



POLITICS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Proceedings of the 2023 International
Conference of the Association
For the Promotion of African Studies (APAS) held at the
University of Nigeria Nsukka on 24th -27th May

Editors

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DEDICATION

To all APAS members whose hard work inspired and
contributed towards the success of this book

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PREFACE

The 2023 international conference of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies was held at the University of Nigeria Nsukka, with the theme: *Africa In The Global Community: Landmark Achievements, Setbacks And Future Developments*. The conference focused on the relationship between Africa and the global community. The conference aimed to retell the African story in a unique African manner. This is very important as the African continent has been presented and described in the global space, most times negatively and by non-Africans.

This APAS conference, therefore, told the story of Africa from within Africa and in rare African voices - to counter erroneous ideas and projections about Africa. At this conference, African progressive visionaries across the continent reflected critically and discussed theoretical and empirical perspectives on African landmark achievements, setbacks and future developments. The multidisciplinary conference facilitated conversations across a broad spectrum of disciplines, including pure science and technology, management, humanities, social sciences, and arts, among others. This multidisciplinary approach generated robust engagements and enabled the forging of ambitious but concrete paths that will catalyse Africa's prosperity.

The present work on *Politics And Economic Development In Africa* is a collection of papers presented at the conference bordering on politics and economic development. Through this piece, the Conference shares the fruits of her research with the rest of the academic community.

Prof. Ikechukwu Anthony Kanu, OSA
President, Association for the Promotion of African Studies

OVERCOMING ELECTORAL CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS AND THE ROLE OF INEC

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Abstract

This paper aims at examining some of the challenges confronting peaceful elections in Nigeria, using the 2023 general elections conducted by INEC as a case study. Several presidential and general elections have been held over the years in Africa. Some countries such as Angola, Kenya, Senegal etc. succeeded in conducting free and fair elections, whereas, countries such as DR Congo and Nigeria still resulted in widespread rigging and violence despite several strategies put in place to ensure credible elections. In fact, of 20 armed conflicts worldwide mapped by Global Conflict Barometer in 2021, three were in DR Congo and three in Nigeria. Elections in Nigeria have been characterized by massive violence, rigging, snatching and burning of ballot papers, vote buying and killings. These electoral challenges have for years prevented Nigeria from holding free and fair elections. The Independent National Electoral Commission reported attacks on at least 53 of its offices across the country before the 2023 elections and the violence is still ongoing. However, this paper tends to critically examine these challenges hindering peaceful elections to unravel the causes and at the same time proffer remedy for overcoming these challenges for transparent and credible elections in Nigeria. Employing the method of critical analysis, this paper submits that politicians, citizens, INEC, judiciary and the government must take responsibility for ensuring that the polls are conducted successfully. The politicians should also adopt the strategies those countries like Senegal, Angola and Kenya used during their elections that enabled them to win.

Keywords: *Election, 2023 General elections, Election Malpractice, INEC, BVAS.*

Introduction

Since 1999 when Nigeria returned to democratic rule, the country had witnessed complete seven cycles of general elections. These are; the 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2019 and 2023 general elections. These elections from 1999 to 2023 were marred with a lot of irregularities, and in the end, the candidates presented by INEC as the right winners are not always the people's choice. This is a result of irregularities on the side of INEC to adhere to its functions strictly. This was quite noticeable in the just concluded 2023 general elections which were the seventh elections since the return of democracy in Nigeria. The elections were marred with many shortcomings starting with the high cost of purchasing nomination forms which made many competent candidates decline due to the huge money involved. Before this 2023 general elections, the government of Nigeria together with the election Umpire (INEC) promised Nigerians that they will conduct the freest and fairest elections using the new device (BVAS). But, it was quite very unfortunate that the people of Nigeria were once again brainwashed and deceived by INEC. INEC failed woefully to deliver its promises to Nigerians. The 2023 general elections were the worse election since Nigeria returned to democracy in 1999. The presidential and National Assembly elections witnessed a lot of rigging, underage voting, vote buying, burning of ballot papers, killings, delays, disenfranchisements, cancellation of results, poor physical arrangements, the inability of BVAS to upload results and widespread violence. What transpired in the 2023 elections was totally against what was written in the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria as amended in 2011. In section 133 of the constitution of Nigeria, it says:

A candidate for an election to the office of the president shall be deemed to have been duly elected to such office where being the only candidate nominated for the election- (a) he has a majority of YES over NO votes cast at the election; and (b) he has not less than one-quarter of the votes cast at the election in each of at least two-thirds of all the States in the federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, but where the only candidate fails to be elected in accordance with this section, then there shall be fresh nominations¹.

From the above constitution, it is obvious that INEC was compromised. The candidate declared winner by the INEC was not duly nominated and secondly, he did not have the majority YES because the election was massively rigged. Lastly, the candidate declared winner did not win in all the States including the Federal Capital Territory. All these irregularities and challenges are what this paper tends to critically examine to see ways to

overcome them. Importantly, it is good to begin by analyzing a few concepts here; this will go a long way to help achieve clarification.

Conceptual Analysis

Election

Collins English Dictionary defines an election as a process in which people vote to choose a person or group of people to hold an official position². The election may be direct or indirect, open or secret as the case may be. Direct election involves when all adults who qualify to vote are allowed to participate and vote directly for candidates of their choice. This type of election is very democratic. Indirect election as the name implies means that voters do not vote directly for the candidates of their choice. They however vote for representatives who will then vote on their behalf for the final representation. Elections in Nigeria are forms of choosing representatives to the Federal Government of Nigeria and the various states in the fourth republic (Wikipedia.org).³ Elections started in Nigeria in 1959 with different political parties. Nigeria has a multi-party system; the strong parties that are electorally successful are the APC, PDP, APGA, NNPP and LP. Members of the PDP had controlled the presidency for 16 years since elections were resumed in 1999 till 2015 when Mr. Muhammadu Buhari won the presidential election. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was established by the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to among other things organize elections for various political offices in the country. The importance of elections cannot be overemphasized. Election enhances democracy being the only legitimate means of selecting officeholders. It makes elected representatives accountable knowing that they could be removed in the next election if they have not performed well. Election also ensures a smooth change of government, though this happens in a nation that has inclusive political institutions. Elections in Nigeria since 1999 are always under threat. This is a result of manipulation; those who hold power in Nigeria always want to keep it. So they strive so much to retain power. That is why vote-buying and other election frauds are on their high increase in Nigeria.

Electoral Malpractice

Electoral malpractice can also be termed electoral fraud. This involves “any wrongdoing affecting the electoral procedure, electorate, and electoral material which influences the election outcomes to choose personal benefit over the public interest”⁴. It also has to do with those acts that are illegal, wrong, and unjustly carried out before, during, and after elections. These unjust acts can be done by some desperate politicians, security agents, electoral commission staff, political parties, party supporters, thugs etc. to win an election. Election malpractice can take any form of the following forms; destruction of ballot boxes, underage voting, ballot box stuffing, manipulation of votes, vote rigging, intimidation of the electorates, disenfranchisement, manipulation of electoral devices and vote-buying.

INEC

INEC means Independent National Electoral Commission. It was established by Abudulsalami Abubakar in 1998 shortly before Nigeria transitioned to military rule. INEC is the electoral body which oversees elections in Nigeria. Being the election umpire of the country, it is responsible for all electoral matters in Nigeria. INEC is an independent body, its functions are carried out without any external influence from anybody including the government. INEC has vital functions, which we shall be looking at.

Functions of INEC

- **Electoral Education:** The function of INEC officials is to properly educate all voters to ensure that they do not make mistakes as they cast their votes. This is done by giving the voters orientations and guidelines on how to thumbprint at the ballot paper in order not to make mistakes, avoid multiple voting and how fold the ballot paper to prevent the ink from staining the ballot paper. This is done either through media or going to churches, workplaces and even marketplaces. Due to the low number of INEC officials and the large population of people in Nigeria, INEC employs ad-hoc staff that assists INEC during elections. These people need to be properly trained before elections commence to avoid mistakes while working on the results. However, the question is, do INEC properly educate these people? Some of the discrepancies and cancellations noticed in the 2023 elections are indications that INEC did not carry

out its function as it was supposed to. To ensure credible elections, comprehensive voter education and voter awareness programmes with special focus given to women, youth, and marginalized groups

- **Political Party Registration:** Before any election can take place in the country, people must form political parties. It is the function of INEC to register them after their formation following the laid down rules in the constitution of Nigeria as seen in section 221, sub-section (a) which says “no association by whatever name called shall function as a political party unless the names and addresses of its national officers are registered with the independent National Electoral Commission”⁵. Over registration of political Parties in Nigeria has given rise to incessant cross-carpeting of politicians most seen during election campaigns. This has become a problem facing free and fair elections in Nigeria.
- **Political Parties Campaigns Monitoring:** Political parties in Nigeria are allowed to go on campaigns after they must have registered. Nigeria’s constitution has principles that the political parties must adhere to. So, the INEC must ensure that the principles are maintained. But, it is quite sad that the INEC does not carry out this function. Most political parties violate these principles and still nothing will be done by the INEC to punish the parties in question. Billions of naira were seen shared by a particular party to the delegates during their primaries yet nothing was done. The inability to checkmate these parties’ activities has given room to more corruption during elections.
- **Voters Registration:** It is the function of INEC to register anybody who is above eighteen years of age. Once the person is fully registered, the voter’s card will be issued to the person. The voter’s card carries all the necessary and required details of the voter. This is basically to avoid any form of electoral malpractice during the voting process. Anyone without a voter’s card is not eligible for voting during elections. To show that INEC failed woefully in carrying out its function in the 2023 elections, underage voters were seen in the poll casting their votes. This shows that INEC does not keep to its rules and cannot be trusted. The registration of voters in Nigeria remains a problem to be solved.
- **Democratic Electoral Process Promotion:** Nigeria being a country, to promote sound democratic information becomes the function of INEC. INEC must advance

the democratic knowledge that they have acquired. From the look of things, INEC is undemocratic and not independent as it should be.

- **Delegation of Powers:** INEC has a hierarchy in its offices. From the Chairman to Residential Electoral Commissioners to Electoral Officers, to Returning Officers, to Collation Officers downward. It is the function of INEC to delegate its power to whomever it deems fit to perform a function on its behalf. Sometimes, why INEC fails to adhere to its functions is caused by the government in power. When the government in power is corrupt and selfish, it will likely manipulate the functions of INEC to remain in control. The beauty of democracy is its credibility; INEC begins to fail when it begins to dance to the tune of external bodies.

Challenges Facing Free and Fair Elections in Nigeria

In Nigeria today, there are a lot of challenges confronting peaceful elections and these are;

- **Persistence of Violence ahead of, and During Elections:** Electoral violence is the bane of elections in Nigeria. Nigeria has a long history of violence during elections, and it is very appalling that it repeats in the 2023 general elections. This violence took place in almost all 36 States in Nigeria. Lagos for instance was the epic centre. Thugs were largely used by political parties to disrupt elections in some places like Rivers, Lagos, Enugu, Abia, Adamawa etc. in Enugu for instance, a Labour Party House of Representatives candidate was brutally murdered two days before the HOA election. In Rivers State, a REC was threatened not to call the presidential results of a particular local government. In Lagos State cases of violence were recorded which later resulted in an ethnic crisis between the Igbos and Yorubas. In Anambra State, a voter was shot dead at the poll during the election in Njikoka LGA. Policemen also foil hoodlums who came to snatch ballot boxes at Ihiala LGA in Anambra State. This persistent violence during and after elections has caused serious damage in elections in Nigeria. It is also one of the reasons INEC records low turnouts during elections.
- **Vote Buying:** In Nigeria, money plays an important role in choosing who becomes a leader. Election in Nigeria is no longer based on competency, but on who has more money that is why it is a “do or die affair”. Money politics has become a common feature in Africa. That is why Nigeria is still so unlucky to have competent and incorrupt leaders. The majority of Nigerian politicians still buy votes, and this has

become a serious challenge facing the electoral process as it makes election results not to be a true representation of the right people. The 2022 APC primaries brought to light the reality of vote buying. This was an important factor in the electoral victory of most candidates at the primaries. All efforts to end vote-buying in the 2023 general elections proved abortive. The more government is devising means to curb it the more the politicians are discovering other means to promote it. The major cause of this vote-buying has been attributed to the high cost of purchasing nomination forms. No one would like to lose an election after spending huge money on purchasing nomination forms and the high cost of running a campaign. Furthermore, this phenomenon of vote-buying is another thing that gives the political elites the privilege to remain in power; this is because they will fight to make sure that they retain the position by all means.

- **High Cost of Running Elections:**

The cost of organizing elections in Nigeria has been on the increase over the years without making any attempt to curb it. It was this high cost that gives some politicians that are not fitted for leadership the ground and impetus to have access to leadership positions and still retain power. The implication is that when these people finally get to office, they would like to first and foremost look for ways to loot public funds to replace all the monies spent during elections, and by the end of his tenure one would realize that he does absolutely nothing.

- **Multi-Party System**

This is a serious challenge and a waste of money for INEC. Nigeria has too many political parties and this contributes to huge waste of money during elections. This equally gives room for incessant cross-carpeting/ decamping of politicians from one political party to another. Everybody wants to form a political party, and INEC finds it difficult to fix all the parties on one ballot paper.

- **Poor Funding**

Poor funding is another serious problem facing INEC. Despite the millions of naira mapped out for organizing elections, INEC still complains of poor funding. The ad-hoc staff that worked during elections needs to be paid well. The inability to pay them well has resulted in all these criminal means of engaging in vote-buying. So, the INEC needs to increase their honoraria and ensures they are paid on time.

- **Electoral Acts**

In as much as INEC is independent, sometimes the HOA enacts Laws that can hinder INEC in its operations. Electronic voting had been on for so long, but INEC cannot implement it unless permitted by an electoral act. Sometimes INEC violates the law to favour the government in power. The law says in Electoral Acts that for someone to become a president, the candidate must get 25% of votes in all 36 states and also win in FCT. But this law is not applied in the 2023 general elections. Even, when the electoral act says that where there is violence, supplementary election should be conducted. But the INEC did not put all these things into consideration in the 2023 general elections.

- **Underage Voter**

The underage voter is another challenge facing the electoral process in Nigeria. Despite the deployment of the new technology BVAS, these underage voters surfaced again in the 2023 general elections and were seen voting on election days. The questions are who registered these people? Why were they allowed to vote since they are underage? This reveals the weakness on the side of the INEC to adhere to its functions.

- **Snatching of Ballot Boxes**

It is very sad that in Nigeria, those that make laws are the people that disobey them. This issue of ballot box snatching is not a new phenomenon. Those involved in this ugly thing are desperate politicians. Once they discover that they will not win in a particular state or ward, the next thing they do is not send marauding hoodlums to invade and attack such places. These criminals are always violent, ready to kill and even burn ballot papers. Unfortunately, many INEC staff and even coppers have lost their lives in this ugly phenomenon.

- **Logistics**

During elections, there is always difficulty in moving people, sensitive and non-sensitive materials to different destinations. This logistic problem has been the reason elections do not start on time or even do not hold at all. In as much as that there are places that are difficult to discover or get to on time, those places in the river line areas and those violent places. Still, INEC equally contributes to worsening these problems. Sometimes INEC fails to plan ahead of time. These delays can be prevented by planning ahead of time and not making arrangements on the day of the

elections. The INEC should also ensure that they make provisions for safe places where the ad-hoc staff will stay. The issue of allowing them to convey at the INEC offices on the day of the election is improper and can cause delays.

- **Growing Population**

The population of the country is creasing daily. Many people are advancing in age; some are relocating to different places, while some people are dead. Tracing these persons that have advanced and those that have relocated to include their names to avoid disenfranchising them and tracing the names of the dead ones to remove their names from the register become a serious challenge on the side of the INEC.

- **Delay in Paying the Ad-Hoc Staff Honorarium**

INEC depends majorly on ad-hoc staff for elections. Many of these ad-hoc staff are students, NYSC members and a few government workers. They are the ones basically at the forefront, despite the crucial and difficult jobs they do, their honoraria are delayed and in some cases, not paid at all. Thousands of ad-hoc staff after the 2023 elections were seen protesting and complaining of not being paid after the presidential and House of Assembly elections. Some of them who were paid were short-paid. The neglect and inability of the INEC to provide enabling ground for them to resort to collecting bribes from desperate politicians to manipulate the elections. Their welfare too is of utmost importance as they are exposed to compromise and harsh living conditions. To be candid, this delay in their payment has been occurring. It did not just start in the 2023 general elections. So, INEC needs to prepare well for the welfare of these ad-hoc staff.

2023 General Elections in Nigeria and the Role of INEC

Before the 2023 general elections were held, the ex-president Mr Buhari together with the INEC chairman Prof. Mahmood Yakubu assured Nigerians that the elections will be free, fair and credible. The sum of N355 billion was budgeted by the umpire body, INEC to take care of the logistical expenses and the deployment of the innovations BVAS and the INEC Result Viewing, IREV, portal. This is to ensure that the elections would be peaceful devoid of manipulation and rigging. The INEC chairman repeatedly assures Nigeria that the introduction of BVAS will help reduce drastically all forms of electoral malpractices during elections. As Uzoanya puts it:

Many Nigerians looked forward to the 2023 general elections for many reasons, among which were: the fact that the elections were not the traditional two-horse race; the repeated assurances from the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC; the signing of the 2022 Electoral Act which contained the deployment of technology; the increasingly depressing state of the economy, among others. So, the build-up to the elections was one filled with a nostalgia of anxiety, apprehension, and hope that the time has come for us to get things right. But did we? 6

The need to make Nigeria's elections more credible and transparent made the INEC introduce Bimodal Voter Accreditation System. This BVAS deployed is expected to help reduce the cases of manual manipulation of figures. Its role is to verify the genuineness of voters' cards and authenticate voters during the accreditation. This device was first used in the Isoko South Constituency by-election in Delta State in September 2021 and it worked perfectly. But unfortunately, the almighty BVAS failed woefully, despite the assurances made by the government and INEC that all the results would be uploaded immediately by the IRAV during the accreditation and voting processes. The question remains, did the umpire body fulfil its promise? No!

Nigerians on February 25, 2023, all came out en masse, unlike in other elections with all the passion and enthusiasm under the sun to cast their votes believing that those election malpractices that characterized the formal elections would not be noticed again. Frankly, there was a massive turnout. Some people were at the polling units as early as 6 am. Some even slept at the polling units; some even donated their generators to ensure that there was no manipulation of any kind. All these efforts were to ensure that their votes count and the results were uploaded to the IREV portal as promised by the umpire. The people of Nigeria were eager to see in practice those promises and assurances made to them by the umpire boss. But, unfortunately, the reverse was the case. They witnessed disappointment, deception, intimidation and failure. The February 25, 2023 elections were marred by those things Nigerians taught that they have defeated. Only to realize that they have been brainwashed, deceived and cajoled by the INEC boss. Uzoanya in his words observes that:

The election was marred by irregularities, ranging from voter suppression, intimidation, raw violence, sporadic shootings, snatching of ballot papers, and vote buying, among others. Both international and local observers attested to the fact that the election was grossly below standard. A key factor of uploading

results from the polling units to the IREV portal looked like ‘the more you look, the less you see’! 7

We would recall that the basic aim of redesigning the Nigerian currency was to ensure that the phenomenon of vote-buying is reduced drastically. But, unfortunately, on the day of the elections, these politicians were seen sharing Dollars with the voters at the polls. We can equally recall vividly that many lives were lost during this period of Naira swap due to the restriction on the amount of money to withdraw in banks by the CBN governor. All these sufferings and pains that Nigerians passed through to ensure that there is good governance became a waste. Sadly, many people were killed during the elections. The violence witnessed in Lagos, Rivers, Kano and Adamawa States was nothing to write home about. As confirmed by reports of local and international observers, there were many problems associated with the 2023 elections. In the area of logistics, INEC failed to provide enough vehicles that will convey ad-hoc staff and sensible materials to some places. This has resulted in disenfranchisement of many eligible voters in some states. Also, the collation and announcement of results were so slow, this created worries and tension among the electorate. The ad-hoc staff that were used during the elections were not paid their honoraria.

Nigerian state during the 2023 general elections was worse than Thomas Hobbes’ “state of nature.” Most people lose confidence in government because of their unfaithfulness and lack of trust. To the extent of destroying their voters’ cards due to the betrayal they experienced. From what happened in the 2023 general elections, it seems that after 23 years, electioneering in Nigeria has virtually remained the same. The question now is what went wrong. The truth is not far-fetched, the problem is simply bad leadership and failure on the side of the INEC to carry out its functions as an independent body it is. The politicians have, no doubt, been the weakest link in the electioneering process. It is very shameful that our leaders today are the ones inflicting these pains and sufferings on their citizens. After all the monies spent to conduct these elections, nothing has changed, instead, things became worse. No wonder Sowore in one of his interviews laments that unless a revolution happens in this country the same way they had in Sudan or probably Algeria, it’s going to be difficult to have free and fair elections⁸. He maintains that Nigeria must understand that unless something drastic happens, we cannot have elections that are won based on ideas⁹. He points out that politicians have destroyed the basis for any progressive politics¹⁰. However, it is in Nigeria that one can see brilliant young

people who will be asked to go and run for councillor while people with antiquated ideas are recommended to be presidential candidates.

Despite these disappointments with INEC, some improvements were made by INEC. Unlike in the previous elections, the introduction of the use of BVAS reduced the issues of overvoting, unlike what we used to have before it was manually done. It was recently through the help of BVAS that Nigerians were able to know the number of voters in those areas in the north that always have the high numbers. The level of awareness and participation made the 2023 elections bring about the most diverse political parties PDP, LP, APC, YPP, NNPC, and APGA into office, unlike those years we normally have only two parties.

Ways to Overcome These Challenges Facing Electoral Processes in Nigeria

One thing is identifying the problems; another thing is proffering solutions to curb such problems identified. Some problems marred the 2023 general elections. The first problem is the poor performance of Nigeria's political parties. The second problem is the inability of the INEC to fulfil its promises and adhere to its main functions. The third challenge is the failure and manipulation of BVAS. Having noticed all these problems, as giants of Africa that Nigeria is known for, what are the necessary things we as Nigerians need to put in place to overcome these challenges? Firstly, INEC must ensure that it keeps to its functions and avoid compromising. It must ensure that those ad-hoc staff and its existing staff are well qualified, trained and drilled properly on how to carry out their duties very well during elections. This will go a long way to reducing the rate of too many cancellations and disparities in election results. Secondly, on the part of the government, the progress and sustainability of this country lie in their hands. They know what to do to move this country forward. They should allow those that have good plans for Nigeria to fix this country back. On the part of the masses, they must not give up. They must ensure they stand on truth and keep coming out en masse to vote for the right leaders, knowing well that one-day justice must stand. On the part of the judiciary, they must ensure that they always stand on truth and allow the rule of law to prevail. On the part of the desperate politicians, if they must rule, they should emulate the lives of the leaders of these African countries that have a stable democracy. Countries like Botswana etc. This task is a collective job, when all these people keep to their functions, this will go a long way to help fix the nation back.

Conclusion

Nigeria is the way it is because the political elites at the corridor of power have refused to leave the stage for leaders who are competent and committed to saving this country. Nigeria can become great again if our leaders can rethink and fashion out good ways to improve Nigeria. They need to emulate the leaders of these countries, Senegal, Angola, and Kenya that had credible elections and apply the same in Nigeria. Senegal, Angola and Kenya all participated in President Biden's democracy summit. The experiences of these three countries highlight the need to bolster independent institutions, particularly electoral bodies and the judiciary, as well as campaign finance reforms that diversify participation and mitigate patronage. Such a step they took is paramount for dissuading citizens in Africa from destabilizing violence as well as for enhancing confidence in the legitimacy of elections as a genuine mechanism to foster democratization.

ENDNOTES

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DEMOCRACY AND THE QUEST FOR ACCEPTABLE REVENUE SHARING FORMULA IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This study interrogated the interface between democracy and the agitation for an acceptable revenue formula in Nigeria. We examined the various revenue sharing formula and the inherent heated continuous debate associated with it. We relied on documentary and survey source for data collection, content analysis and percentages for data analysis, relative deprivation, rising expectation and frustration aggression model as our theoretical framework. Our findings were that the argument and debate on revenue sharing formula is between the federal government and the south-south particularly the oil producing states who complained bitterly of the environmental hazards suffered by their region, we also discovered that most people from the north are not in support of resource control while their southern counterpart grossly support it, thereby leading to a stalemate. Despite the plethora of committee and commissions setup by the federal government to tackle the problems ranging from Philipson commission of 1946, Hick-Philipson commission of 1951 to Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) 1992 and even to the present day the problem is yet to be solved. We recommended among others that the argument on revenue sharing formula should be based on the nation's socio-economic needs rather than the interest of a given geopolitical region. The federal government should stop focusing her tentacle only on distributive but productive politics. They should think of what to do to increase the revenue of the country or at least provide enabling environment for the increase of the wealth of our nation which is the essence of political economy. Division of the country is not the only solution to Nigeria hydra-headed calamities, rather the federal government should through the Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC), increase the percentage of revenue accruing to the oil producing states in

the south on account of the heavy and almost irreversible ecological damages suffered by these states. In as much as we recommend that the federal government should review the allocation to oil producing states upward; the governors must renew and restructure their minds to make sure that money allocated to their states are judiciously utilized.

