfare of its citizens [2]. That is, good government carries out good policies and action to earn the confidence and legitimacy of the people. But as we come to see, this is not the case with our political elites. So, using, Jibunoh's words, "When politicians use the phrase 'Dividend of democracy', people are truly disappointed or confused because the outcome does not align with their expectations" [22].

2.2. The Concept of Governance/Good Governance

Nkom, (2007: 75) refer governance to the use of political power to manage a nation's public affairs and to shape its economic and social environment in line with perceived notions of public interest and societal progress and has great impact on a society either positively or negatively, the former is development and progress while the later is stagnation and underdevelopment in the community [25].

In a wider sense, governance consists of a complex mechanisms, processes and institutions that citizens and groups use to articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and obligations and moderate their differences. This goes beyond public authorities as the conduct of affairs and resolution of public problems within or outside governments is embraced. Governance can be undertaken by non- state actors such as communities, neighborhoods and social and popular groupings. However, for non -state actors, governance related activities have to be within existing political frameworks or in partnership with public authorities. Governance is however often conceived in political and power terms which relates to issues of the processes of policy making, representation and the management of socio- political affairs. It is thus often defined as the conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of the public realms [20].

Good governance is a recent concept that entered the political science lexicon in the 1970s and 1980s because unprecedented number of underdeveloped countries struggled to deal with political and economic problems generated by poor leadership for their countries [25]. By definition, Nkom sees good governance mean a system of government based on good leadership, respect for the rule of law and due processes, the accountability of the political leadership to the electorate as well as transparency in the operation of government [25].

Landell-Mills and Serageldin (1992: 310) in Azeez (2023) note that good governance depends on the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimately committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver public services, able to create an enabling environment for proactive activities and equitable in its conduct [17]. There are attributes that facilitate good governance, which denotes effectiveness with which governance is conducted and the

goals of the state archived; the attributes that facilitate good governance has been identified by Ikelegbe (2013) as follows:

- 1) Legitimacy of the government-legality, acceptance, support.
- 2) System of rule of law or constitutional politics.
- 3) The accountability of power to the governed.
- 4) Respect for human dignity.
- 5) Inclusive systems of broad participation and accommodation.
- 6) The existence of predictable systems by which values are allocated and defended.
- 7) Well –defined structures, rules and procedures; and due processes.
- 8) Open, clear, transparent, unambiguous, unmistakable and non-contradictory ways of managing affairs.
- 9) Availability of opportunities for broad input in governance and decision making processes for all element of society [23, 24].
- 10) Collective decision making.
- 11) Responsive governance requires accountable institutions.. Increased responsiveness to citizens including the poor and the disadvantaged [10, 23].
- 12) Political and social pluralism.
- 13) The recognition of individual and collective rights and freedoms and credible institutional mechanisms for monitoring and redressing human rights violations.
- 14) Efficient public service.
- 15) Independent judiciary.
- 16) Free press [10, 15].

There are clearly two dimensions here: the political and the institutional or bureaucratic. The former comprises the responsible, participatory, transparent, accountable, effective and equitable management of public affairs, within a system of rules, rights, pluralism and legitimacy [42]. The bureaucratic and institutional dimension relates to administrative systems that are formal, rational, impersonal, fair, equitable, and efficient and that operate or are based on values... [42].

Good governance facilitates the effective's management of development through the following:

- 1) Participative and efficient planning and policy making systems.
- 2) Accountable and transparent revenue and public expenditure systems.
- 3) Collective decision making.
- 4) Decentralization of administrative power.
- 5) Strong, credible, reputable and effective institutions.
- 6) Skilled, professional and disciplined public officials.
- 7) Qualitative and efficient public goods and social service delivery system.
- 8) Political pluralism, competitive politics and virile opposition.
- 9) Viable non state actors.
- 10) Popular restraints on the exercise of power.
- 11) High level of political participation in public issues, choices, politics and developmental issues.

12) Responsive, responsible and accountable public agencies and officials [42].

Ikelegbe (2013) noted that good governance further facilitates the effective delivery of government goods, social services, infrastructure and other responsibilities; good governance brings into service delivery the following attributes:

accountability and responsibility, Sensitivity and concerns for clients, Accessibility, Promptness and timelines, Competitiveness, Fairness, equity and impartiality. and quality [42].

In this wise, governance aims at the use and control of government resources towards alleviating public good such as political, economic and social [25].

From the above ingredients of good governance, one would wonder if many African States could score very highly In Nigeria/Edo, the deterioration of politics and governance is a case of deprivation. The people are wallowing in abject poverty basically because those they choose to lead them decided to exploit them. Edo State, just like other states in Nigeria, has over the years, fielded who only serve the stakeholders, the natives with influence, the partisans, and the godfathers, ignoring the poor masses who need more attention than the aforementioned. This is the case as the study will reveal in chapter four about the administrations under study, 1999-2016.

3. The Object/ Aim of Governance: Constitutional Provision for Socio-Economic Welfare, 4th Republic

Obessing and Mabogunje (1992) define democracy, as politics is concerned with institutions and procedure of governance which foster consensus while simultaneously promoting and sustaining respect for the ideology of democracy. The importance of government in any society is to enhance human condition through people's involvement in the determination of various decisions that affects their lives [3]. similarly, Okeke (2021), stated categorically, it the purpose of government to protect and provide for the welfare of its citizens [47]. Said Adejumo (2000) Between Democracy and Development in Africa: What Are the Missing Link? Being a Paper Presented at the World Bank Conference on Development in the Millenium held in 26-28, June, 2000 argued that "Democracy cannot be Sustained if it fails to improve citizens' welfare and socio-economic condition" [6] All over the world, this unique point accounts for the reason why democracy is regarded as the best form of government that allow men to fully actualize his potentials and opportunities. Thus, democracy is both an expression and expansion of man's freedom and is skin to man's progress and societal sustainability. Igboelo (2006) stated that a democratic government redresses the total energy of all citizens for development rather than the restraint curtailment, suppression associated an authoritarian regime.

Obende (2008) noted that the original function of government is to enhance the quality and happiness of the people,

government exists to make people live better lives. A democratic government guarantees security and prosperity for the people [45].

The most basic essence of government is to provide security and essential public services to the citizenry [3]. Section 14(2) (b) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 declares that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government [4].

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria of 1999, under chapter two, contains Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy which serves as 'social contract' between the government and the government. Thomas, (2010) these objectives merely provide a guide to any government in power in Nigeria about the needs and development of the people in Nigeria on political, economic, social, educational, foreign policy, environmental, cultural, media, national ethics matters and duties of citizens [8].

To Thomas (2010), these objectives and principles, if observed, would have led to development in Nigeria and would have been alleviated socio-economic problems like unemployment, lack of basic amenities at a significant level, low level of social welfare and disunity as evidenced in the current religious, political or tribal disturbances or clashes [8].

The Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy is a good development plan on economic, social, political and education, meant to be the basis for building a better Nigeria and a cure for underdevelopment. It is the requirement of the 1999 Constitution that the economic system is operated in order to address the issue of underdevelopment in the country; the non- justiceability interfere to a large extent with significant of these objectives (www.ajoli.info). Hence, no wonder, fulfilling electoral promises to realizing dividends of democracy/development is left at mercy of the political leaders as shown using 'Democracy and Development in Nigeria: Evaluating Chief Lucky Igbinedion and Comrade Aliu Adams Oshiomhole's administration, 1999-2007 and 2008-2016. [28, 32].

On this note Section (14)2(b) laid the foundation for political parties' manifestos and the vision and mission statements of governments in Nigeria's Fourth republic, for example, the PDP and APC direction of policy and measures are as follows:

(a) Peoples Democratic Party's Direction of Policy and Measures

1. Political Objective

The political objective of the People's Democratic Party is to

- i. Seek political power for the purpose of protecting the territorial integrity of Nigeria and promoting the security, safety, welfare and promoting well- being of all Nigerians.
- ii. Promote and establish political stability in Nigeria and faster nation national unity and integration while safeguarding our culture and our values.
- iii. Provide good governance that ensures probity and participatory democracy.

- iv. Guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms of all citizens and persons resident in Nigeria.
- v. Promote and nurture democratic ideals and traditions on a sustainable basis.
- vi. Provide the political environment that is conducive to economic growth and national development through private initiative and free enterprise.
- vii. Offer equal opportunities to hold the highest political, military, bureaucratically and judicial offices in the country to all citizens, and protect, defend and safeguard the interest of all, including minorities.

1) Governance

The party shall be committed to:

- a) The principle of participatory democracy that lays emphasis on the welfare of our people.
- b) The principles of social justice and equality of opportunities for all citizens.
- c) The promotion and defense of the Nigerian Federal system of government.
- d) The principle of accountability and transparency in order to restore confidence in the institutions of government, discipline and leadership by example as basic for public life and integrity as an important moral value in the conduct of public affairs.
- e) Fostering the spirit of oneness among our people by treating all Nigerians fairly and equitably, regardless of their social, political, or economic status, and
- f) The preservation of Nigeria as a multi-religious state whilst guaranteeing freedom of religion and good conscience.

2) Economy

At the root of Nigeria's political and social problems is poverty and low access to economic opportunities. The improvement in the well-being of Nigerians is the ultimate objective of the PDP'S economic policy, and make accessible to every Nigerian the basic needs of life. The focus would be to create a market based economy driven by small and medium scale businesses and regulated by a reformed public sector. At the very foundation of the above objective of the party is the pursuit of a strong, virile and diversified economy built to stem rural urban migration through investment in modern agricultural methods.

(b) THE ALL PROGRESSIVE PARTY (APC)'s Direction of Policy and Measures

Okechukwu and Salim (2014) in the twenty four (24) pages of APC manifestoes, highlight the following key points namely:

- 3) Constitution
- 4) National Security
- 5) Conflict Resolution, National Unity and Social Harmony
- 6) Job creation and the economy
- 7) Agriculture and Food Security
- 8) Industrialization
- 9) Infrastructure

10) Oil and Gas Industry

11) Education

12) Health Care etc.

Odaudu (2022) held that the APC ideology is conservative liberalization Pan Africanism and that the party's position is Centre- Right. In February, 2011, the Nigerian biggest opposition parties agreed to merge [46].

So from the manifestoes of the two political parties, there is agreement that the most important rubric or measurement of the performance of any government is the livelihood and social welfare of the people-- a focused agenda on both development reform and service delivery but political elites (Governor and state legislators) responding to this task presents major challenges. During the "Day of Tributes" organized in honour of late Elder Statesman, Chief Anthony Enahoro, as part of the burial ceremony, Comrade Adams Aliyu Oshiomhole, the then Christened 'People's Governor' of Edo State remarked:

shall we therefore move the motion and adopt that from now on we shall move away from politics of accumulation for ourselves to politics of development for our people. [28].

This extract not only succinctly captures what should be the driving spirit or outcome of ideal democratic governance but also clearly distinguishes between the two natures of democracy in Nigeria as it existed in Edo State. They are: one, 'Democracy' as a threat to development (politics of accumulation by political leaders, whose ambition is to make money and not to govern). Two, 'Democracy' for development for the people (politics for development for the people). Again, another important inference from the above message is that 'it is not just mere government in existence that brings people oriented development but credible political leaders that are committed to public goods by implementing policies and action programmes towards achieving overall development.