Keywords: Revenue sharing formula, economic development, political economy, government, revenue mobilization allocation, fiscal commission

Introduction

The Nigerian governance both at the military and democratic dispensation is replete with the problem of revenue sharing formula. Our administrative experiment from 1960-1966 and 1999 till date seem to be the worst culprit in this formula. Democracy is all about the betterment of people and principle of equity in governance, while true federalism which Nigeria claim to be practicing is grossly not balanced. The sharing formula in the early 1960s were acceptable and more in line with a true federalist and democratic spirits.

More importantly, since the figurative statement of Winston Churchill that “democracy is the worst form of government except for all the others that have been tried, points to the claim that democracy is the surest path to economic prosperity. Democracy has gained fundamental momentum. This position assumes more logical pedestal when juxtaposed with the intractable convulsion on revenue sharing formula in Nigeria spanning through Philipson Commission of 1946 on revenue sharing formula till the present day. Looking back to decades of both democratic and military governmental experiments in Nigeria, starting from the first republic to the present fourth republic, keen observers would ask whether we are still groping in the darkness of adopting a revenue sharing formula acceptable by all Nigerians without hysteric grumbling.

Many revenue sharing formula that have been adopted over the years in Nigeria are not without protracted arguments among major stakeholders from the north and south part of the country. Those from the oil producing state are of the view that the revenue accruing to them should be increased while those from the north prefers more revenue going to the centre without due considerations given to the irreversible ecological damages which oil exploration does to the oil producing states. Democracy despite its practice in Nigeria has

not in the least been able to proffer a suitable model for this endemic problem of revenue sharing formula. Against this background, this paper/article examines democracy and the quest for acceptable revenue sharing formula in Nigeria

Conceptual clarification

The term democracy has been subjected to scores of definitions, however, despite this hazardous and definitional fuzziness we shall examine some core ones here and give a detailed description of the concept to suit our central thesis.

It has been defined as a form of government in which the people govern a country, state or other body with such a form of government (Chambers 21st century Dictionary, 1999). Democracy essentially implies rule of the people. It has been conceptualized as control by the vast majority of the inhabitants of a country or popular control or the catalyst to political development and social progress for mutual benefit of the people (Oji, 1997). It has its origin from the Greek city state with specific reference to the period of Aristotle, between 6th and 4th century B.C (Oji,1997). The most popular and enduring definition of democracy was postulated by one-time American president, Abraham Lincoln who defined it as government of the people, by the people and for the people. In this study however, democracy is defined simply as the government of the majority of the people, whereby the views, aspirations, ideas and input of the majority are preserved, respected and honoured. More importantly, democracy is first and foremost about people, the relationship of those who lead and those who are led, those who govern and those who exercise political power and those who are the subjects of this power. It posits and insists that power springs from and therefore, belongs to the people. Hence, those who exercise political power should use it in the interest of the people or at least the majority, since the primary purpose of government is to provide the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people.

The above definition and description are in line with what the meaning and nature of democracy is in respect to this study. Thus the notion and practice of democracy as a system of government will be vague if it is unable to proffer an equitable fair and acceptable revenue sharing formula especially since May 29, 1999 when the fourth republic began in Nigeria.

Concept of Revenue Sharing Formula

The revenue allocation formula is the proportion of resources accruing to the federation that goes to each of the components states; it equally define the slice of resources retained in the territories where they are generated as well as the proportion of the revenue accruing to the collecting agencies of government (Mbanefo and Egwaikhinde 1998). It is this perceived absence of fairness and equity in the distribution of the resources that often account for tension and controversy that culminated in the continuous quest for restructuring in Nigeria federalism.

Statement Of The Problem

The essence of democracy and viable revenue sharing formula that can be accepted by all segments of Nigerian states is to bring about good governance. The function of the RMAFC is spelt out in the 3rd schedule of the 1999 constitution. Aside from the above, several committees and commission have been charged to review the revenue sharing formula in Nigeria, ranging from Philipson commission of 1946, Hick- Philipson, 1951, Chick, 1953, Rainsman 1958, frequent promulgation of military decree on revenue and other heated debate on revenue sharing formula to this day. It has been observed that controversies have continued to trail the formula for sharing revenue in Nigeria till date. This has become a major source of problem for the unity of the country.

Methodology

The method employed to collect data in the study is documentary. Thus we shall focus on secondary sources such as textbooks, journals, newspapers, internet materials and official documents. These will be complemented by survey method. Here we shall use unstructured elite interview to extract relevant information from 15 major interviewee\ stakeholders from relevant government agencies and commissions relevant to our discussion. We shall anchor our analysis on the logic of content analysis and percentage where necessary; relative deprivation, rising expectation and frustration aggression model as our theoretical framework.

General Overview of Revenue Sharing Formula.

The formula for sharing revenue has remained a controversial issue in democratic governance in Nigeria. According to the governor of Lagos State Mr. Babajide Sanwu-Olu our demand is a sharing formula that is just fair and equitable reflecting the contribution of stakeholders to the common purse at the end we hope the revenue mobilization allocation and fiscal commission (RMAFC) will base their review of the revenue allocation formula on objective criteria in the overall interest of the country (Sabowale, 1997). It has changed more than fifteen times in Nigeria, four times in India and twice each in Pakistan and Malaysia. In older federalism like USA, Canada, Swiss and Australia, the revenue from customs and exercise contribute the bulk of government fund in those countries, Ugwu (1998; emphasis added).

In Australia it was noticed that from the onset that the units would lose revenue, once the federal government took control of custom and exercise duties. In USA, Switzerland, Canada and Australia, power to tax income was initially assigned to the federating states, but overtime, due to political and economic factors and pressure, the central government came to participate in taxing income.

However, in Nigeria and USA, both national and state government impose taxes on individuals and corporation in some countries, special bodies are set up or entrusted with the exclusive responsibility of making allocation between the centre and component states. For example, there are common wealth grants commission in Australia, finance commission in India, national Finance council in Malaysia and Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) in Nigeria, presently established in 1989 to periodically review Nigeria's intergovernmental fiscal relations (Ugwu, 1998, Okibe 1999). Thus in Nigeria, the revenue sharing formula has remained as controversial as ever because of its special nature. This is because, according to Oyovbaire (1979) as quoted in Agu, (2004), fiscal federalism had been a recurring issue of political tension in the political history of Nigeria's federalism. The table below shows the historical summary of revenue allocation in Nigeria from 1946 to the present day.

s/n	Commission/committee	Year
1	Philipson	1946
2	Hicks – Philipson	1951
3	Click	1953
4	Rainsman	1958
5	Binus	1964
6	Decree No 15	1967
7	Dina	1968
8	Decree No 13	1970
9	Decree No 9	1971
10	Decree No 66	1975
11	Aboyade	1977
12	Okigbo	1980
13	Decree No 36	1984
14	Danjuma	1989
15	AFRC approval	January, 1990
16	AFRC approval	January, 1992
17	AFRC approval	June, 1992

Source: National Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission (NRMAFC) (cited in Agu, 2004 pp 265 – 269).

In addition to the above commissions and panels, there was also the 1999 revenue sharing controversy under president Olusegun Obasanjo and the Presidential executive order of 2002 till date. The burning issues in Nigeria, political economy is that the current revenue sharing formula adopted in 1992 is not inequitably and grossly unacceptable, because it has elapse the clamour for resource control by different ethnic group is a clamour for adequate compensation, a cry for justice and redistribution of revenue allocation. Without mincing words, the statutory distribution of revenue from the federation account had always been controversial. This could be evidenced from the fact that none of the formula evolved at various times from the table above by either a commission or decree under different regimes since 1964 had gained general acceptability among the component units of the country (Agu, 2004). Eminent citizens from Delta state also explained their views on the revenue sharing formula explaining that the Niger Delta petroleum is the reason for Northerners current advocacy for a

powerful central government controlling all the country's resources and weak client states fully dependent on the centre for survival (Agu, 2004).

An interview with Gary Filman, a former elected governor of Manitoba Canada, revealed that it is absolutely necessary to balance the power, responsibilities and financial resources at the level of government. According to him, Canada after sixty years of confederation eventually transferred the authority for natural resources from the federal government to the provinces or confederation in 1867. As time went on people realized the need to keep resources in the hands of the province (states) and that the states will do a better job of managing this resources (Vanguard Newspaper, March 2001). The former governor of Kebbi state Alhaji Adamu Aliero kicked against true federalism in Nigeria. He argued that the true federalism in Nigeria with greater autonomy given to the state, could lead to Nigeria's disintegration, Guardian Newspaper, June 5, 2001.

Government Bodies in Charge of Sharing Revenue

The Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) is a part of the federal executive bodies that occupies a very crucial position in Nigeria responsible for fiscal administration of Nigerian government. The powers of the RMAFC are vested on it by the 3rd schedule of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN). Items 31 and 32. Accordingly, the RMAFC shall,

- a. have power to monitor accruals to and disbursement of revenue from the federation account.
- b. Review from time to time the revenue allocation formula and principles in operation to ensure conformity with changing realities, provided that any revenue which has been accepted by an act of the National Assembly shall remain in force for period of not less than five years from the date of commencement of the Act.
- c. Advise the federal and states government on fiscal efficiency and methods by which their revenue can be increased.
- d. Determine the remuneration appropriate for political office holders, Deputy Governors, Ministers, Vice President, commissioners, special advisers, legislators and the holders of the offices mentioned in section 48 and 124 of this constitution and,
- e. Discharge such other functions, as are conferred on the commission by this constitution or any Act of the National Assembly.

The above enumerated functions are given to the RMAFC to ensure that the idea of revenue sharing will not be a thorny issue, since the commission must consist of a chairman and one member from each state of the federation the federal capital territory (FCT), Abuja who in the opinion of the president are persons of unquestionable integrity with requisite qualification and experience.

Distribution of Revenue

There are two fundamental components of revenue allocation formula used for disbursement of revenue to the three tiers of government- vertical Allocation formula and horizontal Allocation formula.

1. Vertical Allocation Formula (VAF). This formula portrays the percentage allocated to the three tiers of government, federal, state and local government. As the name implies, this formula is vertically applied to the total volume of revenue in the account of the federation at a particular point in time. The VAF enables all tiers of government to know what is due to it; the federal government on one hand and 36 states and FCT and 774 local government areas on the other hands.
2. Horizontal Allocation Formula(HAF). This is applicable to states and local government only. Providing the basis for sharing of the revenue volume already allocated to the 36 states and 744 local government areas. Through this HAF, the allocation due to each state or local government is determined. Thus it is explicable here that the VAF is for inter-tier sharing between three tiers of government, while the HAF is for sharing among the 36 states and 774 local government areas in Nigeria Oasdom, 2020.

Controversy Over Revenue Sharing Formula Since 1999

There have been several heated debates over the most acceptable amount of revenue to be allocated to the tiers of government that makes Nigeria federation. Many well-meaning Nigerians both from the North and South have expressed their opinions over time. The former governor of Akwa Ibom state Mr. Godswill Akpabio, in 2013 told the revenue review committee to consider an increment of the 13 percent derivation currently allocated to oil producing state for the development of the region. The former Deputy governor of Abia state Mr. Emeka Ananaba recommended a reduction in the federal government (FG) allocation from the federation account from 52.68 percent to 45 percent. While the allocation to the federating state be increased from 26.72 percent to 32 percent

and local government increased from 20.60 percent to 23 percent and 13 percent derivation increased from 13 percent to 70 percent on account of the environmental hazards suffered by oil producing states. For Mr. Peter Obi, the Labour Party (LP) Presidential candidate during the 2023 election, there should be 40-40-20 percent revenue allocation formula for federal, state and local government areas respectively. He noted that in a federation anywhere in the globe, the key driver is the state which is the sub-nation. former governor Olusegun Mimiko opined that greater allocation be given to the state, while former governor Umaru Al-makura Tanko of Nasarawa State beat his drum for the large concentration of solid mineral deposit in the state to be considered while reviewing sharing formula (Ishaya, 2014).

It was the position of former Governor of Lagos state and a current President of Nigeria, Ahmed Bola Tinubu that it is utter ridiculous for more than 80 percent of value Added tax which is generated to be spent outside the state which generated it. Mr. Ezeife, a former governorship aspirant opined that state should be allowed to control their resources, this was corroborated by Chief Joseph Evan and Professor Sagay see Guardian Newspaper, March 15th 2000. Again Mohammed Bello the current minister of FCT noted that more fund must be given to FCT to meet its massive developmental needs.

However, critics of the revenue formula have on several occasions been calling for a review of the existing formula. It was recalled that the current formula was designed in 2002 when 13 percent of the national income from oil and gas was apparent for the oil producing states (Ishaya, 2014)

The revenue sharing formula in Nigeria further continued to generate formidable controversy up till the administration of former president Olusegun Obasanjo, during this period, the proposed formula by RMAFC was as follows

Level Of Government	Percentage
Federal government	41.3
State government	31
Local government	16

Sources: Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission quoted in Business News September 12, 2014 p.6

Following the endemic controversy and protracted arguments that characterized other formulae, this formula did not go well with and highly dissatisfactory to the southern Nigeria governors. Consequently, they requested for the adoption of the formula below for revenue sharing in Nigeria

Level of government	Percentage
Federal government	36
State government	36
Local government	25
FCT	1
Ecology	2
TOTAL	100

Sources: Business News Staff September 12, 2014 p.12

In spite of the raging argument, the current vertical Allocation formula (VAF) which is anchored on presidential executive order are presented below.

Level of government	Percentage
Federal government	52.68
State government	26.72
Local government	20.60
Total	100

Sources: Business News Staff September 12, 2014 p.6

The above formula is presently in use up till the time of writing this paper. Currently as part its concern about revenue matters the Chairman of RMAFC Mr Mohammed Bello, shortly after the announcement of subsidy removed by former President Mohammadu Buhari but announced by President Bola Tinubu. Mr Bello hailed the initiative. He noted that since January 2022 the NNPC has not been contributing to the federation account.

As at 2004, the approved allocation of revenue (federation account etc) Act of 2004 stated that revenue shall be distributed among the three tiers of government as follows:

Level of government	Percentage
Federal government	56
State government	24
Local government	20
Total	100

Source: Government Revenue Allocation in Nigeria and Sharing Formula May,2020

It should be noted however that any revenue distributed to each level of government is to be effectively utilized by such government. There is a body that ensures that all revenue allocates to states from the federation account are promptly and fully paid into the treasury of each states such body is called Federation Account Allocation Committee (FAAC). It was set up by the allocation of revenue (federation account) Act cap A15 LFN 2004 to deliberate upon and allocate funds from the federation account to the three tiers of government. The committee is composed of the federal Ministry of Finance as Chairman, all state commissioners as members' two persons to be appointment by the president, Accountant General of the Federation, all states Accountant Generals including the permanent secretary of the Federal Ministry of finance or representative as designate by the said minister, the secretary. The major functions of the FAAC is to ensure that allocations made to the states from the federation account are promptly and fully paid into the treasury of each state on the basis and terms prescribed by law. Another body associated with sharing of revenue is the state joint local government account committee. The function of this committee is to ensure that allocation made to the local government from the federation account and the state internally generated revenue (IGR) are promptly paid into the state joint local government account and distributed to the local government according to the provision of the law. It consists of the permanent secretary for the local government affairs as chairman, chairman of each local government areas in the state as member, two persons to be appointed by the governor of the state and the federal pay officer of the state. This committee is set up to ensure equitable distribution of the statutory allocation to local government from the federation account and 10 percent of the IGR of the appropriate governments are shared to the beneficiaries in accordance with the 1999 constitution (see Government Revenue Allocation and Sharing formula, May, 2020). What is germane in democracy and the quest for acceptable revenue sharing is that there is a regulatory body in charge of revenue allocation in Nigeria called RMAFC, government revenue sharing formula across the three tiers of government

which has been controversial and the committee in charge of allocating fund from the federation account to the three tiers of government called FAAC.

Theoretical Framework

In order to logically explicate the interface between democracy and the quest for acceptable revenue sharing in Nigeria, we predicate our analysis on the relative deprivation rising expectation and frustration aggression model. It was articulated by Gurr (1970), Dullard, 1937, Berkowitz (1962), Davis and Gurr, (1968) among others. The basic proposition of this theory is that aggression is always a consequence of discontent. This implies that discontent and unhappiness of a sort predisposes men to rebel or go against a given system. The frustration aggression model was first espoused by Dollard and his colleagues in 1939. According to them, the primary source of human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration aggression mechanism. They propounded that anger induced by frustration is a motivating force that disposes man to aggression while frustration is an interference with goal-directed behaviours. According to this theory, relative deprivation is a form of frustration thus Gurr (1939), in series of studies culminating in a book, entitled “Why Man Rebel” argued that relative deprivation is a necessary condition for violence and controversy. Relative deprivation according to Gurr (1939) is a perceived discrepancy between men's value expectation and their value capabilities, value expectation are goods and condition of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled to, while value capabilities are the goods and condition they think they are capable of attaining and maintaining, given the social means available to them. He also suggests some variables that affect the intensity of emotional response to the perception of deprivation (Okanya, 1999). Thus to resolve this problem in the state, it becomes the role of the state. In the description of Thomas Hobbes, life in the state of nature was brutish, nasty and short. Thus it becomes the role of the state and its institution to regulate the excesses of individuals. The state therefore become a means of taking violence out of the hands of individuals and group. This is in accordance with Max Weber’s argument that the state has the monopoly of the legitimate use of force (Johari, 2009, Okanya 1999).

According to this theory, four intervening variables may condition the perception of deprivation which are the legitimacy of the political regime in which the violence occur, the coercive potentials of the regime, institution and social structures. It further implies that relative deprivation or violence depends on the legitimacy of the regime or

administration, the coercion or force to quell violence and the strength of political institution, Davis (1972), attributed the outbreak of violence to the frustration that results from a short term decline in achievement following a long term increase that generates expectation.

The relationship between democracy and the quest for acceptable revenue sharing formula is that the state from Southern Nigeria especially the South-South region are relatively deprived of their value expectation which is a viable and acceptable revenue sharing formula. They thus become frustrated and resort to violence to register their grievances since anger induced by frustration is a motivating force that predisposes men to violence. As the theory posited The military administration of Late Sani Abacha increased the tempo for the agitation for resource control because of its high-handedness in approaching the oil producing states who felt that they have been marginalized and deprived. Thus during this period there was the use of extreme force by the Abacha military junta to quell the situation. For example, the Ogoni debacle was a product of the insensitivity of the previous administration to the problems of the oil producing areas. (Anugwom, 2004). Thus the major reason why major oil producing state in Nigeria is at loggerhead with government is frustration and this leads to aggression due to the fact that the regions are relatively deprived. This justifies the use of this theory of relative deprivation, rising expectation and frustration aggression model.

Moreover, the acute environmental problems of the oil prospecting industry which has done more in calculable harm to the Ogoni environment in the South-South region has not received adequate attention from either the government or the oil companies themselves to this day (Anugwom, 2004). The long year of neglect and failure of previous development agencies to tackle the deprivation among the people has compounded the problem, (Ugochukwu, 2004). Thus the value expectation of the South-South region is that since the advent of oil that are generating more than 90% of Nigeria foreign exchange earnings and 80% of federal government revenue while the value capabilities represented by the present revenue sharing formula is unsatisfactory to them. Since the people are relatively deprived they cried intermittently but federal government is not helping matters. This was manifested in 1995 when the Ogoni four were killed and later led to the killing of 9 people in Ogoniland including Ken Saro Wiwa (Ugochukwu, 2004).

Findings

Up till now the quest for an acceptable revenue sharing formula continued to rear its ugly head because of the insincerity of the federal government towards the matter. After all, the commission set to review revenue formula out of the above principle set by the commission, the principle of derivation has been the most continuous the principle simply posits that “if any mineral in any state is exploited, its yield revenue shall be retained (given back) to that state on the principle of derivation, while the rest will be accrued to the federal account to be enjoyed by all the federating units” cited in Ugwuozor, 2009, p334). The above principle was championed and recommended by Philipson 1964, Hick/Philipson, and Rainsman commission of 1958 as basis for sharing the nation’s revenue. it continued after independence in line with federalist and democratic spirit. This principle provided a considerable financial autonomy to the federating units but General Gowon who claimed to pursue a strong centre swept the principle under the carpet. We regard this action of General Gowon as not only unjust but oppressive, tyrannical brutish and gross abuse of power. In order to use northern hegemony to dominate, intimidate and harrass other federating units. After all, Gowon was not the right person to paddle the canoe of country after the gruesome killing of Major General Thomas Umunna Aguiyi- Ironsi by the northern military junta, but because Brigadier Ogundipe a Yoruba most senior military officer, took to his heels. This issues of northern dominance and hegemony has been negatively affecting our revenues haring formula to this day. The unanswered question is would the north and to some extent the south west have discarded the derivation principle if substantial oil was discovered in their geopolitical zone. They disregarded it because their area especially the north has no oil and oil exist in the south-south the north wants a strong central government. And the south-south is taking advantage of oil in their area to demand larger share of the revenue.

Conclusion

Nigeria as a democratic state in principle it is the sixth largest producer of crude oil and its export account for more than 90 percent of the country’s foreign exchange. The formula for the sharing of oil revenue as we noted here has generated heated arguments and debate. The debate is mostly anchored on what will favour each part of the country, the north argues in its favour while the south especially the oil producing states expects the sharing formula to favour her because oil come from that region. No part of the

country is considering a favorable formula for the entire country. This inability to arrive at consensus in the revenue sharing formula is traceable to greed and the fear of losing grip of the central government. The essence of democracy is to carry the people along. Jeremy Bentham and J.S Mill the utilitarian philosophers and well known exponent of government postulated that the primary purpose of government is to provide the great happiness for the greatest number of people. We equally discovered that the president directly or indirectly influences the final decision of the RMAFC this is not a credible practice. The north should stop having the believe that without the south, especially the oil producing states that they will not survive. This is an error since the oil producing states are not their God, they should think of how to contribute to the wealth of our nation. The south should realize that God is the giver of resources and see the north as their brothers since to quote Sir Ahmdu Bello, the 1914 mistake has been made by Sir Fedrick Lugard who amalgamated the country through administrative fiat rather than mutual agreement. The south especially the oil producing states who continue to clamour for upward review of the revenue allocation are not effectively utilizing the ones given to them. The governors have become demi-gods in their states. We don't want to mention some states in the South-South whose people are living below abject poverty level. Some of the governors have established universities and fixed the school fees at N200,000, (two hundred thousand naira) what then is the essence of government. Some governors in the same geopolitical zone have also unreasonably increase the transport fare of their various state transport companies with more than 300 percent. They have become heartless and grossly unsympathetic.

The country is in dire need of visionary leaders like former president Umaru Musa Yar'dua and former president Olusegun Obasanjo we mention the former here because of the tactful manners be handled the country during his administration.

Recommendations

Having reached the above conclusion, we here by recommended as follows

- The argument on how to arrive at a favourable revenue sharing formula must be based on the meeting the nation's socio-economic needs rather than focusing on the interest of a particular geographical region.
- The federal government should stop focusing her tentacle only on distributive but productive politics. They should think of what to do to increase the revenue

of the country or at least provide enabling environment for the increase of the wealth of our nation which is the essence of political economy.

- Division of the country is not the only solution to Nigeria hydra-headed calamities, rather the federal government should through the RMAFC increase the percentage of revenue accruing to the oil producing states in the south on account of the heavy and almost irreversible ecological damages suffered by these states.
- In as much as we recommend that the federal government should review the allocation to oil producing states upward; the governors must renew and restructure their minds to make sure that money allocated to their states are judiciously utilized.

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EFFECTS OF BRAIN DRAIN IN NATION BUILDING: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

The brain drain phenomenon in Nigeria has attracted significant attention and concern among Nigerian scholars across various platforms. Empirical evidence confirms the existence of this problem, yet practical and workable solutions to mitigate its impact remain elusive in Nigeria. Regrettably, the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has not accorded it the necessary attention as a serious issue with potentially detrimental effects on the nation's future human development. This dangerous trend predominantly affects skilled professionals in Nigeria. The consequences of this brain drain pose a formidable challenge to the nation's human capital development and material resources, although it is not an isolated problem limited to Nigeria alone, but rather prevalent in many developing countries of the world. Furthermore, developed nations exacerbate the situation by enticing and perpetuating underdevelopment through superior technological advancements, robust economies, and strategic political-cultural systems. The outcomes of such tactics include a distressing form of reverse slavery, continuous exploitation of raw materials, and enduring underdevelopment, as evidenced in Nigeria today. This research paper explored the theoretical background of brain drain, elucidating its causes and effects on the continuous migration of skilled professional youths from Nigeria to other countries. It also examines its broader consequences for the nation's growth. In light of its findings, the study presented recommendations to reduce the menace of brain drain in Nigeria, as it has severely impeded the nation's human capital development and material resources. By addressing this critical issue,

Nigeria as a nation can foster sustainable growth and development, ensuring the retention and utilization of its skilled workforce for the benefit of nation-building as a whole.