In Nigeria/Edo, democracy seems to be the weirdest epicenter of siphoning of public funds, brazen display of incompetence and unaccountable leadership. For example, former Governor Chief Lucky Noskhare Igbinedion, after leaving office, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) declare him wanted on January 2008 on 142 counts of financial fraud for embezzling 24 million dollars, 12 million pounds using fake companies. Consequently, EFCC secured conviction on him for embezzling 2.9 billion put together which belonged to the state. Admissibly, he pleaded guilty to one out of 191 charges brought against him. In affirmation, Human Right Watch, (2011) & Aliu, (2013), submitted that Lucky Nosakhare Igbinedion, a onetime governor of Edo State who in 2008 was convicted for stealing up to the sum of 825 million public funds opted for plea bargain, an acceptance of guilt [1, 39]. Apart from emblems, he, Igbinedion Lucky used his position to settle the Godfathers in Edo state during his regime on a monthly basis.

Similarly, Lucky Touch, (2000) reported that ex-Governor, Lucky Igbinedion in Benin accused Governor Adams Oshiomhole of using propaganda to spread falsehood and discredit his

government, pointing out that his administration perform better than the Oshiomhole's Administration, in terms of kobo to kobo and project to project; noting further, he said despite efforts to cover up the achievements of his government, it was on record that the State government was not owing any bank when he left office in 2007, regretting that the State under Oshiomhole then owes over S200 million and unspecified billion of naira and the facts are well documented [28, 32].

In short, the weakness and defectiveness of accountability and transparency and the primitive accumulation's nature of political elite in Edo/Nigeria's Fourth Republic shows that corruption is official and institutionalized [1, 39]. This affects development in the Fourth republic.

4. Strategic Plan and Programmes of Lucky Igbinedion and Adams Oshiomhole's Administrations

Political leaders make vision/mission statement upon inauguration in view to developing the state and uplifting good quality lives of the people. In this wise, Comrade Aliyu Oshimhole's Administration wanted Edo state to a leading economic hub of Nigeria where people would live in dignity, enabled by a Government that is answerable to the people (Source: Adams Oshiomhole's Report Card, 2015). Similarly, in Lucky Touch, (2000), there were statements of intention for development of Edo State in tandem with People's Democratic Party's Manifesto. This include, to take off the development restructuring of the state, to carry out reforms in critical areas namely, education, natural resources, Moral and ethical, to computerize all government services and operations, to practically and tangibly explore the oil deposit in Edo State with an Edo man, Mr. Jackson Gaius Obaseki, Group General Manager of NNPC, to settle arrears of workers' salaries in ensuring industrial harmony and guaranteeing productivity [Source: 11].

To Oshiomhole (2012), the framework for the Edo State Strategic Plan derives from the desire to internalize the core values of democracy and the transformation of the state economy. On this note, Oshiomhole anchored the strategic plan of his administration on three pillars---People, Infrastructure and Production with its various elements as follows:

- 1) Pillar 1-----Water, Health and Education.
- 2) Pillar 2-----Power, Housing, Transport, Tourism, Road and Drainage.
- 3) Pillar 3-----Agriculture, Industry and Commerce

Also, the Edo State Strategic Plan of Oshiomhole's Administration spans the period 2010-2020. This he termed 'The Roadmap' and is to be implemented in three phases:

- 1) Phase 1: 2010-2020: Focus on Short Term policy priorities
- 2) Phase 2: 2013-2016: Medium Term policy priorities.
- 3) Phase 3: 2017-2020: Long Term policy priorities. (Source: [28]).

From the foregoing, it is crystal clear that the a democratic

government adopt a blueprint based on political party's manifestoes or vision/mission statement of political leaders (executive governors) with a view to improving the economy and the lot of the citizens in the state. However, often than none, political manifesto, vision/mission statements and development plan are nothing to write home about. They are what I call "General Statement" with no specific key performance indications or key success indicators upon which the party and government could be made responsible. They are statement that hold no concrete achievable plan for the citizens. No wonder, despite all those formalities, States in Nigeria, including Edo are faced cluelessness, pedestrianism, mindless looting, underdevelopment and un-development.

5. Theoretical Framework: The Elite Theory

Elite theory is popularized by Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and Robert Michel's (1876-1936). (Varma, 1975), Usman & Avidime, (2014) are of the view that elite theory succinctly explains the power dynamics and social relations surrounding the acquisition and preservation of state power within the democratic framework. For Varma, (1975), elites are persons who by virtue of their strategic locations in large or otherwise pivotal organization and movements, are able to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially [43], it reveals one of the fundamental characters and realities of representative democracy, the balkanization of society into powerful minority, who manipulates and controls the levels of state power and powerless majority governed by the elites [49]. Although it is true that elites are largely considered as possessing the requisite organizational competence and political knowledge core to steering the political statecraft within the democratic perspective [19], it is noticed that elitism represents a negation of the key democratic principle of mass ownership of the governance process; the manipulative and self-centered attributes of elites largely underscore the prevailing focus on control of political and state power for protecting and promoting the interests of members at the expense of the masses [1].

Elite theory has been developed as an another paradigm to pluralism (www.nou.edu.ng) For Anifowose & Enemuo (2008: 293-295), (Ham and Hill, 1985), Elite theory rejects the pluralist views concerning the distribution of power in society and in the alternative, elite theory points to the concentration of political power in the hands of a minority group which performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings" [4].

According to Dye and Zeigler (1997), elite theory sees public policy as the values and preferences of governing elite. The assumptions of elite theory are:

- 1) society is divided into few who have the power and the many that do not have the power; i.e. only a small number of persons allocate values for society, the masses do

not decide public policy, and

- 2) the few who govern are not concerned with the masses that are governed; elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic state of society [48, 49],

From the foregoing, what is paramount here as shown by Dye and Zeigler is that those elites who make policy and tend to reflect their values and preferences, and that it is only a matter of coincidence if the policy decision of the elite reflect the interest of the masses, as they sometimes do. It is no wonder that elite theory assumes a conspiratorial character and is to that extent a provocative theory of public policy; it is conspiratorial because of the underlying promise about elite consensus on fundamental norms of the social system which limits the choice of policy alternatives to only those which fall within the share consensus; the theory is provocative because of the implied characterization of the masses as passive, apathetic and ill-informed and the consequential relegation of their role in policymaking [48]. As one of the orthodox theories, Anifowose & Enemou holds that the elite theory favours government with the crucial role of carrying into effect through its officials and agencies, the values and preferences which the dominant few want reflected in public policy [48].

The method employed by the Nigerian elites lack sophistication, civility and unlike developed democracies, they do not care for the interest of the people [1]. Here, it is necessary to point out *the Character of Contemporary Nigerian Political Elites* According to Abiodun (2012: 215), over 70% of corruption cases can be attributed to the ruling class in Nigeria. The political elites see public offices not as an opportunity to serve but a glorious opportunity to be enrolled into state looting club that permits mindless embezzlement of public funds, deployment of nepotism, cronyism as grand strategy for regime survival and substance. According to Ogundiya (2010: 290), the political elites have contributed to the image crisis bedeviling the country, the avaricious lifestyle of a few in Nigeria have compounded the poor rating of Nigeria among the corrupt countries in the globe as attested by Corrupt Perception Index 2018 rating (www.unodc.org). According to the Independent Policy Institute and Research, Chatham House 2017 Report cited Okunola (2019: 166), several huge amounts of money such as \$480 billion and \$182 billion were stolen from Nigeria between 1960 and 1999 and between 2015 and 2014 respectively. The prevalence of corrupt practices amongst the political elites impact negatively on good governance in the area of dividends of democracy to the people. This will ultimately engender agitation for restructuring of the crisis of corruption and political orientation of state pillage if not addressed.

6. Barriers to Democracy and Good Governance in Edo State, Nigeria

Democratic governance in the Fourth Republic to a large

extent has failed to guarantee minimum conditions of governance, deliver democratic dividends and development [1]. The central thesis of Agbu (2000) is that the over centralization of power in Nigeria federal practice and the failure of post transitional politics. [29] The failure of democratic governance is evident in the persistent problems of food, employment seemingly, potable water, accessible health care, road, quality education that plague most Nigeria, moreover, the wide spread manifestations of insecurity in the form of armed robbery, kidnapping, crude oil theft, militancy and insurgency partly explain the prevalent state of poverty in the country which democratic governance has failed adequately tackle [1]. The question is what are the causative factors why democracy has failed to guarantee good governance/leadership and delivered development? The answer is not far fetched, they are as follows:

6.1. Electoral Violence and Killings

Nigerian politics revolve around... loss of electoral integrity [10]. Elections have been characterized by violence and thuggery in Edo state and by extension in Nigeria since the inception of the Fourth Republic. According to Omotola, 2008, Enarbe E. (2003), Omudiwe and Berwind Dart, 2010, Ahiekwe and Kunle, 2011), the 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 elections were marred by ballot box snatching, political assassinating, bombing, killings, maiming of voters, arson, and abduction of electoral officials. Specifically, Oshimhole security aid was killed. Also, Ogbonna Uche Ogbonnaya, the candidate of opposition, All Nigeria People's Party was assassinated on February 8, 2003 [33]. Similarly on July 2006, Funsho Williams, a People's Democratic Party Governorship Aspirant for Lagos state was assassinated [2]. More than 300 people were killed in the widespread violence that marred 2007 states and national elections (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Equally the 2011 Presidential election was marred by an unprecedented post electoral violence, especially in the far North, resulting in the death of many North, resulting in the death of many innocent citizens [39]. The same can be said of 2015 and 2019 elections. The worst being the Kogi and Bayelsa governorship elections.

6.2. Godfatherism and Electoral Malpractice

The concept Godfatherism in Nigeria politics as it is today carries a pejorative connotation of a small group of willful individuals who monopolize and use power for their own advantages [35]. Godfatherism refers to the power and influence exercised by politically powerful individuals who determines who receives party nominations and who eventually wins election [18, 40]. The practice and acceptance of godfatherism and electoral malpractices in Nigeria has impeded good governance and effective leadership which provides dividends of democracy/development in Nigeria [35]. Ebohon and Obakhedo (2010), discussed godfatherism as a major obstacle to

democratic governance and development in Nigeria [16]. Godfatherism and electoral politics is an aberration in Nigeria because it is against National interest [10, 16, 18]. Political godfatherism is one of the factors that embedded democratic setting in Nigeria since first republic [27].

The staggering posture of godfatherism have given rise to the contemporary practice of politics in Nigeria's Fourth Republic [30]. Godfatherism and electoral politics confirms the argument of the elitist writers (Elitist politics). Omotola (2007; 35) observes that in Nigeria, there seems to be a consensus between the political and elitist writers that godfatherism has become a menace to the electoral process [2]. In this wise, Cooker, (2004) noted that power is not utilized for the happiness of the majority. The culture of political dominance has been guarded by a few political elites and today, this trend has no just become persuasive but has also raised so much uncontrollable tension and political instability as well as imbalances within our political space.

For Ebohon (2010), observes that the downside of godfatherism is that the office seekers/holders usually lose their independence and by defaults become surrogates to their sponsors not minding the demand of their offices, in the end when godfathers' protégés are elected into office, the mechanism of mechanization of the state are immediately activated for nothing but to recoup their expenses profitably [35]. Marx, discussed this as *fetishism of commodities* in the country. However, today this has transcended into the twenty first century.

It is not surprising therefore, for Ebohon (2010), to observe that godfatherism has far negative consequences on the democratization process in Nigeria, while comparing the actions of the godfathers (Azikwe, Awolowo, Tafawa Balewa etc. [35] in the First Republic to the activities of the present godfathers in Nigeria Polity, Olufemi (2008), noted 'The Fourth Republic godfathers, (Uba, Late Tony Annine, Late Chief Lamidi Adedibu, Bafarawa in Sokoto, Adams Oshiomole etc.) operate Nigeria polity with impunity because of the influence and cordial relationship they have with the leaders in government through their activities.