Keywords: Brain Drain, Reverse Slavery, Nigeria, Africa

Introduction

African nations have been under attack by the European countries that kept on exploiting them swiftly from political, economic, and cultural points of view, for ages till the present day. They divided the African nations without the consent of the Africans for their selfish interests in the name of developing the African nations. One has to agree with Mbefo (1996) that:

It was in Berlin that the masterplan and the implicit agreement about European intentions in Africa were decided and given active assistance....The result of the conference was that the ongoing “scramble for Africa” was organized systematically, according to agreed principles. While it is wrong to claim, as some have done, that Africa was carved up by European powers at this conference, it is right to affirm that it was there the European powers agreed on maintaining colonies in Africa. European powers agreed not to interfere but to respect the “areas of influence” acquired by any given power. Remarkably, no African was invited to a conference that decided the fate of Africa...the result of the Conference was the movement that issued forth in the division of Africa into states with known boundaries. It became a continent of so many countries, albeit under English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, or German rule. (pp. 28-29).

That is to show somehow the foundational problem of African nations which started from the divisions, with this situation above, these foreign countries today kept on exploiting and under-developing African nations through different ways that suit them. Recently, different kinds of African summits are being organized for Africans by these foreign nations in the name of helping to build and develop African nations. For instance, in August 2012, there was Rio Summit organized by United Nations (UN) for sustainable development in Africa, in 17 to 18 February 2022 European Union held the African Union Summit on sustainable and sustained economic development and prosperity, and the United States of America (US) on 19th December 2022 again held US-Africa

Summits where 49 African presidents attended the Summit. One may ask whose interests are these Summits being held, is it for African development or the continued domination of African nations in a disguised form? If the Summits are for the good of African nations why is Africa still highly underdeveloped? Excessive borrowings by African nations from these developed countries with dangerous agreements signed also allude to the fact that African nations are under the power, command, and influence of these developed nations. For example, Nigeria has borrowed much in the last 8 years of President Muhammad Buhari's administration that all income was used to service foreign debts.

Going further, the continent of Africa experienced many wars which ranges from tribal or ethnic to religious crises from time to time every year. Okafor (1997) reported that:

For the continent of Africa, the year 1994 was a year of disaster. Across the continent, there was lamentation and great suffering caused by genocidal and fratricidal wars. It was a year of ethnic plague. In Rwanda, east of Africa, the ethnic conflict between the Tutsis and Hutus was climaxed by the gruesome massacre of thousands of Tutsis and moderate Hutus. On the west coast of Africa, Liberia was being ravaged by an internecine war. Nigeria, on the other side, was on the brink of civil war following renewed crisis on the annulled 12 presidential election results. In the northern fringes of Ghana, a bloody ethnic confrontation had erupted leaving many people dead. Northwards, Somalia was bleeding as the two rival factions engaged themselves in bloody combat. In Sudan, too, military operations were mobilized against secessionist groups, killing many and rendering others homeless. Thus, the ill wind of ethno-religious conflicts blew across Africa leaving in its trail unprecedented human, economic, social, and ecological disasters. (p. vi).

So, one can from this angle or perspective understand the reason why developing countries or source nations especially Nigeria and Africa in general are undergoing brain drain in great numbers and less brain gain. The above situation of ethnic crisis has kept Nigeria undeveloped since independence, coupled with the fact that the political and economic growth largely hinged on corrupt practices and mono-economy. The skilled professionals hence opt for greener pastures outside the shores of the country. Sasu (2023) reported that in the 1970s, Nigeria attracted many foreigners because of the oil boom but in the 1980s, the number of Nigerians leaving the country increased as a consequence of the economic downturn, political instability, and corrupt practices in all dimensions.

Corruption again played and continues to play a major role in the problem of brain drain in Nigeria, corruption is seen as an abuse of public power for personal ends which has grown both in geopolitical spheres and in great magnitude. Most skilled citizens of Nigeria believe that one has to bribe their way before getting what he/she wants or applied for, hence the need to migrate to other countries of the world. According to Anowai (2011), corruption has been identified as a major obstacle to the promotion of effective governance in Nigeria, sustained economic growth, and national development. Corruption practices were believed to have marred the 2023 general elections which led many skilled youths to have left the country immediately after the election because it was believed that Nigeria has been hijacked again. From the above scenario, one can truly see why brain drain is on the increase in Nigeria.

The Concept of Brain Drain

The emergence of the globalized economy with the information explosion, social networking, and technological advancement has brought a variety of opportunities in trade and investment, which in turn resulted in the acceleration of brain drain from source countries to developed countries of the world. This situation increased the desire of the host countries or developed countries of the world to improve their living standard of life and to attract more foreigners especially skilled labourers from developing countries to work for them, hence increasing their human resources which is vital for capital development. Most developed countries of the world, put in place good policies associated with reforms relating to good democratization in society, transparency in building their economy, infrastructure, and formidable independent institutions that build up good governance in their nations (Clemens, 2009). Hence, Hashish and Ashour (2020) defined brain drain as a migration of employees or professionals in their quest for an improved level of living conditions, better earnings, access to advanced technology, and secure political conditions in diverse places worldwide. This is an ongoing phenomenon that impacts the quality and quantity of the working force which affects the quality of human capital development.

Again, the concept of brain drain from various scholars tends to mean the gradual disappearance of something and providing nothing in return for exchange. So, the term according to Koser and Salt (1997) is synonymous with the movement of talented people where the outflow of expertise is strongly in one direction. However, with time the concept changed to the migration of highly qualified persons from developing countries

to developed countries. This drainage of human resources from source countries becomes a brain gain to the host countries in human and material resources in terms of critical infrastructural developments. This of course stimulates many government policies around the world either for or against brain drain as the case may be either for source or receiving countries. Furthermore, brain drain has become more pronounced these days due to rapid globalization taking place in the world, which necessitated great changes in political, economic, cultural, and social domains (Bhagwati, 2011).

Olumide and Wilfred (2012) defined brain drain as a movement that occurs or happens when skilled professionals from a country (mostly poor countries migrate to other countries mostly richer countries) to practice their profession and benefit these countries economically, socially, and even culturally. One will immediately ask why will professionals move to other countries of the world rather than stay in their own countries to work or practice their profession. This is why most scholars agreed that many different factors cause the migration of professionals to other countries of the world. Some of these factors include among others economic, social-political, personal decisions, and crises/wars. It should be noted that brain drain cost a lot of resources and time to the sending countries to train these professionals who eventually migrate to other countries of the world. This is a huge loss to the source country and a huge gain to the receiving countries, hence many countries of the world are making policies to reduce such migrations because it reduces the human capital of any country. Nigeria recently mandated their medical doctors to serve for some years before migrating to other developed countries of the world that may pay them better for their services.

In Nigeria, brain drain syndrome is popularly known or nicknamed *japa* (a Yoruba word which means to run or to flee) according to Nnoruga and Osigwe (2023):

it is the exodus of middle-class and highly skilled Nigerians to other countries of the world. This trend started in the late 1980s for some professionals but as of today, it has become free for all with the introduction of visa programs and the offer of lucrative jobs from various countries of the world for all skilled individuals. Hence, as of today in Nigeria, migration or movement out of the country is in waves because both the skilled and unskilled migrate out of the country, even with or without valid visas go through the sea or desert. (p. 26).

Recently, some young men and women want to travel out of Nigeria for one reason or the other, it is no more for professionals only as indicated above. Some scholars estimated

that seven out of ten Nigerians are always willing to leave Nigerian territory for other countries of the world from the number of visas being applied for daily by Nigerian citizens. Most of them travel with their nuclear families in most cases, where one member of the family travels alone he/she comes back to take his/her family members along with him/her later.

Going further, Watanabe (1969) enumerated three different kinds of brain drain which normally take place or are found among the countries of the world, first is seen among the developed countries of the world. Here the citizens of the developed countries of the world travel within developed countries to establish, research, or improve themselves in one field or the other. It is not mainly for job seeking, to improve economic conditions or to run away from crises or wars. Sometimes it is for brief holidays done for relaxation and research. The second type of brain drain is seen among the citizens of developing countries of the world to developed countries of the world. Here Nigeria as a country falls heavily in this category, where citizens travel to other developed countries to pick jobs to improve their living conditions. The professionals of the source countries migrate in numbers to find jobs and run away from crises, artisans migrate to do menial jobs to improve themselves, and research and education are done here in the receiving countries. Nigerians pay heavily here to educate their children in these developed countries and go for medical check-ups, Nigerian politicians are mainly involved here. The developed countries mostly travel to developing countries for raw materials and lucrative businesses which favour them most times and where they evade taxes easily. Young professionals in different types of sports travel to improve themselves and gain world recognition.

Thirdly is among the developing countries of the world where the citizens interact or travel to other developing countries to improve each other in the area the developing countries are found to be expert or performing well. Most Nigerians travel to Sudan or South Africa for education and other possible business transactions. However, these travels or migrations are reducing with the advancement of information communication technology (ICT) which allows citizens in any part of the world to work or be hired from any part of the world to deliver its services.

Theoretical Foundations of Brain Drain

There is a need to establish a theoretical basis for brain drain to understand the reasons or factors that necessitate the issue of brain drain syndrome in many countries of the world.

Since brain drain has become a global phenomenon taking place all over the world. Nnoruga and Osigwe (2023) confirmed the above:

Some theoretical projections have been made as a form of a background to the brain drain taking its toll in the source countries of the world. These theories are used to investigate the conditions which contribute to the cause of brain drain and its consequent implications on international migrations of professionals and loss of human capital. (p. 26).

Firstly, the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) established by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) argues that beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviour form a causal chain, so beliefs lead to attitudes, and attitudes lead to intentions and behaviour. It went further to explain that people evaluate the economic and social environment as satisfying, hopeless or frustrating as the case may be and this affects whether one stays back or migrates to another environment. It further alludes that the behavioural attitude or intention is caused by two factors: one's attitude and subjective norms (belief). Again, it explains the relationship between attitude and other variables. Here the concept of variables refers to behaviours that are consistently favourable or unfavourable to a person in an environment.

In the theory of reasoned action, beliefs refer to a person's evaluation of a place or an object in the context of what he/she expects from the object or the place. In summary, it explains why people react differently or against any situation in an environment which leads to decision taking for migration or change of environment for better living, hence this is the reason behind most brain drain taking place in many parts of the world Nigeria inclusive. However, one of the weaknesses of this theory (TRA) is that it does not specifically name some factors directly involved in brain drain but only relies on unquantifiable variables which cannot be measured in any way.

Another theory of brain drain is the Change Theory commonly known as the Push-Pull theory, which was formulated by Lewin. Lewin (1947) states that behavioural intention is a result of the struggle between satisfaction and frustration in the social environment. This theory enumerates two factors that influence a situation which are forces (push factors) and helping (pull factors) that drive and lead movements toward a goal. However, the push and pull theory by Lee (1966) states that there is a relationship between push factors within the country of origin and the pull factors in the destination country. These factors generally are contrary to each other, and a combination of them usually leads to a net outflow of professionals from source countries of the world especially from the

African continent (Hashish and Ashour, 2020). Based on this, Miller (1976) argued earlier that people's participation depends on the degree of fulfilment or unfulfillment between their needs, perceived pain or pleasure in the economic and social environments that influence their decision-making concerning their situation at a particular moment.

The push factor is seen as a primary and fundamental cause of action people take when they face problems regarding their self-fulfilment. Hence, they make or take decisions and as a consequence, the pull factors lead them to react and respond to the situation in a new behaviour which they found out in the course of action already taking (Baruch, 1995). These push factors refer to national conditions within one's country or source country which exist in every human environment and these factors force professionals to migrate to another environment. These push factors come in the form of crisis, violence, poverty, insecurity, kidnapping, unemployment, bribery and corruption, and so on.

The pull factors display characteristics in beneficiary countries that attract different professionals, and it is a combination of social, family factors, career, professional development, job security, higher wages, and other associated benefits. These pull factors also influence people's actions or attitudes toward making decisions of migrating to another place for a higher standard of living. Among the countries in the African continent, Nigeria is seen as one of the countries her citizens travel or migrate to different countries of the world like Canada, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and so on. So, the host countries provide for the migrants with all the factors or conditions not found in their country of origin for proper development. This explains the wave of brain drain commonly going on in Nigeria which the Nigerian government is yet to stop or control. The weakness of the above theory is that it ignored some factors like economic policy, and migration policy that may not be favourable to the individuals from source countries. Alejandro and Adrienne (2013) again argued that change theory cannot adequately explain the migration patterns of highly skilled immigrants to middle-earning countries and developing countries of the world.

Causes and Effects of Brain Drain on Human Capital Development in Nigeria

Brain drain has its merits and demerits, but often one hears of brain drain more than brain gain, because of the adverse effects of the brain drain which is a global phenomenon. The brain gain also known as reverse brain drain, happens more in developed countries than the developing countries. Brain gain among other things means an increase in the number

of highly trained, foreign-born professionals entering a country to live and work, where greater opportunities are offered to people. This international movement of skilled workers positively brings an increase in trade, remittances, knowledge, and capital flows both human and material and it raises welfare and growth in the country's capital. Nigeria as a country gains minimally from her citizens from foreign remittances but apart from that it has been a huge loss to Nigeria as a nation, hence efforts are made to control the migration of professionals. Recently it was known that Nigeria National House of Assemble on April 6, 2023, pushed a bill banning fresh doctors from Nigeria universities from travelling abroad to practice or further their education until they have put in five years of compulsory service in Nigeria's health sector. This of course did not go down well with the medical doctors who reacted negatively to the above situation. Iremeka (2023) remarked that:

Over the years, medical doctors in the country have complained about poor condition of service, lack of equipment to work with, and poor state of the country's medical facilities, among others. The situation, which persists, has continued to be the cause of their increased strike....But it appears their demands for better conditions of service and provision of necessary tools usually fall on deaf ears as the government continued to treat the issues with kid gloves, making the doctors seek employment with higher remuneration and better condition of service abroad. (no p).

The gradual departure of skilled and unskilled professionals from the source countries accounts for non-development and dilapidation of facilities, quack professionals in many fields of life, and the laws of the country not being enforced nor right laws being promulgated. Ike (1997) observed that in Nigeria no one will doubt that the ideal of human rights remains at the present times a fantasy, for they are the non-tangible assets that promote peace and stability of any nation. Many economic policies are made but not implemented, only to be kicked out by the next or another incoming administration, with this stability is not assured or guaranteed for any sustainable development.

Brain drain in Nigeria affects tangible assets and non-tangible assets as noted earlier, culturally the meaning and originality of things are lost gradually by the people because they are abandoned to be lost and new meaning is introduced in the course of seeking a new standard of living. The erroneous opinions being sold to Africa and Nigeria in the past due to migrations or brain drain still control them because it formed a kind of mental

slavery in the minds and heads of average Nigerians and Africa as a whole. Nwadinigwe (1999) relates that:

The African continent has not contributed to civilization because its people are backward and low in intelligence and culture. The erroneous opinion about the Black people has seriously injured them through the centuries up to modern times in which it appears to have reached a climax in the history of human relations. (p. 14).

This of course has led the black people in Nigeria inclusive into abandoning, and selling their valued cultures and artifacts, some stolen by the same white men that condemned the cultural values and objects. The same idea was expressed earlier by Uzukwu (1996) that:

The Africans were treated as having neither culture nor religion nor social, economic, or political values worth preserving. The change of identity of the African person meant, in practice, the abandonment of the indigenous culture, values, and religion to embrace those of the West. (p. 4).

Confirming the above erroneous ideological stand that was geared towards the shattering of the primitive symbolic mindset and its cultural forms and modes, Ekwuru (1999) relates that:

Through this type of ideological framework, the colonized were psychologically conditioned to believe the fact that they embodied a human nature that was racially and culturally deficient. For which reason then, all the elements of their cultural civilization were condemned and discredited...in which case then, the only way toward cultural salvation was to wash themselves clean of every bit of their “low” and “inferior” cultural givens, to imbibe the perks of a “higher” and “superior” culture from the hands of the colonizer. (p. 40).

This is why there is a clarion call over Africa and Nigeria for cultural revival which will give confidence to Nigerians and the people of Africa a sense of value towards their culture in general. This will help in the development and promote real trust in the affairs being conducted in Nigeria, patronizing the goods made in Nigeria and possibly taking them for export to other countries of the world. This way brain drain monsters will be ameliorated for the growth of the country.

Economically, the mono-economy being operated by the Nigerian government since the discovery of oil in large quantity, it underdeveloped the Nigerian economy and increased brain drain outflow. The regional economy should be reactivated; this will help to diversify the economy of Nigeria. On the benefit of the regional economy for sustainable development in Nigeria Njoku (2009) expressed:

The Igbo traditional economy stood on a sectoral tripod that embedded agriculture, manufacturing and trade. These sectors had an interdependent relationship; the health of one sector impacted that of the others. With specific reference to manufacture and trade, it should be stressed that manufacture, provided the context for trade, that is, the distribution of goods from areas of plenty (low marginal utility) to those of deficiency (high marginal utility). At the same time, trade stimulated manufacturing by providing a vent for the disposal of surplus production, thus moving the economy away from subsistence to market orientation. (p. 47).

When this kind of economic situation is created in each region or state of the federation, certainly it will create enough jobs that will stimulate economic activities and drastically reduce the migrations of professionals. Diversifying the Nigerian economy has been a problem for different administrations coming into power since independence. Rather, what is noticed is the stealing of Nigerian oil and sharing of the dividends among the few politicians. Siollun (2009) remarked that:

Nigeria exports more than one million barrels of crude oil a day to the United States (representing nearly 50% of Nigeria's daily crude oil production), and it is projected that by 2015, Nigeria will provide 25% of the United States oil supply. With the United States frequently strained relations with Arab countries, Nigeria is increasingly viewed in Washington as an alternate dependable crude oil supplier. (p. 1).

As of today, what is the economic situation of Nigeria, the opposite is the case with the welfare of her citizens in terms of economic growth and oil production, poverty has been the order of the day hence the occurrence of brain drain in the country.

Another fatal blow to the Nigerian nation is the degree of bribery and corruption taking place in all its ramifications and every sector of her national life, corruption has been the bane of Nigeria's development. It grows or increases with the birth of new administrations, no government has decisively fought corruption. President Buhari was

elected in 2015 to fight bribery and corruption but the mismanagement was greatly seen in the eight years of his administration, borrowing of funds and diversion of the same fund were the order of the day. Umechukwu (2011) clearly stated that:

With corruption, there can be no sustainable development or political stability. By breeding and feeding on inefficiency, corruption invariably strangles the system of social organization. Corruption is the antithesis of development and progress...Corruption is a cankerworm that has eaten into the fabric of our society at every level. It has caused decay and dereliction within the infrastructure of government and society in physical, social, and human terms. (p. 96).

The above condition leaves no hope for the coming generation who now migrate to other countries of the world where life dreams will be met and potentials harnessed properly.

Another cause and consequence of brain drain in Nigeria is the political instability, this breeds a lot of crises which range from regional/ethnic war, religious crisis, kidnapping, banditry, herdsman clash with farmers, intimidation, and bad leadership. The aggregates of all these give rise to brain drain among the citizens of Nigeria. With the 25th February 2023 general, where all manner of injustices and malpractices took place during the election, many political parties went to court to prove that due process was not followed during the election. This brought a lack of trust or confidence between the ruling class and the citizens. Hence, most citizens of Nigeria left the country after the election because Nigeria is not yet ready to follow due process of law.

Religious war or crisis has been the order of the day since the second republic, here death tolls were much, innocent citizens were rendered homeless, properties were recklessly destroyed and all manner of killings took place. Abubakar (1997) reported that:

In May 1980, religious disturbances broke out in Zaria during which Christian churches and properties were destroyed. From 18 to 29 December 1980, riots by the Maitatsine sect at the Yan-Awaki Ward of Kano left about 4,177 people dead while property damage was put at millions of naira. On 29-30 October, Maitasine riots erupted in the Bulunkutu Ward of Maiduguri leaving 118 people dead. Also during the same period, Muslim demonstrators burnt down churches in Kano. This trend in religious violence and conflict in a plural society like Nigeria persists today. (p. 86).

These killings go on in Nigeria to the extent that some local governments are now being taken over by the banditry, Boko haram insurgents, and agitators. The security agencies seemed to be helpless over the situation, which contributes greatly to brain drain syndrome in Nigeria. Other numerous factors cause brain drain in Nigeria and which at the same time manifest their consequences on the standard of living in Nigeria.

Way-Forward and Conclusion

Brain drain which is eating deep in most of the developing countries of the world like Nigeria must be controlled to close the gap of inequality, and deceit between the developed and developing countries. This will reduce the plight of exploitation by the first world countries going on in the form of Economic Summits being hosted by different world powers in the name of helping the third world countries, yet they are being dominated and exploited through international organizations instituted by developed countries and milking of raw materials in the third world countries.

Nigeria needs to invest heavily in the educational sector not giving loans that cannot be repaid easily but by giving grants to students from primary or secondary to tertiary institutions. The health sector needs to be revamped to reduce infant mortality and all manner of mortalities bedeviling the country. Nigerian politicians are known to access health care in foreign countries of the world leaving the common masses to die unattended through inadequate health care. This equally will reduce the migration of medical personnel in waves.

There is a need to instil in the citizens, discipline, patriotism, and loyalty and expose the youths to various works of life which will help them to share national experiences and encourage labour mobility. This way the young citizens will be molded to conduct affairs with greater sensitivity and concern for the national interest.

All the moribund industries in Nigeria ought to and should be revitalized, this will create many jobs for the fleeing citizens to earn a living and this will raise the gross domestic product (GDP) of Nigeria. Nigeria as of today is referred to as the capital poverty of the world, with our industries, refineries working, and regional agricultural schemes reactivated, Nigeria's GDP will increase tremendously.

The process of electing leadership in Nigeria is still a scam and full of intrigues despite the new 2023 Electoral Acts being introduced to guide the process of electing leaders. Recently, the European Union Observers of the 2023 general election in Nigeria reported that impunity and lack of transparency marred the 2023 general elections. Though the elections showed the commitment of Nigerians to democracy, it also exposed enduring systemic weaknesses and therefore signal a need for further legal and operational reforms to enhance transparency, inclusiveness, and accountability. The bad leadership which is commonly seen as the problem of Nigeria should be addressed through the review of the constitution and electoral laws. In this way, other issues will be addressed in the constitution for equity and harmonious existence.

Brain drain can only be controlled to a certain point but not expunged, hence there is a need in Nigeria to continue to reverse the trend through proper planning and implementation of policies for economic growth, to reverse millions of Nigeria being plunged recently into poverty in the last six months of 2023. And other policies, the security architecture should be raised to a digital security set-up than the usual pattern of road-check points and intelligence gathering.

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GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA: LESSONS AND IMPACTS

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Abstract

Aspiring for Governance and Leadership position is natural with man. Someone who receives and adheres to instruction from another person many a time anticipates a day he will be in a seemingly position of dishing out instructions that should be obeyed by another. However, the way and manner many people pursue governance and leadership position leaves much to be examined. As a result, they employ different unneeded strategies to achieve their objectives. But then, getting to the office becomes a mere disappointment for lack of credibility as they exert every amount of incompetence in every area as leaders. This scenario has raised a lot of socio-political, economic and religious problems in our society. Hence, this paper therefore examines the making of a Governor and a Leader. It discusses the craving for governance and leadership positions and its negative tendencies in Africa, using Nigeria as a case study. Lessons and Impacts, as well as factors that make for a good leadership are highlighted. It is discovered that becoming a leader is different from providing good leadership. Individuals that desire to be in position of governance and leadership should know that leadership comes with responsibility which they should strive to fulfill. To be a good governor and leader, one must imbibe the virtues that such office demands. Such aspirants should therefore seek proper understanding of what governance and leadership mean before aspiring for it.

Keywords: Governance, Leadership, Lessons, and Impacts.

Introduction: Governance

The Concept of "governance" is not new. It is as old as human civilization. Simply put "governance" means: the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions

are implemented (or not implemented). Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. Since governance is the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented, an analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in decision-making and implementing the decisions made and the formal and informal structures that have been set in place to arrive at and implement the decision.

Government is one of the actors in governance. Other actors involved in governance vary depending on the level of government that is under discussion. In rural areas, for example, other actors may include influential land lords, associations of peasant farmers, cooperatives, NGOs, research institutes, religious leaders, finance institutions political parties, the military etc. At the national level, in addition to the above actors, media, lobbyists, international donors, multi-national corporations, etc. may play a role in decision making or in influencing the decision-making process.

All actors other than government and the military are grouped together as part of the "civil society." In some countries in addition to the civil society, organized crime syndicates also influence decision-making, particularly in urban areas and at the national level.