One of such activities is money politics, Ernabe (2003), argues that: money has become a decisive factor in Nigerian elections, with wealthy politicians and political elites using financial resources to influence electoral outcomes [37].

It was on record that in Edo state, situation of godfather in its political affairs seemed a little different with three notable godfathers namely, Chief Tony Annenih, Chairman Board of Trustee of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Brigadier General (Dr) Samuel Ogbemudia, Ex- South Leader of the party, and Gabriel Igbiniedion, father of one time Edo state governor, Lucky Nosakhare Igbiniedion. Ebohon (2010), asserts the trio were well known and recognized as political bigwigs with chief Annenih as the primary inter- pares; the trio were on the pay roll of the state government between 1999-2003 when the son of Igbiniedion, Lucky Igbiniedion was the governor. There were several reported cases of disagreements between Governor Igbiniedion and Chief Anenih over who

gets what in the state, [35]. This was not because the latter bankrolled the former's election, but because of his political machine and the influence he wielded both at the state and federal levels. Though it appears that Oshiomhole in 2007 curtailed godfatherism in the state, but elections into the post of Local Council, House of Representative and the Senate, 2007 to 2019 party primaries as well as 2020 APC governorship primary reveal that Edo State's freedom from Godfatherism is a far cry. Ihonybere affirmed this when he lost to Alimenkhen, an APC Edo North Senatorial aspirant in 2014 Election primaries. Similarly, Obaseki Godwin attributed his disqualification from participating in 2020 APC Governorship primaries to activities of godfatherism occasioned by Adams Oshiomhole.

No governorship election has taken place in Edo State without the popular Benin family of the Igbiniedion playing a critical role, Gabriel Igbiniedion, Patriarch of the family and the Esama of Benin first helped to installed Lucky Igbiniedion as governor in 1999. The junior Igbiniedion and his father helped Oshiomhole become governor in 2008. Their support for Ize Iyamu in 2016 did not yields any result as the then PDP candidate did not win election.

Godfatherism and electoral malpractice puts question marks on the credibility of Nigeria's internal democracy (Ifeanyi, 2016; 16). The Nigeria's elections are under the firm grip of godfathers and electoral malpractice, especially, local elections in Edo State. In Human Right Watch (2007), most of political office holders or appointment that get to office are either through a godfather or electoral malpractices or both; many aspirants to political office in Nigeria lack the access to the resources usually needed to get to the office so most times, the godfathers dictates to their protégé on how to run the government; any opposition from the protégé means disaster as was the case of the fall out between Oshiomhole and Obaseki, Adebibu and Senator Ladojo etc [39].

Godfatherism is one of the worst forms of corruption. In fact, a very evil one because it leads to moral decadence and enthronement of mediocrity over meritocracy. Godfatherism and electoral malpractice provide for the realities that may befall a polity to become a norm of moral behaviour and practice [18, 21].

Ebohon et al (2010) and Olasunkanmi (2010), have chronicled the consequences of godfatherism and electoral malpractices as follows;

- 1) Political maneuvering and robbery (refer) (copy)
- 2) Politics of the surviving of the fittest
- 3) Promotes high level of poverty

6.3. Political Corruption in Governance

Chimaroke Nnamani (2003), discussed extensively in his 2003 Lecture titled 'Godfather Phenomenon in Democratic Nigeria, Silicon or Real?', noted that Nigerian political godfather is a self-seeking individual who uses government for personal purposes than the public good [21]. Political corruption

has characterized the democratic governance since the return of democracy, 1999. The defective nature of accountability and transparency in institutions and prebendal character of political elite in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic tells us widespread nature of corruption in the political system. [1, 12]. The revelation by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) that billions of dollars of public funds have been stolen by politicians and government officials since the return of democratic governance, it is safe to argue that corruption to a large extent is official and institutionalized in Nigeria. James Ibori, a former governor of Delta State was convicted in Britain in 2012 for defrauding the state of nearly 56 Million (BBC April, 2012). Others are Orji Uzor Kalu, former governor of Abia State, (2019), governor Depriyere (2015) etc.

In Edo state, democracy seems also, to be the weirdest epicenter of siphoning of public funds, brazen display of incompetency and unaccountable leadership. For example, former Governor Chief Lucky Noskhare Igbinedion, after leaving office, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) declare him wanted on January 2008 on 142 counts of financial fraud for embezzling 24 million dollars, 12 million pounds using fake companies. Consequently, EFCC secured conviction on him for embezzling 2.9 billion put together which belonged to the state. Admissibly, he pleaded guilty to one out of 191 charges brought against him. In affirmation, Human Right Watch, (2011) & Aliu, (2013), submitted that Lucky Noskhare Igbinedion, a onetime governor of Edo State who in 2008 was convicted for stealing up to the sum of 825 million public funds opted for plea bargain, an acceptance of guilt [1, 39]. Apart from emblems, he, Igbinedion Lucky used his position to settle the Godfathers in Edo state during his regime on a monthly basis. Similarly, Igbinedion accused Comrade Oshiomhole for inability to give account for kobo to kobo he spent on infrastructural projects. Popular demand for developmental reform was evident in the duo's administrations, but responding to this presented major challenges because of corruption. Edigin and Otoghile (2011) noted that corruption leads to drastic reduction of economic growth and development; it scares away potentials investors that would have correspondingly led to a boost in economic activities looting of government treasury by the political amount would be left for developmental activities; by extension, corruption creates a high rate of unemployment, poverty, inequality, squalor, and penury; finally, corruption destroys good governance and cripples the realization of the dividends of democracy; without corruption the dividends of democracy will floor to the grassroots [36].

That corruption is a problem threatening the socio-economic and political development process is common knowledge [36]. The impact of corrupt on any society is certainly negative.. Corruption has led to acute youth unemployment in Nigeria; various estimates put unemployment rate in the country between 20% and 50%. According to Igba, among graduates of tertiary institution, unemployment rate is put between 50% and 75% resulting in general insecurity and high

crime rate in the Nigeria society; there is a gross mobility of most Nigeria's to achieve a certain minimum standard of living [41]. According to World Bank (2019), Nigeria was the poor capital in the world. In Ikelegbe (2013; 268-270), the incidence of corruption in Nigeria can be ascertained when compared to the rest of the world [42]. As Table 1 indicates below, Nigeria was perceived to be the most corrupt country in the world between 1996 and 1997 and in 2010. It improved to being the second most corrupt country in 1991, and between 2001 and 2004. The situation has improved since 2006, but Nigeria remains one of the most corrupt countries in the world; in the corruption perception index 2004, other Africa countries such as Ghana was 64 with a 3.6 score, Gabon 74 (3.3), Egypt 77(3.2), Mali (3.2), Madagascar 82(3.1), Gambia 90 (2.8); Tunisia 39 (5.0), South Africa 44(4.6), Seychelles 48 (4.4), Mauritius 54 (4.1) and Namibia 54(4.1).

Table 1. Corruption perception index in Nigeria 1996-2008.

Year	Ranking	Score
2008	121/180	2.7
2007	147/180	2.2
2006	142/179	2.2
2005	152/158	1.9
2004	144/145	1.6
2003	132/133	1.4
2002	101/102	1.6
2001	90/91	1.0
2000	90/90	1.2
1999	98/99	1.6
1998	81/85	1.9
1997	52/52	1.7
1996	54/54	0.6

Source; transparency international corruption perception index: As compiled by Enweremadu (2010), Friedrich Ebert Shifting Discussion Paper 1, 2010.

Again, a 2004 Transparency International (TI) respondent investigation of corruption within sectors in Nigeria revealed the following (TI, II)

6.4. Inefficient and Ineffective Legislatures

Among the organs of government, the legislature is in a better position to articulate the societal needs and aspiration of the people [50]. To Okeshola and Igba (2015), the legislative arm of government is expected to provide adequate checks on

abuses of power by the executive and recklessness of politicians [42]. These oversights as offshoot of legislative powers of the national assembly ensure that laws and programmes is made and approved by the legislatures are executed in compliance with the contents of these laws and programmes [46]. Effective legislature contributes to good governance.

The insensitivity and failure of the legislative arm of government of the democratic experiment that commence May 29, 1999 shows in their ineffective oversight of the executive; instead they are characterized by official tardiness [50]. It is not surprising, therefore, that at the close of the nineteen (23) years of the fourth Republic, for the pessimists, 'politics has been business as usual' and official tardiness over the delivery of dividends. Besides, the official tardiness, there was also the perception that as a body that ought to be elected by Nigerians to make laws and not the mere selection done through godfathers,, they (the selected legislatures) have not fare too well in terms of laying a solid foundation law making and performances of oversight functions. In the court of public opinion, many Nigerians rated the law makers very low [46]. This was the case in Edo where there was a tussle between Igbinedion and Annenih over speakership position leading to five successive transition of House of Assembly leadership. [45]. The first tenure of Adams Oshiomhole witnessed a setback in passing of 2009 budget and constituting Universal Basic Board, 2013 because of opposition party being majority in the House of Assembly.

It need be emphasized that if the this situation had not been the case as seen in 2010 and the rest part of Oshiomhole's administration, legislatures would have been answerable to the people for their actions, thereby achieving the essence of modern democratic legislature in the presidential system which emphasis probity, honesty, transparency and accountability [50].

6.5. The Non -Justiceability of Social Order in 1999 Federal Republic of Nigerian Constitution

The Federal Republic Constitution of Nigeria, 1999 made provision for Fundamental Objectives and Directives Principles of State Policy, under Chapter two. These objectives provide mere a guide to any government that is in power in Nigeria and contain essential needs of people in Nigeria on political, economic, social, educational, foreign policy, environmental, cultural, media, national ethics matters and duties of citizens [3, 47, 19]. However, the drawback to the appropriation of these objectives by citizens as of a right is the provision in Section 6, sub-section (6) paragraph (C) of the 1999 Constitution which makes the objectives non-justiciable. These objectives and principles if turned to human rights would lead to a new Nigeria devoid of the majority of the setbacks currently witnessed in the present Nigeria which manifest in the form of socio- economic problems such as lack of basic amenities, unemployment, at a significant level of social welfare.. Another,

gain of immense magnitude is that there would be a better rapport between the government and the governed in the Social Contract Theory underlying the relations in a modern state.

There is urgent need to delete the above provision from the constitution and subject the objectives to binding governmental obligations known as Constitutional Projects which would encourage the use of public funds for common good. This bold step projects would attenuate inclinations to financial corruption in Nigeria. Without making the realization of these objectives legally binding on the government, the governed will continue to suffer gross neglect by those in government.

The constitution has adversely failed to promote the culture of responsibility whereby the governments by way of being directed by it provides certain essential amenities to the people to whom belong the sovereignty [4]. Leaving such essential provision to the whims and caprices of whosoever is in authority to decide on whether or not those essential amenities should be provided leaves out a lacuna which accommodates corrupt practices in all the three arm of governments.

6.6. State-Local Government Relations Debacle in Edo State (1999-2016)

Since the introduction of local government in Nigeria, there have been foundational doubt on its relations with the state. Adedeji in search for alternative system of governance at the grassroots, argues that the cultural traditions of communities in North Western Nigeria have an important influence on local governance and democratic participation [26]. The relations which were supposed to be cordial has become parasitic and exploitative as Governors in states continually manipulate the local government to their advantage. These exploitative tendencies became prominent since the fourth Republic which started in 1999. Azeez (2004), notes that primary school teachers' salaries were deducted from local government funds, joint state and local government projects funds meant for the provision of infrastructural facilities, or collaborative projects [17].