Similarly, formal government structures are one means by which decisions are arrived at and implemented. At the national level, informal decision-making structures, such as "kitchen cabinets" or informal advisors may exist. In urban areas, organized crime syndicates such as the "land Mafia" may influence decision-making. In some rural areas locally powerful families may make or influence decision-making. Such, informal decision-making is often the result of corrupt practices or leads to corrupt practices.

Recently the terms "governance" and "good governance" are being increasingly used in development literature. Bad governance is being increasingly regarded as one of the root causes of all evil within our societies. Major donors and international financial institutions are increasingly basing their aid and loans on the condition that reforms that ensure "good governance" are undertaken.

Definition of Governance

Governance has been defined to refer to structures and processes that are designed to ensure accountability, transparency, responsiveness, rule of law, stability, equity and inclusiveness, empowerment, and broad-based participation. Governance also represents the norms, values and rules of the game through which public affairs are managed in a manner that is transparent, participatory, inclusive and responsive. Governance therefore can be subtle and may not be easily observable. In a broad sense, governance is about the culture and institutional environment in which citizens and stakeholders interact among themselves and participate in public affairs. It is more than the organs of the government.

International agencies such as UNDP, the World Bank, the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and others define governance as the exercise of authority or power in order to manage a country's economic, political and administrative affairs. The 2009 Global Monitoring Report sees governance as 'power relationships,' 'formal and informal processes of formulating policies and allocating resources,' 'processes of decision-making' and 'mechanisms for holding governments accountable.'

Characteristics of Good Governance

Good governance has 8 major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.

Participation

Participation by both men and women is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It is important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision making.

Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand.

Rule of law

Good governance requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force.

Transparency

Transparency means that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media.

Responsiveness

Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe.

The Hub of Good Governance:



Consensus oriented

There are several actors and as many view points in a given society. Good governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community.

Equity and inclusiveness

A society's wellbeing depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing.

Effectiveness and efficiency

Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

Accountability

Accountability is a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to whom varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organization or institution. In general, an organization or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law.

The Need for Good Governance:

Why Governance Matters

Good governance creates a strong future for an organization by continuously steering towards a **vision** and making sure that day-to-day management is always lined up with the organization's goals. At its core, governance is about leadership. An effective board will improve the organization's results, both financial and social, and make sure the owners' assets and funds are used appropriately. Poor governance can put organizations at risk of commercial failure, financial and legal problems for directors/trustees or allow an organization to lose sight of its purpose and its responsibilities to its owners and people who benefit from its success.

The Rights-Based Approach to governance implies that the holders of rights should also participate fully in deciding how those rights are fulfilled, such as through participation and greater empowerment. And as the Millennium Declaration emphasizes, one of the most important requirements for achieving this and the MDG is "governance" The report points out that Asia and the Pacific has many diverse forms of democratic governments. In some cases, these have involved highly centralized administrations that have offered a limited space for popular participation.

Nevertheless, in recent years there have been significant changes. One of the most dramatic examples has been in Indonesia, which for decades until the late 1990s had a strongly centralized administration. Now the democratic Government in Indonesia has not only offered free and fair elections; it has also enacted a radical process of decentralization.

Another vital attribute of governance in MDGs is efficient and effective administration. The Government of India, for example, is determined to be more responsive and accountable to the public. A further governance priority in Asia and the Pacific is the fight against corruption, which degrades the quality of governance and hits hardest at the poorest. The Government of China for example is among those taking firm measures to combat corruption and promote integrity in governance.

Theories and Concepts Of Governance

In line with our pluralistic understanding of governance, team members apply a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of governance. In the following, we give an overview of the approaches used by team members in their research focusing on

- Argumentative theories
- Cultural theory
- Democratic and legal theories
- Gender theory in political science
- Network theories
- Political economy and
- Theories of system transition and transformation

Argumentative Theories (Herbert Gottweis)

Argumentative theories of governance focus on the constitutive forces and formative conditions for the emergence and operation of particular governance regimes. Argumentative approaches towards governance share an emphasis on language as a key feature of any policy process and thus as a necessary key component of governance and policy analysis. Argumentative policy analysis links post-positivist epistemology with social theory and methodology and encompasses theoretical approaches such as discourse analysis, post-structuralist approaches, frame analysis, and interpretative policy analysis. Although these different approaches are hardly synonymous, they nevertheless share the special attention they give to argumentation and language and the process of utilizing, mobilizing, and weighing arguments and signs in the interpretation and praxis of policy making and governance (Fischer 2003.) This epistemological orientation is critical of the understanding that institutions of governance are not simply out there to be found by policymakers or citizens using them. Rather, institutions are themselves constituted through the acts of description or use. In the context of this tradition of thinking, theories of governmentality (Dean 1999) and critical discourse theory (Foucault 1971, 1991; Fairclough 1992) also play an important role and have shown that governance is inseparable from argumentation, discourse and the construction of political identity.

Cultural Theory (Andreas Pribersky)

After the linguistic turn of the seventies, the *cultural turn* that led to a complete restructuring of the humanities represents the second wave of qualitative approaches to gain an increasing influence on the social sciences since the eighties. The reintroduction of *cultural theory* as an important tool for political analysis is closely linked to some key issues of contemporary politics: the changing behaviour of consumers and voters, the loosening of traditional social relations as well as of political affiliations and the transformation of society towards new cultural group patterns reopened the question of Political Culture(s) as a basis for democratic governance in the advanced societies (Gibbins 1989, Gibbins/ Reimer 1999). At the same time, the global attempts of democratization and decolonization (Huntington 1991, Diamond 1999) raised again the question of the establishment of stable democracies gaining actuality in the still unfinished process of democratic transformation of the former Soviet bloc and Soviet Union (Beyme 1996) and the effects of this process on the European and global political order (Geertz 1996). In the process of an integrating and enlarging Europe, these problems are especially sound in an increasing problem of rising nationalism and right-wing populism (Pribersky 2001, Pribersky/ Liebhart/ Kurtán 2002) or in the crisis of representation of European politics (Öhner/ Pribersky et al. 2005).

These political developments lead to a constant increase of the use of the term ‘culture’ as an explanatory variable of political differences and encounters (Huntington 1996) also in the mass media and to a re-evaluation of approaches of cultural theory concerning their explanatory force for contemporary politics (Schwelling 2004). The extension of political analysis of the subcultures of society by the means of a Cultural Studies approach or the reformulation of the term ‘Political Culture’ from a political science (Thompson/ Ellis/ Wildavsky 1990) and from an anthropological perspective (Abélès/Jeudy 1997) as well have greatly contributed to a new understanding of democratic governance, that includes the building and the participatory element of a Civil Society and its importance for democratic stability: therefore, these contributions are considered an integral part of the program of the Vienna School of Governance.

Democratic and Legal Theories (Josef Melchior, Sieglinde Rosenberger, Werner Zips)

For quite a while, the implications of the various modes of governance for democracy had been neglected in governance studies that focused primarily on the efficiency and effectiveness of the given arrangements. While the new modes of governance have the potential to increase participation and citizen involvement, and they may enhance the problem-solving capacity of politics, critical questions remain. Are governance practices able to overcome what Putnam called 'Bowling Alone' (2000)? How to evaluate governance by standards of liberal democracy? How can equality of access be secured when informal networks of actors flourish? Is there a bias in the new governance arrangements privileging some groups (like producers, big business, functional elites and well organized groups) over others (for instance, consumers, workers, women, immigrants, or the unemployed)? In which policy fields can new forms of participation be identified and which governance arrangements tend to escape democratic control and accountability? What about the legitimacy of non-state actors? In the context of the European Union, the debate about the democratic deficit has intensified over the last two decades stimulating a broad range of answers to the question whether and how the EU and its governance structures may be democratized (Antalovsky, E./J. Melchior/S. Puntcher Riekmann 1997; Melchior, J. 1999a; 1999c). The debate about any further democratization of governance in the EU draws on theories of representative democracy, direct democracy, participatory and deliberative democracy, feminism and constitutionalism (among the vast literature limited room allows only to mention a few contributions to the debate: Majone, G. 1998; Schmitter, P.C. 2000; among the vast literature limited room allows only to mention a few contributions to the debate: Abromeit, H. 2002; Melchior, J. 2004a; Rosenberger, S. 2005).

From a normative point of view, connecting discourse theory and forms of democratization is one of the key issues at stake. The notion of legal pluralism reflects the epistemological and indeed ideological struggles with more rigid state-centric positions that portray law as a unified, homogenous, exclusive, and territorially binding category in juxtaposition to theories of pluralistic governmentality (Wiener 1999; Benda-Beckmann F./Benda-Beckmann K./Griffiths 2005). One core critical aspect of research is to show, if and how a political system, network, or relationship is tied to broader society-wide communicative processes that have a democratic, legitimating quality. Perhaps many of those so-called indigenous societies in Africa, Asia, Polynesia, Australia, South

America and other parts of the globe turn out to fit (at least occasionally) better to a proceduralist conception of justice that combines notions of communicative competence, democracy, and rule of law, than the self-acclaimed Western representatives of modernity (Rouveroy Van Nieuwaal, E.A.B.V./W. Zips 1998). A parameter of procedural justice counterfactually applied to empirical conditions lays claim to the potential of law as the guarantor of equal participation in (self-)regulatory processes beyond unilateral power and control (Zips, W. 2002).

Gender Theory in Political Science (Birgit Sauer)

Gender has been developed as a theory in political science since the 1970s. Theories of gender point out how politics and policies structure and construct gender differences and gender inequalities. They also conceptualize the ways in which gender regimes have an impact on politics, policies and politics. Starting with the integration of gender difference as a variable in studies on political behavior and mind sets, gender difference and gender relations since the 1980s have been developed as category which structures societies, economies and politics (Scott 1990). In political science gender studies are located for instance in institutionalist approaches (welfare state institutions, Skocpol 1992), in theories of democracy and state (Phillips, Squires, Sauer) and in discursive approaches to policy-making (Bacchi 2005).

Network Theories of Governance (Gerda Falkner)

Network theories of governance include approaches that investigate patterns of interest intermediation and public-private cooperation in the making and implementation of public policies. Their common concern is on how actors and agencies come to form networks, what holds them together, what determines their choices and how they influence political decisions (Rhodes 1997; March/Olsen 1989).

Most importantly, political scientists and sociologists have moved beyond the 1970s' and 1980s' debate on (neo) corporatism and have analyzed the rising importance of governance by policy networks (Kohler-Koch/Eising 1999; Peterson/Bomberg 1999; Peterson 2004). They now build on basic insights from the corporatist literature but focus more on the meso-level of governance in particular policy areas (not only on a macro-level across policies and sectors It is important to pay attention to new forms of network

governance, on the one hand, and the evolution of the content of specific policies, on the other hand. Also issues of legitimacy and accountability are crucial in this debate.

Political Economy (Rüdiger Frank)

Often policy makers make and seek to sustain policy choices that are economically indefensible or unsustainable, or strongly resist reform measures. On the other hand, measures that make perfect sense from an economic point of view do not function in reality, while other, seemingly less efficient ones turn out to be the perfect match for a given politically determined situation. Why do policy makers make such governance choices? Why do technically sound governance measures succeed in certain environments but fail in others? How can we better understand the political economy contexts governance takes place in? One key methodological approach towards this end is the understanding of institutions or the “rules of the game in a society (North 1992). This approach helps us to directly incorporate many of the findings of East Asian Studies into the wider concept of governance, instead of viewing them just as the residual after all other approaches of explanation have failed.

Theories of Transformation and Transition (Dieter Segert/Rüdiger Frank/Weigelin-Schwiedrzik)

Theories of transformation and transition play an important role in the explanation of change from one regime type to another (e.g. from authoritarianism to democracy and vice versa) and in understanding the problems of governance that are involved in such changes. In the context of East-European transitions a governance problem of central importance is the simultaneity of economic, political and social change (Beyer/Stykwow 2004). Actor centered concepts play a crucial role in the analysis of system change. This approach was mainly generated by the so-called transitions to democracy - school, and, later in the German discourse, by the “Systemwechsel”- group (Merkel 1996; Merkel/Sandschneider/Segert 1996; Merkel/Sandschneider 1997). The most analyzed actors were Democratic Party elites and interrelated with them the actors of civil society (Segert 1997; Kitschelt et al. 1999; Merkel 2005).

To understand regime, change some topics and the differences of socialist regimes are of particular importance, mainly: long term effects of the pre-socialist heritage; two different types of path dependency and recently the question of post-socialism.

Concerning the East European development, the transition in East Germany is a special case that meets growing interest (Segert 2003; Land 2003, 2005). The legacy of state socialism is also stressed (Bunce 1999) and leaves its mark on governing institutions and processes in the region.

Leadership

The place of leadership in human society cannot be over-emphasized. Consequently, every group and human organization requires governance and leadership for it to excel in its objectives and goals. Any society without governance and leadership will certainly be disarrayed. Ogunewu (2016) is of the opinion that “if an institution is to grow, mature and achieve its desired objectives, it cannot afford to toy with the issue of governance and leadership”. Apart from this, the nature of leadership put on ground can render an institution a successful one or not. Let a right individual mount a governance or leadership position, notable progress would be recorded, but if a wrong person, little or no progress will be emerged. It is conspicuous that some people in governance or leadership position do not seem to have the right vision of leadership and what it takes to be a good governor or a good leader. As a result, certain negative issues and problems often arise between the leader and the led. Hence, this work discusses the concept of governance and leadership, theories of governance and leadership, leadership in Nigeria, the challenge of leadership, factors that make a good leader, lessons, impacts and critical paradigms.

Concept of leadership

Leadership is the art of making others act or do what they may not ordinarily do or what they would want to do but not knowing how to go about it. A person who urges others to act or perform a particular task is a leader. According to Onwukwe (2017), defines it as “the act of leading. In line with this, ‘to lead means to guide, direct or to show the way. He furthermore says that Leaders are individuals who have authority over others and are responsible for guiding actions. This invariably means that to be a leader, one is expected to guide and lead others to act or carry out a definite assignment expected of him or her. In the same vein, Mary K. Pratt in her definition of leadership says, “Leadership is the ability of an individual or a group of individuals to influence and guide followers or other members of an organization”.

In every human spheres of life, leadership is paramount if the organization must survive and achieve its aim. According to Titre Ande (2010), the Greek word translates ‘leader’ in secular word to mean a leader in business, politics or industry. Similarly, quoting Louis B. Lundborg, Horton states that a leader is one whom others will follow willingly and voluntarily. That expels out autocrats, bullies, tyrants, and all others who initiate the use of coercive power to exert their wills on others. Horton also cited Kenneth Gangel who correctly observes that “Leadership is not a political power play... Leadership is not authoritarian attitude... Leadership is not cultic control. The above assertions show that leadership has to do with making people to willingly accept to do certain things not by force. Leadership ushers in the smooth administrative atmosphere of any group or organization. If any organization is to thrive, the leadership should cause the individuals to do certain things or act in certain ways that would favor the system using all leadership styles in existence.

Theories of leadership

Leadership theories are categorized under four main groups namely: trait theory, behavioural theory, contingency theory, power and influence theory.

Trait Theories: This examines the type of person an individual who offers leadership is, i.e., the type of person that makes a good leader. The theory maintains that effective leaders share a number of common personality characteristics or traits. This theory notes that traits and qualities such as integrity, empathy, assertiveness, good decision making skills and likeability help in leading others. Whoever possesses these traits has the tendency of being a good leader.

Behavioral Theory: This looks at the behavioral aspect of the person that leads. The questions that beg for answers here are: Does he dictate what should be done? Or does he carry others along in decision-making in order to attract support and acceptance? From this notion,

Kurt Lewin in 1930s developed three types of leaders: autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire Leaders.

- i. Autocratic or authoritarian leader: This has to do with the type of things he does as a good leader. For example, the behavior of leaders affects their normal performance. Authoritarian leadership decides what he wants and enforces it on others to carry out without consultation for anybody’s view.

The leader acts like a boss who dictates his intents and wants others to obey without question. He hardly listens to opinion of others except where the opinion favors his will. Authoritarian leader is always feared by the subjects for he hardly considers other people's convenience in whatever he wants to do. The subordinates are only required to obey whatever the leader says; hence it is leader-centered.

- ii. Democratic or Participative Leader: This is democratic in nature. Other's feelings and their suggestions are often taken into consideration in decision-making. The leader does not assume knowledge of everything. Nobody is victimized for airing his/her view. It is often said in democratic leadership that the majority carries the vote.
- iii. Laissez-faire Leader: This is the type of leader who relies on people's opinion with little or no opinion of his own. He wants to satisfy everybody as such can hardly be firm in any decision of his own. He is often nonchalant in his approach to his duty.

Similarly, Peter White (1998), identifies three types of leadership style namely, dictatorial, consensus and participative-delegatory.

- a. Dictatorial Leadership: This type of leader makes all the decisions without consultations. White puts it that 'a dictatorial leader makes too many decisions, seeks too little counsel, delegates too little responsibility and spends too little time in committee meetings'.
- b. The Consensus leader: This type of leader seeks to carry every one along and wants to be guided by every body's opinion. He has no firm control of the leadership and wants to satisfy everybody. He lets successive opinions to dominate without really his own. White says "a consensus leader makes too few decisions, seeks too much counsel, delegates too little responsibility and wastes too many hours in discussion.
- c. The participative-delegatory leader: This type of leader clarifies the question, seeks advice, invites members to participate in group discussion, balances his own and group's decision-making, delegates to individuals the sub-decisions still to be made and uses committee time with careful stewardship.

Contingency Theory of Leadership: This theory states that effective leadership is contingent upon the situation at hand. The theory is of the view that one can be an effective leader under a particular circumstance and ineffective in another. So it is the

situation one finds oneself in that determines the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of one's leadership.

Power and Influence Theory: It examines different ways the leader uses power and influence to get things done. This theory is interested in the source of the leader's power and the type of leadership style that emerges from there.

Challenges of Leadership

There is no gainsaying in the fact that those in leadership position encounter some challenges. Some of these challenges, depending on how they are handled, can make or destroy the leader. The challenge could be internal or external.

1. Internal threat

Sometimes a leader faces internal threat from within no matter how good he may be. The internal threat could come from fellow leaders who may be envious of his rising profile. Such could sabotage every effort or good intention of the targeted leader. The overall leader after agreeing with his caucus on what should be done, those saddled with the responsibility of implementation, may intentionally fail to carry out the assignment all in a bid to discredit the one on the apex. Some have lost wars to their enemies because of internal threat wherein people supposedly on their side betrayed them. Similarly, things happen in every sector of life where somebody has to lead others. For instance, many times, a friend, brother, one's family member can be said to threaten a leader of his/her.

2. External threat

A leader could equally face external threat. It could come from known or unknown enemies. Apart from the fact that a leader can suffer threat internally, yet external threat abounds depending from where it may come from.

The Making of a Good Leader

The question is, how can good leadership be provided? What factors can facilitate good leadership?

In response, (Fajana, 1997), identifies some essential factors that can help in the pursuit of good leadership which are highlighted below.

Personality: A leader should appear neat and responsible which can generate respect from others.

Knowledge: A leader should know what he is doing. He should not only be directing others how to do the work but by practical example guide them properly when necessary. When the subordinates know that he knows the work, he earns more respect and is endeared to their heart.

Empathy: A leader should be able to bring himself to the level or position of his subjects. He should not always express his anger at every little mistake made by his subordinates knowing, that he himself is equally susceptible to mistakes. He should share with them in moment of joy or sorrow. A good leader should be sensitive to the plight of his subordinates.

Task Complexity: A superior should always recognize that by showing an understanding of the complexity of the task, they are registering the motivation and satisfaction of subordinates. There should also be the understanding that the goal of individual might be different from that of the organization. It is therefore the duty of the leader to see how an individual's goal could be harmonized with that of the group when necessary.

Effective communication is necessary in leadership: A good leader should not hide necessary information of what is required from the subordinates. He should also listen to and sieve irrelevant information from the real issues.

Confronting problems: A good leader should be wise while tackling issues of conflicts. He should be mindful of using force in confronting problems but negotiation. Conflicting information and rumors should be well-investigated and well-handled to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. Thus, hasty conclusion should be avoided in unsubstantiated reports.

Sensitive to the need of the subordinates: A good leader should also be sensitive to the problems of the subordinates. As a sensitive leader, He should know what the crowd needs at that point in time as such made provision for them. A good leader should be sensitive to the plight of those he is leading. Their welfare should not be taken for granted.

Sacrifice: A good leader should be ready to make sacrifice for his subjects when necessary. A good leader should therefore be ready to make sacrifice when necessary for

the sake of his subjects. A worthy leader can take a risk for the good of the people he leads.

Courage: A good leader should be courageous. He should be able to display courage in taking certain decisions irrespective of whose ox is gored. He should not be easily influenced against what he is convinced of. He should also have the boldness to say no or yes when necessary as the case may be.

Furthermore, a good leader should be visionary. He should be able to think ahead and articulate things that will help his administration. In doing this, he should be able to harness potential of the people around him in order to achieve his goal.

Selflessness is another quality required of a good leader. He thinks of the welfare of the people under his trust. But when a leader is only concerned with what he will gain first, in carrying out any assignment, such a fellow is not a good leader. Unfortunately, the opposite is the case as what characterizes leadership today in most cases both in politics and religion is selfishness.

Traditional Approaches to Governance and Leadership in Selected Nigerian Societies.

Africa is represented by multi-cultural practices. This diverse affects the methods to governance and leadership styles setting. Generally, the approach would tend to differ from the Western alternative of governance/leadership resolution in several respects. Even then in Africa itself, the approach may also differ from one culture to another. The Ibibio of South Eastern Nigeria had political and judicial systems, which were as effective as those of Centralized states. Such states as the emirates of Northern Nigeria, the ancient Yoruba kingdoms, the ancient Ashanti kingdom of Ghana, the ancient Benin (Edo) kingdom of Nigeria to mention but a few.

Among The Ibibios

Ibibio political organization was based on social organization and consisted of six administrative divisions augmented by traditional secret societies. Udo (1983) lists them as follow:

- a. Idip Ete, literally, the fathers' womb, this consists of a man, his son, his brothers and his half brothers.
- b. Ufok, literally a house, but also a collection of families (Idip ete), which trace their origins to one father.
- c. Ekpuke, a collection of Ufok, which traced their origins to one father, This is the modern lineage or extended family.
- d. Obio (village) is a collection of lineages which varied in number from village to village, and one of which was the parent and therefore senior to the rest.
- e. Oduk (Village group or sub clan) and
- f. Ikpaiong (Clan), which is a collection of village, groups which traced their origins to one village in the clan.

A careful study of these structures and functions of each of the above would reveal that the Ibibio people had a well organized system of government in pre-colonial times. The system listed above is available for peaceful and non-violent settlement or disputes at the individual, family, group, community, and national levels. Among the Efik/Ibibio the law enforcement agencies were secret societies. They were mostly Ekpe and Ekpo respectively. Mbiam juju and Idiong (divinations) were used to establish truths among conflicting parties in matters of adjudication. All of the above handled the wholistic administration, governance and leadership issues of the people.

Among The Yarkurr

Among the Yarkurr of Cross River the clan (Kepun, plural is Yekun) is a corporate body. It is patrilineal and exogamous. A number of clans make up Yako village. The Kepun is a ritual unit, which has joint rights in land. Kepun consists of a number of lineages. Obot Kepun who is the most senior man and holds the office of priest, heads a Kepun. His responsibility is primarily to avert misfortune, or to make expiation to the spirit if wrong action is said to have angered it and so brought down sickness or some other misfortune on a Kepun member. The Asse priests are in charge of the village judicial administration. They play a very important role in traditional government of Yako village. While the Obot Kepun authority is restricted to own clan, the ase priests as a group, along with the lineages exercise authority throughout the village. They are known as Yabot (i.e. the elders). Yabot is the plural of Obot. The senior among the Yabot is the leader of the entire village. He is known as Obot Lupon. Twenty-four members make up the

council of priests headed by Obot Lopn. This council sees about secular as well as ritual matters in the entire village. They also settle conflict, but where they cannot settle such conflict, it will be referred to the Yabot council for arbitration.

Among The Igbos

The Ibo speaking people are also found in South Eastern part of Nigeria. They have their own traditional mechanisms for leadership matters among members. Ibo law begins within the family group known as Umunna. This consists of groups of compounds, each of which contains one or several small or biological families closely related to each other (Oluwabamide 2003). As Umunna form the basis of the social systems, so the mode by which it is governed is the pattern of the mode of government of each larger group, be it an Onuma (hamlet) Nkporo (Village) or Obodo (Village area).

The government is made up of council of elders, presided over by the senior elder. The adjudicators concern themselves with the following offenses:

- a) Offenses against the gods, which the people regard as abominable and which may likely bring disaster on the community if the gods are not appeased.
- b) Offenses that may break up the unity and solidarity of the hamlet, village or village area. The body or council of elder's acts as mediators and referees in the dispensation of justice.

The elders who invariably are heads of extended families are personnel of the village council and members of the village area court. Normally they are on equal footing. However, for the purpose of adjudication, special reference must be made particular personages or classes namely;

- a) Senior elder or holder of the senior ofo
 - b) The announcers of decisions
 - c) Rich and influential men who have attained a special position as arbitrators and fanally
 - d) Titled persons.
- On the whole, the above were the traditional governance and leadership system of the selected Nigerian Societies before the advent of Western system of governance and leadership and their extant colonialism in our Society at large.

- It is worthy to note that the traditional system was just an easy going one without hitch and most preferable to what we are having now that seems so complicating and confusing.

Conclusion

This article has been able to examine the concept of governance/ leadership and show that leadership has to do with guiding or directing others on what should be done which they oblige to willingly and not by compulsion. It equally means being a worthy example to the led in what is expected of them to do. To occupy a governance/ leadership position goes with certain responsibilities which the leader should not shy away from. To be a governor/ leader requires vision, knowledge, humility and diligence, among other virtues. The virtues found in a leader that actually define him. It is therefore not enough to aspire for governance/ leadership position, but understanding the demands of the office and working towards achieving them. Commenting on governance/ leadership styles to adopt in order to make a good leader, (Uye, 2012) says, " Leadership styles are not something to be tried on like many suits, to see which fits. Rather, they should be adapted to the particular demands of the situation, the particular requirements of the people involved and the particular challenges facing the organizations." This simply implies that a good leader must be wise enough to know the approach to adopt at any given situation. He should be able to determine the best style to apply in any given circumstance. This is necessary because what applies in a particular situation may not work in another.

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INSTITUTIONAL QUALITY INDICATORS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN SELECTED SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

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Abstract

This paper examined institutional factors and economic growth in selected Sub-Saharan African countries. The study employed the corruption perception, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, voice and accountability, political stability and rule of law as institutional quality indicators as provided by the World Governance Indicators, WGI (2019). A panel data set of 16 selected Sub-Saharan African countries from 2005 to 2019 was estimated using the Pooled Ordinary Least Square (POLS), Panel Fixed effect (FE), and the panel two-stage least square technique. The result showed that institutional quality indicators as corruption perception, political stability and rule of law aggravates economic growth both in the fixed effect and the panel two-stage least square technique. Similarly, financial deepening tends to contribute to economic growth in SSA. The study concludes that an effectively institutional quality will stimulate economic activities leading to an overall growth in the economy.

Keywords: Institutional Quality, Economic Growth, Panel Data Analysis, Sub-Saharan African countries

Introduction

The poor economic performance of economies in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has attracted a considerable debate on the institutional quality and economic growth in the region. Despite the positive growth record of SSA over the last three decades, the region lag behind most of developing regions in the world such as, south Asia and Latin America. World Bank data show that from 1980 to 2005, the average growth rate of GDP per

capita in SSA was -0.9% compared to 4.9% in East Asia, 0.6% in Latin America and 4.1% in South Asia.

Despite the works on institutions as rule of the game for economic growth, most economies particularly in developing countries face low economic growth and deterioration of institutional qualities (Adedokun, 2017). Low-income growth and higher income gap is the main challenge in the world. The economic and social situation in Sub-Saharan Africa remains insecure, vulnerable to both domestic and external shocks, and the region still has a long way to go to make up for lost ground over the last two decades (Akpan, 2020). Despite tremendous progress in economic development, poverty remains widespread and severe across much of Africa. Inadequate investment has hampered efforts to diversify economic structures and boost growth. Furthermore, several nations have recently emerged from civil wars that have impeded their development efforts, and new armed conflicts have erupted in other parts of the continent (Aliyu, 2018). These wars, as well as other negative factors like poor weather and worse trade terms, have resulted in a slowing of the region's economic growth over the last ten years.

Institutional quality in low-income countries (like in SSA) is very weak while a political aspect is given more priority in these countries. Sub-Saharan Africa receives aid from developed countries and international organizations like IMF and WB that are expected to address the challenge of low economic growth. The Official Development Assistance (ODA) reached USD 142.6 billion in 2016 due to huge increase in the number of refugees owing to political instability and lack of economic opportunity. Net ODA to Africa was USD 27 billion from which 24 billion was for Sub-Saharan Africa (OECD, 2017).

However, the economic performance between higher income and low-income countries are far apart. In addition to low economic growth and development, the structure of institutions in developing countries does not encourage entrepreneurship, innovation, and investment. They are manipulated by officials, politicians and higher income individuals for their own interest. For economic and political reasons, a large number of young people travel to wealthy countries in search of a better life. Low income growth and inadequate institutional quality contribute to sovereign state instability and failure. Different studies have come up with different conclusions about the significance of institutions in economic growth. Institutional reform and political institutions are crucial in determining per capita GDP Ficher and Schreiber, (2010); Efendic and Pugh, (2015).

However, according to Simon, (2010), Siddiqui, and Ahmed (2013), there is no link between political institutions and economic progress, the quality of bureaucratic services is poor in Sub-Saharan African countries, and the cost of doing business is high due to social structural problems, and there is a high unemployment rate, high inflation rate, low human development index, and low standard of living, and there is a high unemployment rate, high inflation rate, low human development index, and low standard of living. This is owing to the fact that institutions in this region have historically been ineffective.

As a result, Sub-Saharan African countries confront significant hurdles in terms of increasing growth, reducing poverty, and integrating into the global economy.

Economic growth rates are still insufficient to make a significant dent in widespread poverty and allow these countries to catch up with other developing countries. There have been numerous research on the topic of institutional quality and economic growth in different regions, including country-specific and cross-country analyses. However, by focusing on variables that tend to effect economic growth and institutional quality that have not been included in earlier literatures, this study tends to add to existing literature by evaluating the impact of institutional quality and factors affecting economic growth. These variables shall include financial deepening indicators (money supply and credit to private sector), Corruption perception and trade openness shall also be considered as a major influence of economic growth and institutional quality within the sub-Saharan African region. As limited by other studies as (Epaphra&Kombe; Kilishi et al; Olanrewaju, Tella&Adesoye etc.) where only three or less institutional quality variables indicators was used, this study tends to cover the gap by including five institutional quality variable. These indicators that will be included in the study shall include: Political Stability, Government Effectiveness, Rule of Law, Regulatory Quality, Voice and Accountability.

Review of related literature

1.1. Theoretical Literature

The underpinning theory that links institutional quality and economic growth is drawn from the Solow growth model developed by Solow (2008), this theory takes into consideration the role played by institutions from a theoretical glance. However, through the works of Tebaldi & Mohan (2008) the Solow model was developed to include the role of institutions in output determinant which includes the level of production and growth rate in production. By changing the aggregate production function which includes the capital accumulation within the Solow model, while allowing the model to cover the effects of institutions quality on output. The model notes that institutions are mostly determine by the relative cost of transaction in the economy which is often spurred by certain developments in the economic in the form of risk and uncertainty, contract and its enforcement, increase in the level of information. The model further shows that institutions play crucial role in ascertaining factors that tends to affect productivity as well the adoption of technology. The production function below further shows the role of institutions in output determination.

$$Y = f[A(T, t)K(t, T)L(T, t)] \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

Where L is labour which also shows the level of technology, K represents capital, T becomes an index that shows the various institutional quality while t becomes the time variants. This model shows that institutions have the ability to affect technology use and capital. Tebaldi & Elmslie (2008) further buttress the institution have a long stray in affecting developing countries or poorer countries as institution variant tends to hinder the available technological progress thereby limiting their efficiency. Whereas, when the institution quality are good technical progress is increased while labour and capital are greatly increased in productivity. This shows that institutions could be worst and good depending to the economy. Upon the discourse of institution and economic growth Tebaldi & Mohan,(2008), rewrite the production function to be;

$$Y = A^{T-1}K^{\alpha T}(AL)^{1-\alpha T} \dots\dots\dots(2)$$

This equation reflects the impact of institutions in the production function. The model shows that an economy is free to adopt any possible technology in the area of production, yet its institutions can hinder technological adoption and reduce productivity in factors of production labour and capital when such institution in such economy is not efficient

enough. Thus, institutions have the capacity to influence marginal product of capital, capital accumulation and investment. In relation to capital Tebaldi & Mohan (2008) derives an equation to be;

$$MP_k \frac{\partial y^*}{\partial k^*} = \alpha T k^{\alpha T - 1} = \alpha T \frac{y^*}{k^*} > 0 \dots\dots\dots(3)$$

MP_k is marginal production of capital, T is institutions, k^* is capital in steady state and y^* is the per output of workers. In a constant state, the model indicates that an increase in institutional quality has an overwhelming proportionate influence on capital marginal productivity. In other words, an efficient and sound institution will lead investment returns to rise, causing capital accumulation to rise as well. Bad institutions have an indirect effect on capital accumulation, according to empirical studies (Mauro, 1995).

1.2. Empirical Literature

From 1996 through 2015, Iheonu, Ihedimma, and Onwuanaku (2017) studied Institutional Quality and Economic Performance in West Africa.

The fixed effect model, random effect model, and fixed effect model are all used in the panel two-stage least square technique. Institutional elements boosted economic performance in West Africa, according to the study's findings, with a greater emphasis on government effectiveness.

Adegboye, Osabohien, Matthew, and Olokoyo, (2020), The volume of FDI input to the Sub-Saharan Africa sub-region was affected by institutional quality, which resulted in underutilization of local resources and, as a result, irregular development of local sector investment. For pooled data from 30 Sub-Saharan African nations from 2000 to 2018, a fixed and random effect regression model was utilized. Akpan (2020) looked into governance, growth and economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1980 to 2018. From the panel regression result, there is need for upgrade in majority of the components of governance in Sub-Saharan Africa. The result indicated that growth and income per capita in this period has causal relationship with governance indicators.

Trade openness, institutions, and economic growth were all priorities for Akinlo and Okunlola (2021). Between 1986 and 2015, 38 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa were investigated. Pooled OLS, fixed effect, and dynamic GMM were among the estimation

methodologies used. Law and order, corruption, bureaucratic quality, government stability, and democratic accountability are all variables that impede economic development. Economic growth was boosted by the interaction of institutional quality characteristics and trade openness. Afolabi (2019) investigated the influence of sustainable development governance in West Africa from 2002 to 2016. The study used the Generalized Method of Moment (GMM) technique, which included regulatory quality, voice and accountability, political stability, rule of law, government effectiveness and corruption control as six government indicators. According to the findings, in the short run, corruption control and regulatory quality have an inverse relationship with economic growth, whereas voice and accountability, political stability, rule of law, and government effectiveness are all directly related to economic development, with government effectiveness having the greatest impact. From 2005 to 2013, Ejuvbekpokpo and Hassan (2019) investigated the impact of institutional quality on educational achievement in low-income Sub-Saharan African countries.

The fixed effect technique and the Generalized Method of Moments were used in the research (GMM). In terms of institutional quality, the countries analyzed revealed a wide range of results. They advocated strengthening the rule of law and the educational sector, as well as reducing corruption at all levels of the economy in low-income Sub-Saharan African countries. Olanrewaju, Tella, and Adesoye, (2019) examined the causal interaction among the institutional, financial and inclusive growth: causality from Nigeria from 1998 to 2017. The TY granger non-causality test was employed within the augmented VAR framework. From the test result, all the variables except financial inclusion index, Granger-caused inclusive growth, but with no proof of feedback. However, a two-way causal correlation was found between the interplay of institutional quality and financial inclusion.

Epaphra and Kombe (2018) investigated the impact of institutions on African economic growth. From 1996 to 2016, they used Generalized Method of Moment (GMM), Fixed Effect (FE), and Random Effect (RE) models on a sample of 48 countries. Institutions are critical for Africa's economic success, according to the findings. However, strengthening the quality of institutions may not be enough to boost Africa's economic growth. Improved economic growth will be achieved by policies aimed at improving the quality of institutions, lowering trade barriers, increasing foreign investment, and raising the labor force's standard of living.

The impact of institutional quality on the external debt-growth relationship in Sub-Saharan Africa is investigated by Mensah, Godfred, and Eric (2018). From 1996 to 2013, a sample of 36 Sub-Saharan African nations was employed. The Generalized Method of Moment (GMM) methodology reveals that institutional quality has a significant impact on the external debt-growth connection. As a result, the impact of external debt on growth is determined by the host country's institutional quality.

The impact of governance on economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa was investigated by Adzima and Baita (2019). For 33 Sub-Saharan African nations, the study used Pooled OLS, Fixed Effect (FE), and Random Effect (RE) methodologies from 2002 to 2017. The findings suggest that good governance has a significant impact on economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. Economic growth is largely determined by effective governance and the rule of law. Institutional determinants that drive entrepreneurship potential to accomplish economic growth were investigated by Aparicio, Urbano, and Audretsch (2015). Using unbalanced panel data and a three-stage least square approach for 43 nations from 2004 to 2012. Informal institutions had a greater impact on opportunity entrepreneurship than formal institutions, according to the data. According to the findings, economic growth might be boosted by encouraging relevant organizations to enhance entrepreneurial opportunities.

The impact of governance on economic growth was investigated by Samarasinghe (2018). The findings show that corruption control is a key component of economic growth, with a 1% improvement in corruption control leading to a 6.9% increase in economic growth. To achieve economic progress, however, it is critical to successfully manage the indices of corruption, political stability, and the lack of violence. The study used Pooled OLS, Fixed Effect (FE), and Random Effect (RE) estimate methods to collect data from 145 countries between 2002 and 2014.

2. Model specification, data and methods of analysis

2.1. Model specification and data

Following Iheonu, Ihedimma, & Onwuanaku, Institutional (2017), this paper tends to examine institutional quality and economic growth by employing panel data set for selected countries in Sub Saharan African from 1996 to 2018. Selected countries shall be made based on data availability. Thus, the model is here specified as

$$GDP_{it} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 INS_{it} + CX_{it} + \mu_{it} \dots \dots \dots (1)$$

Where

GDP = Gross domestic product per capita in constant US\$ which serves as proxy for economic growth.

INS = Institutional quality (Corruption Perception, Rule of Law, Government effectiveness, Political stability Voice and Accountability and Regulatory quality)

CX = Control variables (Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), Financial Deepening (FD), Gross Capital Formation (GCF), Trade Openness (TOP))

Likewise, in the model above I is the cross sectional indicator, t the time variant and μ the error term. The model in equation (1) is further modified as:

$$GDP_{it} + \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 FDI_{it} + \alpha_2 TOP_{it} + \alpha_3 FD_{it} + \alpha_4 GCF_{it} + \alpha_5 INS_{it} + \mu_{it} \dots \dots \dots (2)$$

$$GDP_{it} + \alpha_0 + C_j X_{it} + \alpha_2 CP_{it} + \alpha_3 RL_{it} + \alpha_4 GE_{it} + \alpha_4 PS_{it} + \alpha_5 VA_{it} + \alpha_{46} RQ_{it} \mu_{it} \dots \dots \dots (3)$$

From equation (2) and (3) economic growth is proxy by GDP per capita. While FDI is the measure on investment inflows by the ratio of GDP, Trade openness is the sum of import and export by GDP, Financial deepening (FD) the measure of the total expenditure of government, Gross Capital formation (GCF) the measure of physical capital in production. The world governance indicator WGI (2018) defines the following institutional quality indicators as Government effectiveness (GE) as the quality of civil and public service and the independence derive from pressure groups, again the quality of policy plan implementation and the credence to such policies by government. Corruption Perception (CP) measure as the perception of how public power is gained and controlled for the purpose of controlling resources, Rule of law (RL) measures the perceptions of various agents that has confidence of keeping to the rules of the society with respect to rights, court procedures as crime and contract with respect to enforcement. Political stability (PS) measures the perceptions of stability within the country’s political climax. The study utilized balance panel dataset on 16 SSA countries over a 15 years with a period of 2005-2019. The list of selected countries is provided in the appendix

2.2. Estimation methods

The paper employs the fixed effect model and random effect estimation technique with respect to this study. The fixed effect model shall account for heterogeneity among the various variables in the study this is possible by allowing each indicator to generate its own intercept. Individual changes in the intercept as calculated for each independent

cross sectional observation will be reflected by the error term, which will be accounted for by the panel random effect. As a result, the panel fixed and random effects will mostly account for variation within the selected Sub-Saharan African nations. To solve the problem of endogeneity that may arise in the model the two stage least square technique is employed.

3. Estimation results

The features of the variables used in this paper were examined using descriptive statistics as shown with the aid of table 1. The variables were representing institutional quality factor and economic growth in selected Sub-Saharan African countries.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Std. Dev.	Obs
GDP	3.62	4.77	1.63	9.32	240
GCF	7.77	7.82	2.13	1.49	240
FDI	4.82	39.45	-3.37	7.07	240
TOP	391.54	3203.82	9.97	546.86	240
FD	2.32	1.02	-2.19	2.47	240
CP	2.92	3.5	1.5	0.49	240
RL	-0.704	0.128	-1.49	0.35	240
PS	-0.6255	0.626	-2.211	0.701	240
RQ	1.491	39.903	-1.364	8.016	240
VA	-0.468	0.409	-1.708	0.49	240
GE	-0.788	0.266	-1.535	0.372	240

Source: Author's Compilation

The descriptive statistics for the various variables applied in the study showed that the mean value for gross domestic product (GDP) and gross capital formation (GCF) were 3.62 and 7.77 respectively with a minimum of 4.77 and 7.82 while the maximum values are 1.63 and 2.13 respectively. Foreign direct investment (FDI) had a mean value of 4.82 with a 7.07 standard deviation, a minimum value of -3.37 and a maximum value of 39.45 within the estimated time. Financial deepening (FD) and Trade Openness (TOP) across countries in the region had a maximum value of 1.02, and 3203.82, a minimum of -2.19, 9.97 and a mean value of 2.32 and 391.5 all respectively. Furthermore, the featured value for the institutional quality variables showed that the mean value of corruption perception

(CP) was 2.92, with a minimum value of -1.5 and a maximum value of 3.5. The mean values for rule of law (RL) and Political stability (PS) were -0.704 and -0.6255 while their standard deviations were 0.35 and 0.701 respectively. For government effectiveness (GE), its mean value was -0.788, with a maximum value of 0.266 and a minimum value of -1.535. The mean score for regulatory quality (RQ) and voice and accountability was given as 1.49 and -0.468 while their standard deviations were 8.01 and 0.49 respectively. The characteristics of all the variables showed that they were normally distributed and thus fit for the purpose of analysis.

The Correlation analysis as shown in Table 2 below revealed that there was a strong correlation that existed among the institutional quality variables.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Std. Dev.	Obs
GDP	3.62	4.77	1.63	9.32	240
GCF	7.77	7.82	2.13	1.49	240
FDI	4.82	39.45	-3.37	7.07	240
TOP	391.54	3203.82	9.97	546.86	240
FD	2.32	1.02	-2.19	2.47	240
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RQ	1.491	39.903	-1.364	8.016	240
VA	-0.468	0.409	-1.708	0.49	240
GE	-0.788	0.266	-1.535	0.372	240

Source: Author`s Compilation

Table 1B: Correlation Analysis

	GDP	GCF	FDI	TOP	FD	CP	RL	PS	RA	VA	GE
GD	1										
P											
GC	0.6525	1									
F											
FDI	-0.1300	-0.1106	1								
TO	-0.1823	-0.2384	0.1650	1							
P											
FD	-0.2933	-0.2184	-0.1145	-0.0415	1						

CP	0.0435	0.0705	-0.2172	-0.2172	-0.2969	1					
RL	-0.2473	-0.1774	-0.1688	-0.1444	-0.0269	0.7591	1				
PS	-0.5212	-0.4732	0.1341	0.1878	0.0112	0.3718	0.5276	1			
RQ	-0.0973	0.1554	-0.0473	-0.1886	0.3722	0.2038	0.3596	0.2231	1		
VA	-0.1497	-0.0041	-0.0953	-0.0089	-0.1704	0.6383	0.5376	0.3633	0.2609	1	
GE	-0.1438	-0.0993	-0.1769	-0.3472	-0.2515	0.7269	0.7827	0.3651	0.2045	0.3343	1

Source: Author's Compilation

The results from the correlation results is expected as institutional quality variables are formed among themselves. Thus, at every econometric regression the various institutional quality variables are employed with the aim of establishing the impact of institutional quality and economic growth in selected Sub-Saharan African countries.

Pooled OLS and Fixed Effect Panel Results

Table 2: Institutional Quality and Economic growth (Pooled OLS Results)

	Pooled OLS
LFDI	-0.0557(0.000)
LTO	-0.1151(0.000)
LFD	-0.3097(0.000)
LGCF	0.6034 (0.000)
CP	-0.0404 (0.531)
RL	0.2681 (0.010)
PS	-0.1073 (0.001)
RQ	-0.0780 (0.000)
VA	0.0950 (0.000)
GE	-0.0582 (0.506)
C	4.6510 (0.000)
No of Country	16
Hausman	Yes
R-Squared	0.966
No of Obs	240
F- Statistics	642.14 (0.000)

Source: Author's Compilation

Notes: Dependent Variable: GDP per Capita; * denotes significance at 5%. Probability value of t statistics are presented in parenthesis.

Pooled OLS Results

Results from table 4.2 showing the pooled OLS reveals that foreign direct investment (FDI) is statistically significant to economic growth either at 5%, 1% or 10% level of significance within the selected countries of interest this reasons could be explained by the deposition of other variables in the model. However, they happen to be a negative relationship between FDI and economic within the selected countries of interest. The coefficient of FDI in the Pooled OLS results is -0.055 suggesting that a percentage change in FDI leads to a drop in economic growth. Although, this results neglects theory stands as FDI is a good indicator of economic growth, the negative influence of FDI to economic growth could be for other reasons other than theoretical deposition within Sub-Saharan African countries.

The coefficient of trade openness (TO) is -0.1151 which shows that trade openness is statistically significant to economic at all level of significance. The outcome of trade openness in the results shows that as trade openness tends to change will lead to a possible decrease in economic by 11 percentages for countries within the SSA. This outcome could possible represent the condition of the economies of most SSA countries that are low income countries whose trade comparative strength in mainly on exports. Gross capital formation (GCF) which serves as a proxy for physical capital in the model is positive and statistically significant to economic growth at 5%, 1% and 10% level of significance. Thus, suggesting that a percentage change in capital will cause economic growth to rise by 60%. The outcome of this capital from this results shows that capital is a good indicator for economic growth.

The value coefficient for financial deepening (FD) in the economy is -0.3097 this suggest that a sudden change in financial deepening will cause economic growth to decrease by 30%. Even at a time where financial deepening shows to be a good indicator to economic as FD is statistically significant to economic growth. The institutional quality variables are explained individually with the aim of establishing a defined relationship and impact with economic growth is SSA with extract estimate the pooled OLS. The coefficient of corruption perception (CP) is -0.0404 with a p value of 0.000 which indicates that CP is a good indicator to economic growth in SSA as CP is statistically significant at all level of significance. However, the outcome suggests that a percentage change in CP will cause economic growth in SSA to decrease by 4% within the period of review. The existence of

rule of law as a institutional quality variables show a good strength been statistically significant to economic growth at all levels of significance also suggesting that a unit change in rule of law in SSA will boost the economy of SSA countries by 26%. Similarly, the coefficient of voice and accountability (VA) is positive and statistically significant to economic growth at 5% and 1% level of significance. The position of voice and accountability suggests that a percentage change in VA will aid to accelerate the economies of SSA by 9%. Institutional quality variables as regulatory quality (RQ) and government effectiveness (GE) explains their unique roles as a good indicator to economic growth as both variables were statistically significant to economic growth at all levels of significance. However, the relationship that holds between regulatory quality, government effectiveness and economic growth is negative, suggesting that a percentage change will cause economic growth to decrease by 7% and 5% respectively.

Fixed Effect Panel Results

Table 3: Institutional Quality and Economic growth (Fixed Effect Results)

	Fixed	Random
LFDI	-0.00972 (0.212)	-0.00905 (0.320)
LTO	-0.0060 (0.890)	-0.0312 (0.418)
LFD	-0.1291 (0.000)	-0.2286 (0.000)
LGCF	0.4483 (0.000)	0.5030 (0.000)
CP	-0.0815 (0.043)	-0.1199 (0.011)
RL	0.2028 (0.004)	0.1847 (0.022)
PS	-0.0872 (0.000)	-0.0708 (0.011)
RQ	0.0060 (0.271)	-0.0169 (0.003)
VA	0.01288 (0.806)	0.0391 (0.511)

GE	-0.0294 (0.675)	-0.0704 (0.388)
C	11.0665 (0.000)	8.0908 (0.000)
No of Country	16	16
Hausman	Yes	Yes
R-Squared	0.769	0.739
No of Obs	240	240
F- Statistics	69.41(0.000)	694.36 (0.000)

Source: Author`s Compilation

Notes: Dependent Variable: GDP per Capita; * denotes significance at 5%. Probability value of t statistics are presented in parenthesis.