Fundamentally, the state Governors sometimes abruptly sponsor their stooges often refers to as loyalists Chairman of the Council for the sole purpose of having access to the treasury and more importantly to dictate the pace and way fund in the local government is organized. Nevertheless, where they are unable to sponsor candidates for the positions of local government chairmen, some state governors deliberately refuse to conduct local government elections in their states, otherwise, and the local government does not enjoy the constitutional autonomy enshrined in the 1999 constitution as amended. Moreso, the Governor of the state can alternatively appoint a caretaker chairman to oversee the local government affairs. Thus, the appointee becomes "a boy" whose allegiance is to the Godfather Governor and the interest of the people is suddenly mortgaged. The indiscriminate sackings of the four local government chairmen on Tuesday, October 6, 2015 firm this. The four Chairmen were Emmanuel Momoh, Etsako Central Local

Government Area; Victor Enabakhare, Egor Local Government Area; Osaro Obaze, Oredo Local Government Area; and Roland Ibieruminate, Orhionmwon Local Government Area for non- payment of staff salary and alleged diversion of fund among others (the Street Journal, 2015; Akinbosade, 2016). According to the letter addressed to Edo State House of Assembly, the Executive Governor of Edo State through the Secretary to the State Government, SSG, Professor Julius Ihonbvere decried the Corruption at the grassroots level acknowledged that their suspension of two months was to pave the way for unhindered investigation into several allegations against the chairmen, which included non-payment of staff salaries without satisfactory explanations, inability to account for Internally Generated Revenue diversion of funds, failure to follow due process in the award of contracts, as well as, illegal employment of senior officers without going through Local Government Service Commission, which is a violation of laid down provisions. [17]. Despite the court verdict, the State government used its instrument of state coercion to muzzle the suspended Chairman from returning to office as held by the Benin City High Court [17].

The Oredo Local Government Chairman (Mr Osaro Obaze) sought redress in court after Adams Oshiomhole, the former Governor of Edo State suspended him from office less than two weeks before the expiration of his tenure as chairman of the Local Government Council. However, a Benin High Court (presided by Justice Esole Ikpomwen) suspended the decision of the state House of Assembly and held that the suspended chairman remains the democratically elected chairman of the Council (Channel, 2015).

7. Recommendations

From the findings of the study, the following certain recommendations, in line with the Democratic Developmental State Concept are suggested with a view to make democratization and democracy projects in Nigeria and particularly, at subnational level, a development by the future state governors, Edo inclusive. These include the following:

- 1) To curtail mass poverty at subnational level, there is need for the deployment of the necessary political will to make the constitutional provisions on Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principle of State Policy binding governmental obligations for their realization in the future.
- 2) To bring about a rebirth of transparent and accountable political legislations and leadership for development, there is need for political parties to be guided by accountability before considering any state House Assembly aspirants and not leaving the election to any political godfather.
- 3) Government at the subnational levels need put in place machinery for development plan that enhances continuity as the panacea for infrastructural deficits, abandoned

projects, sitting of projects based on primordial sentiment, and underdevelopment of rural areas.

- a) A constitutional court should be set up to try offences that border on political cases, such as, of embezzlement, corruption etc. committed in the course of an administration's tenure that made the government fail to deliver on social, economic and political development at subnational levels.
- b) A new revenue policy utilization should be introduced where budgeting should not be made yearly henceforth but should be made to cover duration of the administration, at the end of which the administration should be subjected to official probe by independent prosecutor.

Abbreviations

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

Author Contributions

Alfred Idachaba Odaudu: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – original draft

Conflicts of Interest

The issue of in citation as expected has been corrected.

References

- [1] Omodia, S. and Aliu, M. (2013). "Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on the Nigerian Fourth Republic", *Research on Humanities and Social Science* 3(4): 36-42.
- [2] Omotola, S. (2009). "Nigerian Parties and Party Ideologies" in *Journal of Alternative Perspective in Social Science*, 1 (3).
- [3] Omozuwa, A. (2017). "Re-examining the Primary Purpose of Government", *Ships & Ports* of December.
- [4] Federal Republic of Nigeria, (1999). Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. Lagos: Federal Government Printer.
- [5] Adejumbi, S. (2000). Between Democracy and Development in Africa: What are the Missing Links? Paper presented at the World Bank Conference on Development Thinking in the Next Millennium, Paris, France, 26-28 June, 2000. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- [6] Adejumbi, S. (2010). Governance and Politics in Post- Military Nigeria: Changes and Challenges. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- [7] Sen Amartya (1999). Development as Freedom. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