Table 4.2 presents the estimation results showing the static (fixed effects) and (random effects) panel analysis. However, the fixed effects will explain given that the Hausman test rejected the null hypothesis for fixed effect while accepting the alternate as the estimation for discourse. From the fixed effects the coefficients of the institutional quality variables are explained. The coefficient of corruption perception (CP) is negative but statistically significance to economic growth at all levels of significance; suggesting that a change in percentage of corruption perception will cause economic growth in SSA to drop by 8% the outcome of the findings however, shows that though corruption perception in SSA seems vital and crucial to economic growth yet enough needs to be put in place to control corruption in the purview of the public. Rule of law with 0.2028 has a positive relationship with economic growth in SSA countries and likewise is statistically significance at all levels of significance either at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively, suggesting, that a unit increase caused by rule of law will boost economic growth in SSA by 20%. Again, political stability proves to be a good indicator in improving economic growth with a coefficient value of -0.0087 though negative but statistically significance at 1%, 5% and 10% level of significance. This outcome suggests that a percentage change in political stability will lead to a drop in economic growth in SSA this outcome confines to theoretical expectation as a negative change in political stability observed in a country or region will destabilize the economy and cause fall in output. Voice and accountability value is represented by 0.0128 which sets up a positive relationship with economic growth in SSA but, regrettably it is not statistically significant to economic growth in

SSA countries suggesting that even though a unit change may cause economic growth to increase by 1% however, there is no significant impact felt.

In like manner the coefficient value of regulatory quality is 0.006 which is positive but statistically insignificant at all levels of significance, suggesting that a percentage change in regulatory quality will cause economic growth to improve by 6% even though the impact is not felt in the economy. Swiftly, government effectiveness is valued at -0.029 which shows that government effectiveness has a negative relationship with economic growth and shows no sign of impact statistically both at 1%, 5% and 10% level of significance in SSA countries. The outcome suggests that even when government effectiveness as institutional quality variables influences economic growth by 2% yet it plays no role in the economy of SSA countries.

The fixed effect estimates shows the dynamic influence and impact of the control variables and economic growth in SSA countries; the coefficient of foreign direct investment is -0.0097 which shows that FDI has a negative relationship with economic growth in SSA by 9% which is somewhat expected as most SSA have significantly witnessed a drop in foreign investments thus, the outcome of the results shows that FDI although a good indicator based on theoretical expectation yet have no significant impact on economic growth in SSA countries. In like manner the coefficient of trade openness in the fixed effect estimate is given as -0.006 which shows a negative relationship in response to economic growth in SSA and is statistically insignificant at all levels of significance the outcome of the results suggests that a percentage change in trade openness leads to a drop in economic growth in SSA countries.

Remarkably, the results of gross capital formation is 0.4488 which reveals that capital is a good indicator to economic growth in SSA and its statistical significant at all levels the outcomes suggests that a possible change in capital will help in boosting economic growth in SSA countries. Again, the coefficient of financial deepening is negative by -0.129 but is statistically significant at all levels of significance, suggesting that as financial deepening increases, economic growth tends to increase by 12% for SSA countries.

The R-squared of the fixed effect is 0.769 this represents 77% of the economic growth and shows a good fitness in the regression line while the remaining 23% could be attributed to other factors affect the economy such as low productivity amongst others. The joint level of significance established by the F statistical test and its probability

shows that the joint influence of the model is positive and statistical significance to economic growth amongst SSA countries.

Two Stage Least Square Panel Results

To solve the problem arising from endogeneity in the model as a results of foreign direct investment and gross domestic product in the same model the two stage least square is employed for the purpose of solving these problems.

Table 4: Institutional Quality and Economic growth (2SLS Results)

	Two Stage Least Square
LFDI	-0.00972 (0.211)
LTO	-0.0060 (0.890)
LFD	-0.1291 (0.000)
LGCF	0.4483 (0.000)
CP	-0.0815(0.042)
RL	0.2028 (0.004)
PS	-0.0872 (0.000)
RQ	0.0060 (0.270)
VA	0.1294 (0.806)
GE	-0.0294 (0.675)
C	11.0665 n(0.000)
No of Obs	234
No of Country	16
R-Squared	0.769
F- Statistics	60.52 (0.000)

Source: Author`s Compilation

Notes: Dependent Variable: GDP per Capita; * denotes significance at 5%. Probability value of t statistics are presented in parenthesis.

The two stage least square tends to agree with the result of the fixed effect and random effect estimation both in magnitudes and level of impact. The results of the 2SLS shows that the coefficient of foreign direct investment shows an inconsistent impact on economic growth in SSA countries the outcome from evidence of this finding is obvious with SSA with suggesting that a one percent increase in FDI will cause economic growth to drop by 9% within the period of review in SSA countries. Trade openness is -0.0060 which reveals that there is a negative relationship between trade openness and economic growth in SSA suggesting that a percentage change will cause economic growth to drop

by 6% in the same vein there is no significance impact with trade openness and economic growth in SSA countries as the probability value failed to be significant at either 1%, 5% or 10% level of significance percent this finding contradicts with the study by Jude & Levieuge(2015) while confirming the results of Nguyen, Su, & Nguyen(2018) that FDI contributes to economic growth with countries that have higher institutional factors while countries with lower institutional factor FDI tends to contribute less to economic growth Herrera-Echeverri, Haar, & Estévez-Bretón(2014).

More so, the coefficient of financial deepening is exerts a positive influence on economic growth in SSA and likewise shows that it's statistically significant at 5% level of significance the outcome suggests that a percentage change in financial deepening will cause economic growth to increase by 12% this findings supports the previous studies as (Onwe, Adeleye, & Okorie, 2019) that financial activities in the economy through credit and money supply helps to boost the economy. Going forward the coefficient of gross capital formation of 0.4483 completes the cycles of been positive and been statistically significant at all level of significance across all the results, suggesting that capital strongly affects economic growth positively such that a unit increase in capital will lead cause a boost in economic growth of SSA countries.

The institutional quality variables hold a similar view in terms of magnitude and impacts levels with economic growth as in the former. However, the coefficient of corruption perception is -0.0815 shows that corruption perception negative affects economic growth in SSA although corruption perception remains a good indicator to economic growth the outcome of the results shows that as corruption perceptions increases economic growth seems to dwindle by 8%. The coefficient of rule of law of 0.2028 seems to positively influence economic growth in SSA and a good indicator as well the outcome suggests that a percentage increase in rule of law will boost economic growth in SSA countries by 20. Similarly, political stability though negative at -0.0872 but is statistical significant at five percent level of significance. This outcome suggests that a percentage change in political stability will negatively affect economic growth by 8% drop in gross domestic product in SSA countries. The coefficients values for regulatory quality and voice and accountability is 0.006 and 0.1294 respectively, which goes down that regulatory quality and voice and accountability both has a positive relationship with economic growth in SSA such that a change in the both will cause economic growth to improve by 6% and 12% respectively. Regrettably, none of them are statistically significant to economic growth either at 1%, 5% or 10% level of significance. Finally, the coefficient of

government effectiveness is -0.0294 which is negative and not statistically significant at all level of significance in relation to economic growth. The outcome of this results shows that a percentage change in government effectiveness will cause economic growth to decrease by 2% in SSA countries for the period under review.

The F test of 60.52 and p value of 0.000 shows that the entire variables a jointly positive and statistically significant to economic growth in SSA. The R-squared of 77% shows a good fitness of the regression line accounted by economic growth for all SSA while the remaining 23% could be attributed to low economy or recession in the economy.

Conclusion and Policy recommendations

The paper examined institutional quality and economic growth in Sub-Saharan African from 2005 to 2019. The study concludes by noting that institutional quality is an all important factor that affects economic activities and helps to stimulate growth in the economy especially within developing economics as here used Sub-Saharan Africa. The study concludes that through the application of two stage least square estimate only three institutional qualities as corruption perception, rule of law and political stability display a significant impact with economic growth within the Sub-Saharan African region. However, institutional quality factors such as government effectiveness, voice and accountability and regulatory quality all failed to significantly impact economic growth within region within the period under review. Again, trade openness and foreign direct investment been an improvement variable based on theoretical justification both failed to impact economic growth within the region. Financial deepening and capital proved to be a good contributor to economic growth as the both control variable positively influenced economic growth in Sub-Saharan African countries. The following policy direction is drawn from the findings of the study. Thus the study recommends to policy makers that; Should as matter of urgency work of voice and accountability especially among public office holders as public holder who fails to be prudent and accountable should be brought to book according the stipulated laws. Regulatory agencies should be strengthen so as to make them effective enough in carrying out their functions as this will strength the quality of institutions and stimulate growth in the economy, and finally, corruption still remains a strong enemy that impedes economic growth. Thus, government of Sub-Saharan African countries should strengthen various institutions fighting the corruption as this will stimulate economic growth.

Appendix

List of selected Sub-Saharan African Countries

Congo rep.	Rwanda
Togo	Senegal
Madagascar	Mali
Burkina Faso	Nigeria
Kenya	Mozambique
Cameroon	Benin
Lesotho	Burundi
Niger	Sierra Leone

Source Authors Compilations

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EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING AND ORGANIZATION PRODUCTIVITY IN PRODA AND INNOSON, EMENE, ENUGU STATE

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Abstract

Employee participation in decision-making has become recognized as a managerial tool for improving organizational performance and enhancing competitiveness. In Nigeria, it is reported that the extent of employee participation in decision-making is unclear and hardly prioritized. This study examines the level of employee participation in decision-making and how that has impacted organizations' productivity in PRODA and INNOSON Group of companies in Enugu State. This study employs the quantitative approach and adopts a simple random sampling method to identify respondents. Questionnaire instruments will be distributed to the respondents on the basis of 44% for INNOSON Group of companies and 56% for PRODA with the consideration of staff strength. The data collected are coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The analysis was conducted using Chi-square and binary regression analysis. The data gathered from the study provide answers to the extent of employee participation in decision-making in INNOSON and PRODA. It provides further information on how participation in decision-making has impacted workers' productivity. The findings will inform future research on employee participation in decision-making and guide policymakers, also address industrial disputes emanating from workers' alienation from decision making in an organization.

Keywords: Employee participation, Participation in decision-making, organization productivity, Organizational performance.

Introduction

It is argued that in the present scenario of high competitiveness among companies and public establishments, employee participation in decision making has become recognized as a managerial tool for improving organizational performance and enhancing competitiveness (Moshen & Sharif, 2020). It has been observed in the past years, that organizational management practice demand that employer/management would anticipate that workers will do the work that is put before them. Although this was perfectly a typical method of getting results through others in the early days of assembly line and scientific management, it is no longer accurate of today's business (Ezennaya, 2011). The trend has changed to the extent that management expects more from its employees than doing merely what is placed before them. It has also changed in that workers expect that more can be gotten from them than by simply working according to the direction of the boss.

According to Irawanto (2015), “many organizations are now trying to transform from the old custom of authoritarian organizational style to a way of working which is democratic and participative”. In this sense, managements are allowing their employees to contribute opinions and some are beginning to involve employees more in the process of making organizational decisions (Alsughayir, 2016). This is called participation or participatory management (Gresely, 2015).

There is a consensus among scholars that certain logic supports the opinion that an organization benefits from their managers and employees collaborating, and that there is a close link between organizational and individual effectiveness (Moshen & Sharif, 2020; Nwoko & Emerole, 2017; Alsughayir, 2016 & Irawanto, 2015). As a management tool, employee participation in decision making is believed to enhance the achievement of the shared goals of employee and managers (Nwoko & Emerole, 2017). Alsughayir, (2016) posited that if employees are to understand the need for creativity and commit to changing their work behaviors in new and improved ways, they must be involved in taking decisions. It therefore implies that involvement of employees in decision making is seen as essential to their effectiveness. Employee participation in decision making has therefore become a significant topic in Human Resource Management (HRM), and is regarded as one of the major avenues of employee voice, which many management scholars have observed to be a growing management concept (Brinsfield, 2014). Although there has been much debate over whether or not employees should be involved

in managerial decision making (Adewumi, 2017), there seem to be a consensus that the best managerial approach is employee participation in the decision making process (Moshen & Sharif, 2020; Nwoko & Emerole, 2017). Saha and Kumar (2017) contended that workers participation involves creating opportunity under suitable condition for people to influence the decisions that affect them. It is a special case of delegation in which the subordinate gains control, and has greater freedom of choice with respect to bridging the communication gap between the management and workers. This serves to create a sense of belonging among the workers, as well as a conducive environment in which the worker will voluntarily contribute to management efforts.

Employee participation in decision making can be classified in terms of three properties. These are formal-informal, direct-indirect and amount of influence (Ojokuku & Sajuyigbe, 2014). the authors went further to explain that formal participation has a system of rules to be followed, while informal participation can be casual like a conversation with a supervisor. Direct participation involves some sort of employee representation. Whatever is the form of participation, it is believed that involving the employees in decision making ensures that individuals are given the chance to carry job responsibility and partake in joint decision making for the overall welfare of the firm (Management study guide, 2016).

The need to get employees to participate fully in decision making in organizations is the root of the strategic management model know as Management by Objectives (MBO), (Hayes, 2021). MBO was first outlined by Peter Drucker (1954), in his book, *The Practice of Management*, and it is aimed at improving the performance of an organization by clearly defining objectives that are agreed to by both management and employees. This model holds that having a say in goal setting and action plans encourage participation and commitment among employees as well as align objectives across the organization (Kyriakopoulos, 2012). MBO is based on the argument that if employees themselves are involved in setting goals and deciding their course of action, they are more likely to fulfill their obligations. in Nigeria sadly, Oyebamiji (2018) observed that the concept of employee participation is still at infancy stage and went further to state that this is evidenced by incessant industrial conflicts and worker agitation in both the private and public sectors in the country. Allowing employee to participate in decision making leads to an increase in motivation, job performance, and organizational growth (Moshen & Sharif, 2020; Nwoke & Emerole, 2017). This study intends to examine the level of employee participation in decision making and how that has impacted on

organization productivity in PRODA and INNOSON Emene, Enugu state. Considering the usual management/labour conflict that has characterized establishments in Nigeria and the low productivity that has become the hallmark of such establishments in the country as well as the debate over the practice of participation management or not, in the country's industrial sector, it becomes necessary to examine the level of employee participation in decision making in PRODA and INNOSON as part and parcel of government and private establishment respective in Nigeria. To ascertain how this affects its productivity.

Review of Empirical Literature

Isichei and Godwin, (2015) conducted a research on decision making and the hospitality industry in Nigeria, a study of selected hotels in the federal capital territory in Abuja. The study adopted descriptive method and data were sourced through primary means with the help of questionnaire. It used multiple regression method of analysis to generate result. The findings from the result showed that employee participation in decision making had great impact on the performance of hotels in Nigeria.

Abdulrahman (2016) examined employee participation in decision making (PDM) and firm performance. The study employed descriptive survey design; and its data were collected through validated piloted questionnaire which were administered through mail to three hundred and forty-one (341) manufacturing firm. The result of the study revealed that there is a positive significant relationship that exist employee participation in decision making and firm performance. Muindi (2019) examined the relationship between participation in decision making and job satisfaction among academic staff in public University of Nairobi. The findings indicate that a significantly strong positive correlation was found to exist between job satisfaction and participation in decision-making ($\rho=0.888$).

Abdulrahman (2016) examined the influence of employee participation in decision-making on firm performance in Saudi Arabia's manufacturing sector. The author who used Regression analysis and Z-test (approximated by the independent samples t-test) for the study found that a significant positive relationship exists between Participative Decision Making(PDM) and firm performance, thus suggesting that PDM is an essential component influencing firm performance.

Dede (2019) examined employee participation in decision making and organizational productivity: case study of Cross River State Board of Internal Revenue, Calabar. The qualitative data collected approach was employed by the researcher of this study which is the use of primary data with the help of questionnaire. The result showed that employees participate in the decision making of the organization becomes easy and creates a good working environment, increase workers' commitment and satisfaction on decisions taken and also increase employees moral since they feel recognized and part of team players in the organization and direct consequences of all these increase productivities within the organization.

Chukwuemeka (2020) conducted a research on employee participation in decision making and organizational performance in public organizations in Anambra State. The study adopted cross-sectional survey design and used the questionnaire as instrument for data collection. The sample size for the study was 357 employees and data was presented using descriptive statistics while the formulated hypotheses were tested using Multiple regression analysis. The study revealed that employee consultations; employee engagement and employee commitment had a significant positive effect on organizational performance.

Nwanah, Abomeh, Okafor. & Mba (2019) studied participatory decision making and organizational goal attainment. The study found out that: Employee participation in decision making significantly improves job performance ($X^2_{cal} = 2.554 > X^2_{0.5} = 0.6763$); employee participation in decision, making relates to employee motivation ($F_{c-test} = 21.56 > f_{t1} = 2.01$); the policy of employee participation in decision-making is significant in organizational goal attainment ($X^2_{Cal} = 1.887 > X^2_{0.5} = 0.6763$).

Methodology

Study participants

The study population is made up of six hundred and seventy-five (675) workers of both PRODA and INNOSON Group of Companies Located in Emene Enugu East LGA, Enugu state. Enugu state is one of the five states that make up the Southeast geopolitical zone in Nigeria. The state has 17 Local Government Areas (LGA) According to the Federal Republic of Nigeria official Census (2006), the state has a population of 3,267,837. Out of this population, the male constitutes 1,596,042 while the female

constitutes 1,671,795 with a population density of 262 people per square kilometer. It accounts for 2.3% of Nigeria's total population.

Sampling technique:

A Simple random sampling is an extensively used sampling method in scientific research. Simple random sampling makes sure that every person in a population has an equal probability of being chosen as a response through balloting. Two organization were randomly selected (private and public) a total of 10 staffs each from different departments will be selected randomly to be pretested on the questionnaires in order to establish a baseline of response

Instrument and data collection

The major instrument for data collection in this study will be the questionnaire. This questionnaire will be pretested on Ten (10) staffs of both organizations before data collection to ensure that the questions administered will provide the desired responses and needed data. This will provide primary baseline data collection technique for the study. The questionnaire will be used to gather quantitative data. In the questionnaire, Section A covering information on the demographic questions while Section B focus on specific issues of the study.

Data analysis: To achieve a holistic analysis, this study will employ quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis. In doing this, the quantitative data from the questionnaire were coded, computer processed and analyzed using Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS). Data collected from questionnaires were sorted out, coded and drawn into tables for easy understanding and systematic analysis. Bar charts, pie charts, frequency tables and percentages were used in assessing and determining the proportions of responses to different issues. Chi-square test statistic was used to test the hypothesis while regression analysis was used to determine the level of relationship between variables. Qualitative data was analyzed manually using thematic method with focus on the interpretation and description of what was said by the interviewees. In going through the transcription, phrases with special connotations will be noted and pulled out as illustrative quotes to complement quantitative data. This will enhance the understanding of the responses of the respondents.

Findings:

This study will examine and provide data on the following:

1. Determine how decisions are made in PRODA and INNOSON, Enugu.
2. Ascertain if employees participate in decision making in PRODA and INNOSON, Enugu.
3. Ascertain the extent of employee participation in decision making in PRODA and INNOSON, Enugu.
4. Identify how employee participation in decision making affect productivity in PRODA and INNOSON, Enugu.
5. Identify the factors that affect the participation of employees in decision making in PRODA and INNOSON, Enugu.
6. Determine what can be done to enhance employee participation in PRODA and INNOSON, Enugu.

Conclusion

This study, through its findings, will contribute to an existing body of knowledge on the topic and to other areas of study relating to decision making and organizational productivity in PRODA and INNOSON. The study will generate enough information that would build up the literature on the need for full participation of employees in decision making and the approaches to be adopted in realizing it, and also great help to students and researchers who may want to carry out further research on employees' participation, decision making and organizational productivity as well as provide empirical data to test the relevance of some existing theories on employee participation in decision making and organizational productivity. It will be very good reference material as well as a basis for further research.

In practical terms, this study reveal more on the various decision-making strategies open to organizations as they strive to compete favorably with others in the same line of business as well as identify factors which affect participation of employees in organizational decision making. This study is useful to PRODA, INNOSON and other corporate bodies in updating and improving their strategies regarding employee participation and decision making to achieve the desired objectives of the organization.

In essence, this study will aid governmental and non – governmental organizations in determining appropriate means of making decisions in their establishments that would lead to enhanced productivity. This research also helps organizations with knowledge on

enhancing a work environment that would eliminate or reduce industrial relations conflict to the barest minimum. For the government, this study is of significance in that it will assist the government in identifying those areas where employee participation in decision making will be of assistance in making establishments more effective and efficient.

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THE QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The question of leadership is an essential ingredient in the process of nation-building. However, the tragedy of most post-colonial African states is that they lack visionary political leaders who are poised to transcend primordial interests. Against this backdrop, it is clear that the African problem is the unwillingness or inability of her leaders to rise to the responsibility and to the challenge of demonstrating personal examples which constitute the hallmarks of true leadership. It is a matter of fact that the development of any nation revolves around the humanistic and altruistic approaches adopted by her leaders. It is sad to observe that Nigerian leaders personalize and abuse power. Thus, instead of using the state for initiating development, most Nigerian leaders utilize it as a vehicle for terrorizing citizenry and political opponents. Most times, their approaches lead to disenchantment and disengagement of the populace from the public sphere. Amidst many problems in Nigeria, ranging from the problem of leadership, inequality in allocations, injustice, poor system and structure, corruption, marginalization and their like raises the alarm for restructuring. Therefore, adopting the philosophical methods of analysis and hermeneutics, this study examines the problems of leadership in Nigeria. It is a strong conviction of this study that the various problems

of leadership in Nigeria can hardly be resolved unless Nigeria and Nigerians undertake a thorough and sincere restructuring which will bring about peace, unity, national consciousness, development and good governance.

Keywords: Leadership, Nigeria, Restructuring, Governance

Introduction

What has fundamentally distinguished the most successful countries from the less successful ones is generally the existence of visionary leaders with the capacity to anticipate changes and to respond to them positively. Most political and legal philosophers have interrogated the leadership style which is a major constraint in the quest for integral development. The reason for this interrogation is to emphasize the need for nations all over the world, both the developed and the developing to engage in various forms of reforms with the intention of ushering in responsible and respective forms of leadership. The policies of leadership which most African countries have adopted have from inception seemingly failed, largely not just because their policies were not suitable but rather as a result of selfishness, greed and lack of the “will power” to implement these policies that will be beneficial to the entire citizenry or the majority of the people. It is no doubt that most African countries are yet to adopt for themselves a system of leadership that reflects its general worldviews and values in this contemporary world of change. But one cannot negate the fact that there are some leaders in Africa who are striving tirelessly for the betterment of their continent and the future of young generations, the likes of Mr. Peter Obi and few others.

Leadership problem is a global phenomenon which is noticed everywhere including Nigeria. With over 200 million citizens, Nigeria is said to be the most populated black nation in the world. Its population should not rather be a reason for poor leadership. Nigeria is facing security challenges including the menaces of the terrorist Boko Haram, kidnapping, Fulani herdsmen and farmers’ conflict, etc. The high rate of unemployment, corruption, poverty, insecurity and underdevelopment has questioned the capability of Nigerian leaders. The myriads of problems which include human capacity development, infrastructural decay, electoral malpractice, judicial malfunctions, and deficit in institutional functions, military overbearing and the absence of the rule of law are quite

worrisome. The result is that the masses are suffering. They are suffering from poor policies and their executions, and from the injustice and marginalization accruing from them. Kidnapping that started as a joke in the Niger Delta in the 1990's has spread all over the country.¹ Many people are kidnapped, killed for not being able to pay the ransom and some other pay the ransom, and yet get killed. The terrorist herdsman go about un-arrested to dispossess lands, destroy and kill farmers. They have displaced many farmers in the middle belt, North West and South West regions of Nigeria. It is always on daily basis and they are presently still controlling the forests of some communities in Nigeria.

Moreover, Restructuring is a song on the lips of many Nigerians. It has trended for decades and seems to be an inter-generational topical issue in Nigeria. The persistent call for restructuring takes numerous dimensions, but particularly outstanding is in the dimension of politics. It is no surprise though, because the philosophy behind the existence of every state and the control of its resources bothers on politics. Therefore, when there is a damaged cog in the wheel of the politics of the state, it becomes imperative to politically restructure the state. Since this is so, the big questions then are: What is the damaged cog in the wheel of the politics of Nigeria that is a necessity for restructuring? What are the challenges of political restructuring in Nigeria? And what is the way forward?' It is against this backdrop that it becomes quite necessary to rethink the conception of leadership in Nigeria. This paper centers on the question of leadership in Nigeria; it shall also examine the problems of leadership in Nigeria and as well proffer solutions to the problems. Finally, the study explored the Nigeria's restructuring dilemma and the critical issues, which must be focal point of the restructuring for those have been the unifying and thorny issues in the unity and prosperity of the Nigerian state.

Leadership: A Brief Exposé

The term "leadership" is derived from the old English word *laden* meaning "to lead or guide". A leader according to the *Encarta Concise English Dictionary* is someone whom people follow, a guide or director; someone or something on the lead; it is somebody in charge of others as in the case of head of a nation, political party, legislative body or

¹ Cletus Obasi, "Leadership Issues and the Problem of Security in Nigeria: An Appraisal," *Maryland Studies: An International Journal of Philosophy and African Studies*, Vol.16 & 17 (2020): 106.

military unit. Leadership on the other hand is the office or position of a leader; it is the ability to guide, direct, or influence people. There are varied definitions on leadership but the one that appeals to the authors of this paper is the description of leadership by James Mc Gregor Burns. For him, leadership has to do with the proper understanding of the nature of power. It is only when one understands power, the intrigues surrounding power that one can now find a way to use power appropriately. He posits that “leadership is not just a top-down phenomenon with clear unidirectional causality between leaders’ and followers’ behaviour but also a series of complex, reciprocal relationships involving a use of power and the control of resources.”² This is the general understanding of leadership as conceived in this study.

Restructuring: A Conceptual Delineation

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (9th ed.)* the term “restructuring” means to organize something such as a system or a company in a new and different way. What this means is that restructuring entails alteration and re-organization of an existing system in ways different from how it uses to be. To restructure is to change an existing status quo in order to make it more functional. This implies that restructuring is a purpose-driven activity that hinges on replacement of an existing nature of a system with a new one that will be suitable to achieve the purpose of the system.³ In view of this, restructuring is operationally seen in this paper as a significant alteration, re-organization, reformation and re-arrangement of an existing structure, form or status quo in a revolutionary or evolutionary manner, with the aim of making it more improved, effective, efficient and functionally competent. We therefore use the term restructure to refer to the gamut of transformations in the nature and structure of the Nigeria State where competition and hard work drive success.

In giving meaning and content to restructuring within the context of the Nigerian state, one can postulate that, it is an idea that relates to the constitutional, political, economic, social and cultural condition of the present Nigerian federation and the perceived

² James Mc Gregor Burns, as cited in https://uk.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/45143_Gill_2e.pdf

³ Ideobodo Nwafor- Orizu, “Political Restructuring in Nigeria: The Need, Challenges and Prospects,” *International Journal of Academic Research in Public Policy and Governance*, Vol. 5, No. 1(2018): 28.

requirement of examination, diagnosis, and prognosis of its present and possible future configuration, apparatus, institutions, powers, resources, administration, operation, management, personnel, development, and impact on the Nigerian people, elites, geo-political and socio-cultural groupings, and ethnic/tribal nationalities.⁴

Leadership in Nigeria: A Quick Retrospect

This subsection of our study takes a very brief look at the characters of Nigerian leaders. By the time Nigeria came out from their colonial masters in 1960, some basic values were preserved and protected leading to a lot of achievements of leaders at various fields of endeavors. During this period, however, leaders were younger than what we have now and a lot of them were anxious to serve the people and uphold a set of values that made civil and public service attractive. Leaders then had conscience and worked very hard to render meritorious service to the people. When leaders made speeches to the people, the speeches would be a collection of truism. Civil service rules were sacrosanct and a set of rules that incorporated such values; loyalty, honesty and discipline were firmly enshrined and rooted in the civil service code.⁵ The messengers in the offices at the rung of the ladder and ministers of various ministries at the top were amenable to law and were also conscious to uphold the integrity and dignity of public and civil service. The leaders in government at their youthful age worked very hard to bring the country to the next level in terms of development of infrastructure, agriculture, industries, rail- projects, sea and air transports and so on.

With the passage of time, governance in Nigeria started collapsing, giving way to Nigerian leaders seizing powers by force either through palace coup or coup d'état, thereby perpetuating themselves in office. Leaders started applying militancy in their approach to governance, leading to truncation of constitution and other codes of law. In effect, those basic laws and principles that a country is governed by were thrown away which result to preparation of laws and constitution of the country according to the whims and caprices of the leaders. In the course of time, instead of Nigeria to develop, they keep on suffering the effect of bad leadership. Even though Nigeria is endowed with

⁴ Oyelowo Oyewo, "Federalism and Restructuring of Nigeria: Back to the Future," *Nigerian Journal of Contemporary Law*, Vol.19: 1 (2018): 118.

⁵ A. N. Maduegbuna, "Values and Leadership in Africa," *Oracle of Wisdom Journal of Philosophy and Public Affairs (OWIJOPPA)*, Vol. 1, No.1 (2017): 66.

mineral resources as well as immense human resources, it refuses to grow to expectations due to corruption in high places. Confirming this state of affairs, Transparency International (TI) released its 2013 global corruption barometer of which Nigeria is inclusive. With this running commentary on the Nigerian leadership, it has become obvious that the present habits acquired by them are inimical to economic growth of the nation.⁶ In Nigeria for instance, when elections are held, whether loss or won, the exercise invariably is subjected to endless litigation. Even after adjudication by the courts, whoever comes to the mantle of leadership, instead of delivering on his electoral promise to run an all-inclusive government as well as tackling some of the problems such as poverty, unemployment, insecurity and other challenges to stimulate the economy, he will turn round and begin to clampdown on the media as well as using judicial system to persecute his perceived political opponents.⁷ At the end of the day, the leader will come out of the government doing nothing for the electorates.

The Problems of Leadership in Nigeria

Nigerians were optimistic at its independence in 1960. The change of baton of leadership from colonial British administration to Nigerians they hoped, would usher in good leadership and rapid development. Leadership experiences of Nigeria in the following years after independence showed negative in idea and in action. They became clannish, corrupt and lost focus. Madubuike affirms that with the exception of a few leaders who had clear vision on good governance, the majority had little idea as to what direction they desired to lead Nigerians.⁸ Because of their myopic leadership, they did not meet up with the expectations of Nigerians.

Many questions were raised and begged for answers as to why African countries especially Nigeria had a history of failure at governance. With recourse to a gamut of literature and based on the views of scholars, the causes of poor governance readily come to mind. In the first instance, most African countries have not been operating a

⁶ Ibid, 67.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ M. Madubuike, "Forward," in *Governance and Leadership in Nigeria: Prospects and challenges*, eds. Julius O. A and Apollos O. N (New Jersey: Goldline and Jacobs Publishing, 2015), 11.

democracy.⁹ Nwabueze as cited in A. N Maduegbuna observes that the true democracy must be constitutional in value, meaning that democratic constitution must be adopted by the people in a referendum or through a constituent assembly specially and specifically mandated in that behalf. What is prevalent in Africa is that of the leaders tinkering with the constitution and preparing the nation's constitution with a handful of people without required referendum in line with the law.¹⁰ Each leader in Africa uses his power to effect a new constitution without necessary inputs from the people. This constitute a very serious problem to leadership in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

Corruption has been the major problem of Nigeria's governance since independence which yields underdevelopment, backwardness, poverty and conflicts in the different states. It has been evidently proven that most leaders in Nigeria have used their political positions to embezzle the economic resources meant for the generality of the people in the development of the society into their personal foreign accounts living the nation in a deteriorating state as well as living the masses impoverished.¹¹ Also Nigerian leaders divert funds meant for the development of the country into their personal accounts and this, sometimes, brings about increase in crime due to lack of employment. Also, most Nigerian leaders have failed to delve into literature that deals with development problems, or consult economic and social experts as to what should be done.¹² There is no other factor that can kill leadership with ease as corruption. It has eaten deep into the political system of Nigeria in such a way that no matter the height of the amount of revenue Nigeria generates daily, corruption will consume 70 percent.¹³ Check for instance, the recent redesign of Naira notes; it is disheartening to see that many Nigerian leaders stored money in their private rooms when the masses find it difficult to have 3 square meals a day because of lack of access to cash.

⁹ Maduegbuna, "Values and Leadership", 68.

¹⁰ Nwabueze, as cited in Maduegbuna, "Values and Leadership", 68.

¹¹ Wisdom Enang, "Problems of Leadership in Nigeria", Retrieved from: <https://proguide.ng/problems-leadership-nigeria/>. (Accessed: 23/12/22).

¹² Paul Haaga, "Resolving African Leadership Failure Using the Agent Sensitive Archetypal: A Jurisprudential Approach," *Nasara Journal Of Philosophy (NAJOP)*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2018): 89.

¹³ Wisdom Enang, "Problems of Leadership in Nigeria", Retrieved from: <https://proguide.ng/problems-leadership-nigeria/>. (Accessed: 23/12/22).

Again, Nigeria lacks capable and competent leaders imbued with high sense of nationalism, foresight, dedication, integrity, patience, accommodation and fairness. Thus, the intense competition and rivalries among ethnically diverse group for political power have retarded meaningful nation building in post-independent Nigeria.¹⁴ This has resulted in mass confusion and uncertainty which sent a wrong signal as to its political direction whereby many people seeks to acquire power in any way possible. As a matter of fact, one of the perplexing dilemmas confronting post-independent in Nigeria is how to find a high quality leader, that is to say, one who is a unifier, patriotic, enlightened and visionary.¹⁵

Also, it is believed that “power corrupts and that absolute power corrupts absolutely”¹⁶. Although leaders enjoy certain forms of privileges and immunity by the reason of their position of authority, the constitution states clearly that no one is above the law. Over time, some leaders have been seen evidently going against the law and going away with it, thus disregarding the rule of law. The truth about the problem of impunity of leaders in Nigeria is that we have strong and influential individuals, instead of strong and influential institutions. This gives them an advantage over the institutions and in some cases, these institutions could be used to oppress other individuals. Furthermore, some individuals view politics as a dirty game and for this reason most Nigerians tend to shy or should we say run away from political activities. This is also one of the major problems of leadership in Nigeria. This is so because some Nigerians believe that their votes do not count, even if they vote, their votes will not count and so they shy away from politics. Also most of Nigerian Youths believe that leadership is for the older ones since most of the political positions are occupied by older men, they regard politics as something not meant for them.

¹⁴ O. Nnoli, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria* (Enugu: Fourth Dimensions Publishers, 1978), 173.

¹⁵ Ukoro Igwe, “Transparent and Visionary Political Leadership as an Essential Element in Nation-building in Post-colonial Africa: Nigeria as a Paradigm,” in *Self Determination and Challenges of Nation-building in Contemporary Africa*, ed. John Ekei (Okpuno: Fab Anieh Nigeria Limited, 2018), 138.

¹⁶ Emmanuel Atenaga, “Leadership in Nigeria”, Retrieved from: <https://infoguidenigeria.com/leadership-in-nigeria/>. (Accessed: 23/12/22).

The Question of Leadership and Political Restructuring in Nigeria

In sum, the government is transitional in nature. Elections play a vital role and are very vital as far as Democracy is concerned. Electoral processes in Nigeria have over the years been characterized by violence and malpractices where electoral materials were carted away by hired thugs, manipulation of results, and shedding of blood. This has resulted in the imposition of leaders who have little or no services to render to the country other than exploiting and looting public funds. Economically, the dependence on the oil sector for revenue and neglecting other sectors like the agricultural and industrial sectors is a very bad idea. It should be recalled that it was when the oil prices dropped that Nigeria went into recession. Again, there is this saying “*my people perish because they lack knowledge*”.

Solutions to the Leadership Question in Nigeria

Indeed, having gone through the gamut of analysis of Nigerian leadership and political situations, this study identifies major obstacles that slow rapidly the expected growth of Nigeria. In the opinion of the present researchers, the following recommendations could be of immense assistance to Nigerian leaders. In the past or before independence of Nigeria, there were cherished values that guided the behaviours of the people. At family level, you could see a set of values which direct the attitude of children born into such family and if any child born into the family is called up to serve; you will see humility, loyalty, obedience in the performance of his duties. All these character traits were as a result of family upbringing. If such character is employed in the public service, it could help to uphold the dignity of labour and serve the state to the best of her ability. It is advisable that these values are preserved to actually uphold the dignity of public service, unlike now when people in offices burn down documents to cover their misdeeds in their various serving capacities.

Most leaders in Nigeria are selfish and they keep on amassing wealth and invariably forget people’s mandate to them. For instance, certain bills they pass at National Assembly do not help the economy of the nation. Some of the things they do sometimes depend on individual selfishness and interest and if some heavy lobbying is not made they could not show interest in passing some bills. As this country faces security challenges and other similar problems they could read between the lines and formulate policies that can take care of restiveness of the youth and thereby reduce crimes and all manner of terrorist activities in the country.

The governance in Nigeria is dominated by gerontocracy, that is to say governments by elders. Instead of the old ones to bring close to them new crop of young leaders, they create gulf between them and younger ones. Instead of the leaders to teach and direct younger ones, they introduce “divide and rule” and break smaller power groups in order to avoid a challenge politically. Nigeria should go back to the drawing board and protect the traditional values which will help to produce true leaders who are patriotic and who also mean well for her country.

Again, excess expenditure during electoral campaigns should be discouraged. This is to reduce corruption associated with such phenomenon as this breeds monumental corruption after election in an attempt to recoup their investment into the exercise. Also, to talk of a country being democratic, there must be democratic constitution in place which is adopted by the people through the referendum or constituent assembly in line with Abraham Lincoln’s view of democracy as government of the people, by the people and for the people. Nigeria leaders should respect law and abide by constitutional provision which is the supreme law of the land.

Most importantly, the above recommendations cannot work very well with the current structure of Nigeria. This explains the urgent need of proper restructuring of the socio-political structures of Nigeria. E. J. O. Ndubisi observes in this regard: “It is true that the foundational sociopolitical structure of Nigeria had some selfish undertone. It appears not to have been properly built giving the 1914 experience. It is now high time Nigerians began to strategize and restructure for a better and more progressive and united Nigeria.”¹⁷ Proper restructuring is the only way to salvage the current socio-political challenges in Nigeria. We wish to affirm the submission of Ndubisi that

[T]he current socio-political structures of Nigeria are defective, shaky and beg for total overhauling. The fact is that some persons or group of persons are benefiting from the present structure [of Nigeria]. This has led to series of conflicts, violence, agitations for secession, and the likes. As Nigerians, we need to go back to the drawing board of the purpose of articulating and re-building the socio-political structure of this great country. Whether we like it or not, the fact remains that most of

¹⁷ E. J. O. Ndubisi, “Contemporary Nigerian Socio-political structures: Towards a Restructured Society” in *Self Determination and Challenges of Nation-building in Contemporary Africa*, ed. John Ekei (Okpuno: Fab Anieh Nigeria Limited, 2018), 210.

the social and political problems we have today in Nigeria will never be resolved unless we restructure.¹⁸

The above submission is *ad rem* but how can it be achieved without committed and selfless leaders?

Concluding Reflection

From the foregoing exposé, one obvious fact to be noted is that the cumulative negative effect of bad leadership in Nigeria is the instability in the policy. It has resulted in the over-concentration of authority in the hands of a relatively privileged few. The result is the subsequent misuse of power. This has ultimately led to a situation in which the democratic process has been thwarted. Thus, the various leaders in Nigeria history, with few exceptions have failed to advance democracy. That is why, the present regime and subsequent regimes should distance themselves from the criminals and anti-democratic forces of the past. It should instead open up credible channels of communication and dialogue. The approach will enable it to listen to the grievances of the opposition. This is with a view to resolve them. Again, the regimes should intensify the anti-corruption campaign and not to use it to terrorize, and witch-hunt the political opponents. Those found guilty of corruption by law should be punished accordingly, irrespective of their political affiliation.

The process of true and progressive nation building requires the clamour for restructuring of the Nigerian state. But the approach should fall within the current democratic dispensation. It should be integrated within the holistic re-invention of the structures and institutions of governance. This is with a view to deepen the democratic culture of popular participation, accountability, and transparency. The overall intention is to increase the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. A joint effort towards restructuring the Nigerian federalism will make Nigeria a better country where needless tensions and conflicts are minimal and where the sub-national government are not reduced to mere appendages. Therefore, to achieve this, urgent steps should be taken in the execution of the recommendations of this paper so as to change the status quo to one that will work despite the multifarious ethnic-regional nationalities and religious affiliations in the country.

¹⁸ Ibid.

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POLITICIZATION OF RELIGION AS A CAUSE OF CRISIS IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Presently, Nigeria is in crisis. An obvious challenge to peace and unity in Nigeria is the intrusion of politics into religion. Religion becomes an instrument for political manipulation. A crisis may start as a political conflict but develops into a religious crisis. The main aim of this research is to analyze the involvement of politics in religion that causes crises and ways to resolve them. The research approach is Descriptive analysis. The data obtained was subjected to critical analysis. Findings show that in Nigeria, politics is mostly associated with corruption, manipulation and creating violence for personal gain, which are contrary to morals preached by religions. The research recommends, among others, that there should be a paradigm shift from politics of domination and manipulation to love, moral soundness and genuine service in politics. These will enhance good interactions between politics and religion in Nigeria. The research will benefit the government and Nigerians who desire peace and unity in Nigeria.

Keywords: Politics, Religion, Crisis, Reconciliation, Peace, Unity

Introduction

Presently than ever, in every part of the world, the interaction between religion and politics has been an ongoing subject of academic analysis. There are ongoing discussions concerning this issue, as corroborated by Abubakar 1984; Oguntola-Laguda, 2008, pp. 123-124; Okafor, 1997; Okwueze, 2012; Igboin, 2012; Ugwu, 2014; Babatola, 2015; Abah, 2016. Analysis shows that interaction between religion and politics is viewed, at least in two opposing ways: firstly, as an attraction and secondly, as repulsion. It is attraction when politics and religion mutually tend to approach human problems for the

well-being of all human persons. It is repulsion when any of them tends to have undue influence or uses the other as an instrument to achieve its goal. Wherever the two exist together, suspicions often arise about what the outcome would be. Such a situation of suspicion often brings about crises in society. The situation in Nigeria indicates that it is more difficult than it is for politics and religion to have mutual coexistence. In Nigeria, politics is often associated with corruption, election rigging, falsehood, infidelity, manipulations, inequality or creating violence for personal gain, etc., that are contrary to morals preached by religions.

For instance, in 2003, an issue arose between members of a religious group and a popular politician in the town of Amokwe in Udi L.G.A., Enugu state, Nigeria. The problem started when the politician who hails from the same town and who was then a governorship aspirant came to the church some minutes after the Sunday Mass began. The time of his arrival at the mass and the dedicated concern given to him by the church ushers were worrisome. The church ushers were trying to give him a comfortable place in the front pews, and this drew the attention of many of the worshipers, who turned their positions, and some stood up to have a glance at him and his decorated entourage. These briefly distracted the attention needed for Mass.

That notwithstanding, immediately after the Communion rite, as if it was the next part of the Mass, the politician signalled to the Catechist to inform the priest who was officiating in the Mass that he had something to tell the congregation. He was given the microphone. He praised the congregation for their faith in God and their seriousness in building their church, which was then being constructed. He promised to help them to complete the building of the church. As a token of his seriousness towards the completion of the church, he promised to give them ₦120,000 cash. His speech was welcomed with great applause and appreciation by the congregation.

However, the main problem arose after. It was about a few weeks before the 2003 governorship election in Enugu state. Because of this, the church councils could not meet with the politician to redeem the ₦ 120,000 pledge to the church. They were always told that he was too busy, and because of that, they could not see him. A few days after the election, the church council visited the politician again. Luckily, on that day, they met him at home and requested him to redeem his pledge to the church. To their surprise, the politician told them to stop requesting money from him anymore because they should have known that he did not win the election for the governorship position.

Hence, many concluded that the politician was never interested in worshipping God but only came to the church to manipulate the congregation to achieve his ambition; that pledges he made to the church were made to attract the church to vote for him in the election and not to help the building of the church. Such opinions are still raised towards the involvement of politicians in religion that many religious people propose shunning politicians from religious affairs and keeping religion and politics apart.

No time in Nigeria captures the politicization of religion than during elections. At this time, politicians visited from one religious house to another. In response, religious leaders made countless prophesy and revelations in favour of aspirants who visited them, especially those who donated huge amounts of money to them. About the 2023 General election, there was glaring involvement of religious leaders in politics. Many meetings, utterances, prophesy and messages were openly made by religious leaders in favour of one aspirant or another. The height of such incidents is a case of a popular Reverend preacher in charge of a prayer ministry in Enugu state. The said Preacher was accused of openly endorsing or condemning aspirants for his congregation. For instance, it was said that the Preacher openly condemned one presidential aspirant because, as it was said, the aspirant did not publicly donate money to the Preacher's prayer ministry ground which was being constructed. This culminated in banning the preacher from public preaching for his "politically-related preaching". (Omorogbe, 2022) The Preacher's meddling in politics caused a crisis between the church authorities and members of his prayer group, who violently attacked the Bishop of the church for banning the preacher from public preaching.

Consequently, the above incidents point to the persistent question: if there could be a good relationship between religion and politics in Nigeria. This paper uses a descriptive method to tackle this question. Nonetheless, the question further elicits more anticipated questions: if politics has got anything good to do with religion or if politics has any good concern in religion. The situation in Nigeria has become critical, which has raised thoughts that it is impossible to have a good relationship between politics and religion. Therefore, there is a need to investigate if the thoughts are true. The main objective of this paper is to draw attention to the depth of involvement of politics in religion, which, however, has caused many crises in Nigeria. Critical analysis was used to analyze findings from life situations and secondary sources on the involvement of politics in religion. The paper makes recommendations. The study could be beneficial to religions, political leaders and Nigerians who desire peace and unity in Nigeria.

Defining Politics

According to Soanes and Stevenson (Eds., 2009), the term “politics” means “the activities associated with the governance of a country or area”. This involves beliefs, theories or principles concerning or inherent in activities of governance, power and status in society. One may characterize “political” activities, expressions, institutions, and practices that are concerned with governance and “politicization” as causing things or situations to be political. The idea of what is known as politics was derived from the Greek term “polis”, which means city-state. Encyclopaedia Britannica (2013) asserts that polis means “a tiny political entity, which for the Greeks meant both society and political system”. The formation of city-states was mainly aimed at aiding political activities. The political activities in city-states were focused on answering pertinent questions of governance, which include: who should rule? And what should be the nature and limit of the government’s power? Mondin (2014) emphasises that the polis became an all-comprehensive horizon of fundamental value to man in society.

For practical purposes, some definitional models of politics can be seen in history. In the ancient era definition by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, there is a holistic amalgamation of politics and ethics, natural law or universal standard of justice (*dikaiosyne*, Plato, 2000, book 5, 473d) and happiness (*eudaimonia*, Aristotle 1999, Lawhead 2002, p. 81). By the medieval era, Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas elaborated the correspondence of political laws to divine or eternal law. (See also Saint Thomas Aquinas, nd. I-II, q. 93, a. 3). An important inflow into models in politics is Judaism which combines all aspects of life into religion. In this, the laws with which society is governed are by God’s codes as contained in the covenant code (Exodus 21-22), the holiness code (Leviticus 17-26), Deuteronomy code (Deuteronomy 12-26). This is contrary to the thoughts of medieval thought, which divided human affairs into models of the ‘city of God’ against the ‘city of man’. It is also contrary to early Islamic thoughts, which believe in the unification of all human activities into politics, as Averroes (Ibn Rushd, 1126-1198 AD) maintained that the world is God’s handiwork in human care. (Lawhead, 2002, pp. 163-164)

However, by the modern era, there was the elevation of or detachment of politics from ethics and religion proposed by thinkers like Marsilius of Padua- *Defensor Pacis* Defender of the Peace, 1324; William of Ockham; Machiavelli Niccolo- *The Prince*, 1498; Thomas Hobbes- *Leviathan of a Commonwealth*, 1651; Jean Jacques Rousseau- *Social contract*, 1762), etc. This political model of separation from morality, supremacy

of the leader, domination and manipulation of all aspects of the society for the good of the leader has been a model in Nigeria. In Nigeria, politics is often associated with the supremacy of the leader, corruption, falsehood, infidelity, manipulations, inequality or creating violence for personal gain. Yet, Locke (1980) occupies a prominent position in the modern era with his proposition for a liberal state as a logical abstraction from the essential nature of human beings (perfect freedom, liberty, equality). According to Locke, therefore, “all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another” (Locke, 1980, § 4) and “the government must rule by laws and not simply by force or an arbitrary will”. (Lawhead, 2002, p. 290)

Although there are diverse approaches towards defining politics in human history, yet most common conviction is its search for the realization of the well-being of society. Politics took as its subject matter how best to govern the society. Therefore, politics is an organized social formation which governs human society and its civil endeavours. It is a process or system through which a state or its government seeks to meet both the civil and moral common good of citizens. Hence, this paper suggests the return of ethics, natural law and universal standard of justice, especially in Nigerian politics.

Defining Religion

Although religion is a universal phenomenon, there is no unanimous definition that incorporates all that constitutes religion. The origin of religion can be traced to the point of human beings’ recognition of wonders surrounding them which predisposed them to think of beings, forces, perfection, and others beyond them and to establish ways to attain rapport with what they considered supernatural beings, force or order. Over time human beings formulated varieties of ways or practices to establish this rapport. Religion is defined by diverse perspectives or specializations because of these varieties of practices.