- [8] Thomas. N. (2007). "Politics of Development Paradigms and the Culture of Underdevelopment of Africa" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Benin, Benin City).
- [9] Sikuka, K. (2017). "Is There a Missing Link Between Democracy and Development in Africa?" *Conflict Trends*, 2017(3).
- [10] Medupin, R. J. & Adeposo, A. (2007). "The Nexus of Corporate Irresponsibility and State Failure in Nigeria: An Analytical Framework A. O. G" Ikelegbe (ed) *Oil, Environment and Resource Conflicts in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria*: Lit Verlag.
- [11] Oshiomhole, A. (2012) *The Leadership and Good Governance in Edo State*. Benin City. Edo State Government Press. Governor (Collection of Speeches and Policy documents)
- [12] UNDP (2013). "Democracy and Development: The Role of the UN; UN Department of Political Affairs" Online 2nd January, 2022.
- [13] UNDP (2016), "Human Development Index (HDI) available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdii>.
- [14] Usman. A. and Avidime S, (2014). "Assessing Democratic Governance in the Nigerian Fourth Republic", Department of Political Science, Kogi State University.
- [15] Wolmulth, K. (2000). "Good Governance and Economic Development in Africa": An Introduction in K. In Wolmulth, H. Bas & F. Messer (eds) *African Development Perspectives*, Year Book Vi. Berlin LIT. Verlag.
- [16] Ebohon and Obakhedo, N, (2010), "Godfatherism and Political Reconstruction in Nigerian": *The Nigerian Journal of Politics and Public Policy*, Benin City, Vol. 6, Number 1&2.
- [17] Azeez, A. (2004), "The Dynamics of Ethics politics and Democratic consideration in Nigeria": A Prognosis.
- [18] Bassey, U., and Enetak, E., (2008), "Godfatherism and Good Governance" in *Nigeria Fourth Republic Journal of Social and Policy Issues*, 5(3); 120-125.
- [19] Borlin, J. (1967). *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, New York: Macmillan.
- [20] ChimarokeNnamani (2003), *The Godfather Phenomenon in democratic Nigeria. Corruption, Godfatherism and the Funding of Political Violence*, Academic and Former Rivers State opposition candidate, Port-Harcourt, August 15, 2007; Accessed on October 24, 2014.
- [21] Odaudu, A and Braimoh, M. (2012), "Godfatherism and Electoral Malpractice in Nigeria: A Reflection of Peoples's Perception in Some Selected States" *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science* 13(4):86-101.
- [22] Jibunoh, N. (2018) *Dividends of Democracy*: Penthouse Publishers Limited.
- [23] Olowu, D. (2002). "Governance, Democracy and Development in Africa." *African Development*, 27(3-4), 37-60.
- [24] Failure in Nigeria: An Analytical Framework A. O. G" Ikelegbe (ed) *Oil, Environment and Resource Conflicts in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria*: Lit Verlag.
- [25] Nkom, S. A. (2000). "Culture, Empowerment and Local Government with Reference to North Western Nigeria" in Adediji, A. and Ayo, B. (eds), *People-Centered Democracy in Nigeria?* pp. 73-85.
- [26] Fung, A., & Wright, E.O. (Eds.) (2003). *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London:
- [27] Abdullahi, A. (2013). *Democracy and politics of Godfatherism in Nigeria*, "The Effects And The Wayforward in *Journal of Politics and Good Governance Vol. 4 No 42 Quarter In International Department of Political Science*.
- [28] Adams O. (2014). *A New Beginning Edo Six –Year Report Card on Adams Aliyu Oshiomole*: The Ministry of Information and Orientation, 2014.
- [29] Agbu (2000). *The Challenges of Democratization in Nigeria's Fourth Republic* in Omotola J. 9 (2007) *Democratization, Good Governance and Development in Africa; Journals of Sustainable Development in Africa* Vol. 9.
- [30] Ajayi, F. (2006). "Nigerian Political Godfatherism: In the World of Baale Molete," www.nigeriaorl.com (accessed on January, 2021).
- [31] Ake C. (1996). *Democracy and Development in Africa*: Spectrum Books Ltd,...
- [32] Asekomhe O. (2009). "Comrade Oshiomole & the Judas Kiss; The Fall of Chief Lucky James" *News Craves*.
- [33] Chaj, M. (2008). *Nigeria and Dividend of Democracy*, Inquest Article; 27 August 2008.
- [34] Edigheji, Omano (2010). *Constructing A Democratic Developmental State in South Africa*: HSRC Press.
- [35] Ebohon. S. and Obakhelo, N, (2010). "Godfatherism and Political Reconstruction in Nigerian": *The Nigerian Journal of Politics and Public Policy*, Vol. 6, Number 1&2.
- [36] Edigin. U. and Otoghile A. (2011). *Good Governance and Democracy*; The Mexican, *Pakistan Journal of Social Science* Vol. 8(1): 23-26.
- [37] Ernabe, E. (2003). "Electoral Process in Nigeria, the plea of Money". *Dukha L. Madubuci (ed)*, Malthus. *Philosophy and Politics, Discourse on Value of Politics and Power in Africa*.
- [38] Eyinla. B. (2000). *The Political Transition and the Future of Democracy* in Omotola, J. S. (2007) *Democratization, Good Governance and Development in Africa. Journals of Sustainable Development in Africa* Vol. 9.
- [39] Human Right Watch (2007), *Election or Selection? Human Right Abuse and Treats to Free and Fair Elections in Nigeria*; <http://hrw.org/backgrounders/Africa/nigeria0407/index.htm> (accessed April 16, 2020).

- [40] Ifeanyi, O. (2010). "Godfatherism and Governance in Anambra State Nigeria, The Christian Religion as a Panacea": A Thesis presented to Department of Religion and Human Relations, Nnamdi Azikiwe University.
- [41] Igba, (2012) "An Assessment of Democracy in Nigeria, A case Study of Burutu L. G. A of Benue State" (1999-2011) Amadul Bello University.
- [42] Ikelegbe A. (2013). "Politics and Governanace in Nigeria: Perspectives Issues and Cases": *Centre for Population and Environmental Development (CPED)*.
- [43] Lipset, S, M (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: "Economic Development and a Political Legitimacy" *American Political Science Review* 53 (March) 84.
- [44] Przeworski, A. (2000), "Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-being in the World" 1950-1990, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- [45] Obende Y. (2008). The Purpose Driven Administration of Comrade Oshiomole Adams Oshiomole in Edo State in the Past Three Years (2008-2011), Jonas Agency Limited.
- [46] Odaudu, A. I. (2018). Political Parties, Ideology and Electoral Choice; The Dilemma of Nigeria Electorate. Department of Political Science, University of Benin.
- [47] Okeke (2021). "Primary Purpose of Government" the Faculty of Law, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Anambra State, Nigeria.
- [48] Enemuo, F. (2008) "Political Ideas and Ideologies" in Anifowose. R. and Enemuo, F. (2008) (ed.) *Element of Politics*. Lagos; Malthouse Press Limited.
- [49] Varma, P. (2005) 'Modern Political Theory', New York.
- [50] Momoh (2004), National Assembly Hand Book, Markudi, Aboki Press.