Wallace (1977, § 60) subjectively defines religion “as a virtue that leads man to render to God the homage that is due to him and objectively as a manner of behaviour and concrete manifestation of this virtue- which comprises belief in God, respect and submission expressed in worship activities”. McGee (1980, cited in Oshewolo and Maren, 2015) defines it as a set of activities organized around the sacred - that non-empirical source of power, transcendence, mystery and awe. Harold (2009) sees religion as beliefs, practices and rituals that are related to the sacred, to God, to the mystical or the supernatural. Soanes and Stevenson (Eds, 2009) define religion as the “belief in and worship of a

superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods and a particular system of faith and worship”. For Durkheim (1915, p. 37), religion is “unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, to things set apart and forbidden-beliefs and practices which unite into a single moral community all those who adhere to them”. William James (1902, pp. 31-32, cited in Okwueze, 1998, p. 137 and Okwueze, 2004, p. 1) defines religion as “feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand concerning whatever they consider divine”.

To elaborate foregoing definitions, Buber (1923) posits that religion is a relationship, the type of I-thou and I-Thou-eternal, which is of reciprocity, of present and of dialogue of love between human beings, which opens relation between a human being and God. Udoidem (1997, p. 153, in Okafor (1997), sees religion as “man’s response to his awareness of the existence of a Supreme Being who is the creator and how this response affects his relationship with other creatures”. To put this better, Okwueze (2004, pp. 1-2) states that religion is “a regulated pattern of life of a people in which experiences, beliefs and knowledge are reflected in man’s conception of himself and relation to others, his social world, the physical as well as the metaphysical world”. It is at this point of relationship with others that religion becomes a social institution that meets and has relevance to the entire society. Religion becomes awareness of belief in the existence of a Supreme or supernatural being or force and how this belief urges people to behave in certain ways. A certain pattern of behaviour is encouraged by this belief with attachment to the promise of good life. Therefore religion can be defined as an organized pattern of belief of a people in which their actions and world outlook are understood, expressed, regulated and approved within their relationship with that in which they believe.

Relationship between Politics and Religion

This paper affirms that the relationship between politics and religion has been an issue of great concern. Consequently, there is a view which insists on the total separation of religion from politics. Van der Veer (1996 and Salawu, 2009 cited in Abah, 2016) believe that the interplay of both has given birth to division, conflict, incessant wars, lawless and reckless killings, genocides and the birth of dreadful terrorism. Abah (2016, p. 70) opines that “religion should never be used by politicians as a tool for political propaganda. This disposition by political leaders poses a great danger”. This view upholds that religion is that aspect of the spiritual approach to human reality while politics is that material

approach to human reality. Thus, there is a clear-cut separation between things of God (divine, sacred, heavenly, spiritual, religious) termed “religion” and things of the world (worldly, profane, earthly, bodily, secular) termed “politics”. This view was upheld in some early religions that saw politics as a worldly affair and heathen, while religion was a holy, godly affair. Hence both cannot have any connection. As a result, religious believers were advised to detach themselves from worldly things, including politics. For instance, while Greeks saw polis as the highest good, Judaism and early Christians saw the highest good as God and the heavenly city. A Christian theologian-Tertullian asked: What has Jerusalem in common with Athens? That view was the mentality of many Christians that Paul (Romans 13:1-7) and Peter (1 Peter 2: 13-17) began to admonish Christians to change such mentality and to also be obedient to political authorities.

Contrary to the above view, religion and politics have a lot in common, in the words of Oshewolo and Maren (2015), “a point of convergence”. One of the indispensable points of convergence, as stated by Gaudium et spes (1965, nos. 25; 40-45), is that both have to do with social solidarity to the wellbeing of entire human persons, where human reality, destiny and situations are the same. It is because “since God the Father is the origin and purpose of all men, we are all called to be brothers. Therefore, if we have been summoned to the same destiny, human and divine, we can, and we should work together without violence and deceit to build up the world in genuine peace”. (Gaudium et spes, 1965, nr 92; See also: Ad gentes, 1965, nr 3; 11; Nostra Aetate, 1965, nrs 1-5; John Paul II, 1996, p. 174; John xxiii, 1963, nr. 4; Locke, 1980, § 6; Buber, 1923, p. 72; Ngwoke, 2016, pp. 175-182; Okwuenu, 2005, pp. 58-62, in Anyacho, 2005)

Adama and Okafor (2018, p. 50) assert that religion and politics are “cultural factors” which interact with and penetrate the people. Both regulate behaviours and advocate for responsibility in excises of powers. In line with the above view, this paper affirms that religion and politics are good in themselves. Both have to exist for the survival of any human society. This is because a person is both a religious and political being who naturally tends to affirm this socially pluralistic nature. The rational nature of a person predisposes them to seek satisfaction of both material needs and to move beyond that as well to attain fulfilment of spiritual needs. These dual human needs can be fulfilled only where there is cooperation between politics and religion based on principles of truth, solidarity and justice. Yet, many a time, these principles are thwarted or distorted, which causes a crisis. The situation in Nigeria is a typical example of this aberration.

Nigeria's situation

Presently, there is a problem with the way virtually everything is going in Nigeria. Nigeria is in a crisis. There is constant violence ranging from attacks by religious militant groups like Boko Haram and others, kidnapping gangs, assassination gangs, violent herdsmen and interreligious conflicts. Furthermore, ascension, appointment and stay in political offices are mainly made based on ethnic and religious affinity. As corroborated by Yoroms (2002, in Alemike, 2002), these lead to politics of religious grouping and manipulation of religion. As a result, this has paved the way for the allocation of resources disproportionately, indifference about the development of areas other than the leader's area, corruption for selfish or sectional advantage, and governmental policies in favour of exclusive religious groups. Political party formation, political agenda, campaign speeches, etc., have concealing religious posture, which intensifies the fears and suspicions among Nigerians. This situation positions Nigeria as "a time bomb waiting to explode" (CBCN communiqué, 2018) and "one huge wasteland, huge debris of deceit, lies, treachery, double-dealing and duplicity and a nation at war with itself" (Matthew Kukah, cited in Jannamike, 2021).

Causes of Politicization of Religion in Nigeria

1. The beginning of coercion

Colonization has caused great damage and left ugly scars on Nigeria. It all started as Eze (2004, p. 55, in Okwueze, Ed, 2004) affirms that "the colonial authority's position in the matter was patently self-serving. It did not mind supporting Islam ... to its favour". Till today Nigeria suffers under the triangle game orchestrated by some European nations. (Achebe, 2012, pp. 99-105) First, the 1914 amalgamation of the regions now called Nigeria was a political construction which favoured the economic and administrative purposes (politics) of the colonialist. Little or no regard was given to the differences among Africans living in those regions. Later, the colonial administrative arrangement propelled religious and ethnic political divisions in Nigeria. The colonialist used the peculiarity of the regions as a tool to achieve their ambitions which were selfishly political and economic. Consequently, even after the amalgamation, each region retained certain diverse peculiar ideologies about the new country. For instance, Hinds (1978, cited in Okafor, 1997) confirms that "when therefore, by the late 1950s the southern region was speaking and agitating for independence, the ruling class in Northern Nigeria was looking forward to a handover of power to the heirs of Anglo-Fulani hegemony. The

Muslims were struggling to regain Islamic rule, which was lost during the colonial administration. For them, independence meant freedom from the rule of Non-Muslims and the establishment of an ideal Muslim state”.

Nigeria has not been a united country even after the 1960 independence from colonial rule. Religious and ethnic manipulation emerged during the colonial era and has had cumulative effects on politics in Nigeria. Till today, many political parties’ ideologies have been sectional in orientation. Political usurpation of all systems was enabled by colonialists’ manipulation and coercive strategy to keep Nigeria together. Unfortunately, religion in Nigeria has become an “undisguised culprit” of the situation. (Eze, cited in Okwueze, Ed., 2004, p. 74)

2. Inadequate appreciation of the roles of religion

Religion plays a prominent role in the lives of many Nigerians. Religion virtually divided Nigeria into Northern (Hausa/Fulani), which is predominantly Muslim, Southwestern (Yoruba), which has a mixture of Muslims and Christians and Eastern Nigeria (Igbo)/Niger Delta/south-south) the region, which is predominantly Christian. There are African traditional religion (ATR) practitioners in all parts of Nigeria before and even after Islam and Christianity were brought to Nigeria. Thus, three major religious groups exist in Nigeria: African Traditional religion, Christianity and Islam.

These religious groups teach salient moral values like rectitude, loyalty, the sanctity of human life, honesty, justice, humility, chastity, and moral order. A crisis arises when any other ideology: religious or political, infringes on or thwarts these moral values. Consequently, Nigeria recognizes freedom of worship and membership in any of these religions. Yet, some selfish leaders try to make one religion dominate or exact undue influence on others. Nigerian leaders did not galvanise the good aspects of these religions for peaceful coexistence. Rather religion became a “political springboard through which politicians ride to political fame”. (Nnadi, Okolo and Ezeugwu, 2018, pp. 250-251) Religion became an instrument for attaining personal political appetencies.

3. Political triumphalism and religious politicking

Nwobodo (2021, p. 42) posits that religious politicking connotes “a deeper political and economic warfare for the selfish welfare of the religious fanatics who sponsor them”.

Kunnumpuram (2007, p. 342) explains religious politicking as “political formation which uses religion to promote their economic and political interest” Many Nigerian politicians unequivocally can be referred to as ‘fundamentalist politicians’. Some of them use politics to perpetuate their extremist religious ideologies. Since independence, Nigeria remains a nation with suspicion between members of religious groups, mainly between Islamic and Christian communities. These two predominant religions seek “to take over the architectural design and construction of the Nigerian polity” (Kukah, 1994, p. ix cited in Okafor, 1997). For instance, while there are suspicions that some Muslim politicians intend to make Nigeria an Islamic country by institutionalizing sharia Law at the Federal level and admitting Nigeria into the Organization of Islamic Conference, some Christian politicians struggle not to allow such tendencies.

Hinging on this uneasy relationship, some leaders have instigated crisis through expressions of mistrust, hatred and support in their campaigns and public speeches. In this regard, there exist radical religious groups and series of religious violence such as in Kano (1980, 1982, 1987, 1991), Katsina (1991), Kaduna (1987), Gombe (1985), Bauchi (1991, 1992), Ilorin (March 1986), Zaria and Funtua (March 1987), etc. (Udoidem, 1997, 160-180, in Okafor, 1997). Some time ago, some sympathizers and senior politicians in the North were under investigation on allegations of giving Boko Haram financial or logistical support. Ibrahim Shekarau (former governor of Kano State), Isa Yuguda (former Governor of Bauch State), Ahmed Zannah Khalifa (senator from Borno State, he was once detained), Senator Ali Mohammed Nduma of Borno State (who had previously been appointed by President Jonathan to a Committee to consider opening talks with Boko Haram), Nuhu Muhammed (Chair of Petroleum drivers Association), Shaykh Ibrahim Datti Ahmed (Head of Supreme council of Sharia), Ali Modu Sheriff (former governor of Borno state) and others were alleged to have sponsored Boko Haram. (See brief detail of these allegations in Nwobodo, 2021, pp. 113-115)

4. Lack of freedom of expression

Locke (1980, § 95) affirms that the end of government is for people to be “joined and united into a community for their comfortable, safe and peaceable living, one amongst another in a secure enjoyment of their property and greater security against any, that are not of it”. Yet, one wonders why there is no genuine peaceful co-existence, unity and security of life and property in Nigeria. Over the years, the Sharia law issue has threatened the unity of Nigeria. Some Muslim politicians demand that Sharia law and

courts be established in every state in Nigeria, to which all citizens will be subjects. Nigeria, as established by the Constitution (1999, Section 38), is a secular nation with a mixture of religions. Hence any attempt for a particular religion to impose its religious laws than that contained in the Nigerian constitution creates a crisis and infringes on the rights to freedom of expression, association, etc., of citizens who do not profess that same religion.

5. Leadership hypocrisy

Malicious silence of some political and religious leaders in times of crises arising from agitations by religious sects often aggravates the situation. For instance, the group Boko Haram claims to be a religious group acting in the name of Islam. The group claims to be fighting to enshrine an Islamic state (Caliphate) in Nigeria. The Islamic leaders cannot afford to be ignorant of these claims. At least, they are aware of recent bomb and gun attacks on Christians, Churches, schools, government buildings and personnel and civilians in the name of Islamic religion. It coordinated an attack against the United Nations headquarters in Abuja on 26 August 2011, which according to BBC (2011), killed at least 18 people and many wounded. Boko Haram had kidnapped and killed thousands of people almost unhindered.

Recently, the Fulani herdsmen gang has become a worse group terrorizing Nigerians, especially farmers and rural dwellers. Some Christian leaders have spoken out against these gangs (CBCN, 2016; 2017 a; b; 2018). Yet northern Islamic and political leaders have not openly disowned these groups. Kukah (in Aworinde, 2014) corroborated this assertion and stated that “I believe that there has been too much hypocrisy in northern Islam, based on how the elite have used the religion to deceive, belittle even their people. Secondly, some of their leaders have thrived in pretending to place Islam over and above their nation, not to talk of other minorities within their enclaves... When our churches became objects of target practice, all these years, the leaders merely looked the other way or stayed in silence or fear”.

6. Lack of common national objective

Some leaders have taken Nigeria as a federating centre for competing for personal interests and a battleground for religious and geographical affinities. Nigeria, to such people, is “a mere geographical expression” (Obafemi, 1947, pp. 47-48) and “still far

from being united” as a nation (Balewa, 1947, p. 208). To many politicians, Nigeria is like “a sinking ship in which they should individually or collectively take out whatever they deem fit by hook or crook before the ship sinks.” (Momah, 2013, pp. 109-110) This creates bad governance, a “low level of ethical consciousness” (Ewelu, 2008, p. 96) and a crisis.

Reconciliation Roles of Religion and Politics in Nigeria

The examination of the bad situation resulting from the politicization of religion in Nigeria shows that religion and politics have vital mutual roles to play in remedying the situation. In this paper’s definition of religion and politics, one understands that the major task of both is to enhance the moral and civil common good. By extension, religion should play the following specific roles:

- a) role of enlightenment: religion should socialize people in identity formation and awareness of the dignity of self. Such as exhorting people to abide by laws that guarantee good governance.
- b) role of defence and conscience of the society: religion should serve as a last resort for the people and never feel intimidated or subdued by any roaring waves of political forces while it speaks against evils. It should defend the nation from corruption, injustice, tyranny, and discrimination and ensures that the government’s activities have strong consideration for poor people.
- c) role of maintaining moral tempo and development: religion should serve as a moral watchdog and seeks peace and mutual co-existence. It should firmly teach against negative behaviours and provide restrains to immoral acts. For instance, it is erroneous to believe in the idea that politics is all. All cannot be politics because there is ethics that should resolve weakness or excesses in politics. It should promote moral values like truth, accountability, freedom, justice, etc. and insist that they are put into practice.

Therefore, if religion plays these roles, politicians will be obliged to perform effectively their social, economic and political roles. The government will be held to guarantee an ordered society where freedom, liberties and rights of individuals are protected without preferential protection and to eradicate corruption through making good laws, building credible institutions and creating a conducive environment that encourages civic friendship. These roles will insist that no political authorities underestimate moral

dimensions but rather ensure that their activities serve integral human and environmental development.

Recommendations

1. Since crises in Nigeria arise from the politicization of religions, there should be genuine solidarity between politics and religion. The President and the 10th National Assembly should seriously deliberate on healing past but still existing political and religious grievances. At this time, all regions of Nigeria should be genuinely welcomed as belonging in equal status to Nigeria. The power of peace is truth, forgiveness and reconciliation. So, “accepting that together we may arrive at the truth can heal difference”. Oredipe (2008, p. 75)
2. There is a need to build credible institutions, especially credible electoral board, that guarantees that people with proven public interest presides over public affairs. There must be a paradigm shift from political domination and manipulation to love, moral soundness and genuine service in politics. Nelson Mandela of South Africa (Mandela, 1995, pp. 624-625) is a paradigm of a politician who sacrificed a lot for the freedom of his country.
3. Religions in Nigeria should form a trusted bond that will forestall any political manipulation or domination. What a joy it would be to form a formation of a religious body that may be called Joint Christians Muslims African Traditional Religion Association of Nigeria (JCMAAN). The bond will be empowered to sanction any tendencies to politicize religion.
4. Religious leaders themselves should be morally sound. They should shun materialism and partisan politics, which are strategies callous politicians use to entangle them. Achebe (1974) captured the importance of discipline among religious leaders in the character of Ezeulu, who could not deviate from his religious values even when the white political administrator-Captain Winterbottom enticed him with material and power promises. Nigerian religious leaders should emulate Archbishop Desmond Tutu (South Africa), Bishop T Bacani, Cardinal Sin (Philippine), etc, who spoke strongly against political evils in their countries.
5. The performances of Nigerian leaders should be accessed on both civic and moral attitudes to the common good. This paper recommends a return to ethics in Nigerian politics.

Conclusion

The taproot of the politicization of religion in Nigeria is traceable to both ill-thought emergence and bad leadership of Nigeria. This root should be healed. In this case, as this paper has identified, there is a need to resolve a lot of grievances of the past and to curtail present bad leadership styles that predispose to crisis. Only when the roles of healing where both religion and politics in justice, truth and solidarity cooperate for the common good can Nigerians live in faith, unity, peace and progress. The past general elections in Nigeria still reinvigorated tendencies for the politicization of religion. Therefore, in subsequent elections, Nigerians should be made ready to be credible. Nigerians must insist on their moral and civic right in voting and choosing the right leaders. Therefore, Nigerians should go beyond narrow, selfish, political or religious partisan considerations. And vote for persons who have the genuine moral and political capacity to build a peaceful society that the majority of Nigerians are yearning for.

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GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA: LESSON, IMPACTS AND CRITICAL PARADIGMS.

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Abstract

The achievement of the political, economic, and social goals of any political community has been acknowledged as being dependent on leadership and governance (Oni and Nchekwube 1). Leadership is a crucial and significant issue facing Africa and other developing nations worldwide. Finding the right leadership to advance good governance has been a persistent problem in Africa and developing countries in general, with Nigeria being no exception. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the impact of leadership on public sector governance and development in Nigeria. The conceptual framework was built on theories of leadership and governance that had been modified for the Nigerian context. The study involved using the theories of transformational leadership and servant leadership theory as the most appropriate conceptual frameworks. The research demonstrates that Nigeria's history is rife with examples of poor governance and leadership that, in most cases, lacked vision, were primarily preoccupied with corruption and the improper use of public resources, selfless leaders since independence, a lack of accountability, a lack of transparency, and false promises that resulted in insecurity, a decline in the economy, and extreme poverty. According to the study's findings, corruption is a significant problem across the board in Nigerian society. According to the study, Nigeria needs future leaders who are dedicated to combating corruption and ensuring that resources are made available for national development. This measure is vital for building public trust and maintaining good governance.

Keywords: Governance, Leadership, lesson, impacts, critical paradigms.

Introduction

Governance and leadership in Africa have been subjects of intense scrutiny and analysis for several decades. The continent has had a long history of authoritarian and ineffective leadership, resulting in poor governance and limited development. However, recent years have seen some positive developments, with several African countries experiencing significant economic growth and democratic reforms. This article explores the lessons learned, the impacts made, and critical paradigms in Nigerian governance and leadership.

The level of political stability and development in a country is directly affected by the quality of its leadership and governance, a well-known fact. Poor leadership and bad governance lead to underdevelopment and political instability. Nnablife (2010) emphasized the importance of leadership and governance to the survival of a system, stating that all things rise and fall on leadership and reiterating that effective leadership is crucial in driving a nation or organization towards development and productivity through the application of good governance.

However, post-independence Nigeria is still struggling with the challenges of bad leadership and governance, which have hindered political stability and development in the country. Despite Nigeria's vast resources and reserves, the nation continues to suffer socio-economic, political, and infrastructural decay. The collapse of ethical governance and the abuse of moral norms have led to a loss of conscience toward what is right and objective in the polity. It is doubtful whether Nigeria can overcome its impoverished state if its leaders lack the morality and sanity to drive the nation's steering toward emancipation. It is against this background this study reflects on the issue of governance and leadership, its effect on society, and possible solutions to the effect of bad governance and leadership.

Conceptual Clarification of Terms

Leadership: The word leadership has been defined in many ways by different scholars, and as a result, it has become almost an impossibility to come up with a single definition. Ward ((2009) has defined leadership as “the art of motivating a group of people to act towards achieving a common goal” and not a selfish objective. As Northouse (2007) has aptly noted, leadership “is a process of getting things done through people”; it “means

responsibility” and having "passion for the purpose and the mission of the organization” or society one leads.

Governance: Governance was created out of the word govern, which means; to rule a country, control or direct the public affair of a city, control, influence something or somebody, and determine something. Governance is the act or manner of governing (Ogbeidi, 2017).

The United Nations (2007) defined governance as the way society sets and manages the rules that guide policymaking and policy implementation. The World Bank Group (2011) defined governance as the way power is exercised through a country’s economic, political, and social institutions. It is the political leadership of a country that exercises power.

Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2006) perhaps offer a comprehensive definition of governance. According to them, governance is the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised, which include the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them. Kaufmann & Mastruzzi (2006) further espouse six indicators of governance, including accountability, the political effectiveness of public service provision and the quality of the bureaucracy, quality or soundness of policies pursued by the government, the rule of law, while the sixth indicator is control of corruption.

Lesson: All Nations English Dictionary (1992) defined a lesson as a unit of instruction given to students on a particular topic or subject. It usually involves the teacher presenting information, facilitating learning activities, and assessing students' understanding of the material. It can also refer to a difficult or unpleasant experience that provides a valuable learning opportunity. Overall, the word lesson refers to an experience or period of instruction that provides knowledge, skills, or insights that can be applied in various contexts.

Impacts: According to UK Research and Innovation (2019), the word "impact" can have different meanings depending on the context, but concerning a particular subject or topic, it generally refers to the effect, influence, or consequence that it has on something or

someone. In both cases, the term "impact" refers to the significant effect or consequence that the subject or topic is having on the specific area or aspect being considered.

Critical paradigms: Critical paradigms refer to theoretical frameworks that challenge dominant power structures and social norms and seek to promote social justice, equity, and inclusivity (Delgado and Stefancic 2017). Critical paradigms seek to confront the governing norms and structures that perpetuate social injustices and inequalities and promote alternative ways of thinking and organizing society.

Theories of Governance and Leadership

There are many different theories of governance and leadership, each with its unique perspective on how best to manage organizations, communities, and societies. The researcher used two theories below to achieve the goal of this paper.

Transformational leadership Theory: This theory was developed in the 1970s and 1980s by researchers like James MacGregor Burns and Bernard Bass, who argued that effective leaders inspire and motivate their followers to achieve common goals. Transformational leadership has been applied in a wide range of settings, including business, education, healthcare, and government. While it is not a new concept, it has gained renewed attention in recent years as organizations have become more focused on employee engagement and retention.

Transformational leadership is a powerful approach that can create positive change in organizations and communities by inspiring and motivating followers to work towards a shared vision or purpose.

Servant leadership Theory: This theory was developed in the 1970s by Robert Greenleaf, who argued that effective leaders prioritize the needs of their followers over their interests and focus on empowering others to achieve their goals (Greenleaf, 1970). According to Greenleaf, the servant-leader is a person who has a natural desire to serve others and put their needs ahead of their own. Servant leaders focus on the personal growth and development of their followers and strive to create a sense of community and collaboration within their organizations.

Overview of Governance and Leadership in Nigeria

In Africa, in general, leadership and governance have been identified as major problems militating against growth and development in all sectors of the economy, and the grassroots levels are not being exempted. The need for leadership in any nation or state is essential. This is because nations or states exist with stated ideologies, and leaders are 'machinery' for achieving such stated ideologies. Organizational goals will remain unrealistic without a 'designated individual' known as a leader. As a result, leaders are 'central instruments' to any organization. The success or failure of an organization lies in the hand of a leader (Agere, 2019).

One of the major challenges facing Nigeria is how to create a context of stable political and socio-economic environment for policies and programmes to be implemented. The issue of getting the right leadership to fight corruption and propel good governance has been a recurring decimal in Nigeria and Africa in general. Once this enabling environment is created, it becomes easy for the people to confront and resolve challenges facing them by using resources within their environment to create a condition of life where each stage is progressively better than the preceding one. However, this is not the case in Nigeria due to corruption and bad governance. Good governance encapsulates transparency, accountability, freedom of choice and liberty for the people to pursue their individual and corporate interests. Indeed, at the core of Africa's underdeveloped status are corruption and leadership deficit.

Leadership and good governance are crucial to realizing any giant stride taken in pursuit of development anywhere in the world; Nigeria is no exception. The reverberation effects of the failure of leadership, corruption and bad governance are visible and being felt down to the grassroots levels of Nigerian society. Unemployment and employment for cash, insecurity, crude oil thefts, the crisis in education, dearth of infrastructures such as health services, transportation, accommodation, communication, medication, etc, are all common features in Nigeria. It is an irony that of all oil-producing nations, Nigeria is the only country with a history of crude oil thefts.

The root cause of inequality, poverty and underdevelopment in Nigeria is attributed to bad leadership. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with Nigerian land, climate, water, air, or anything else. The Nigerian problem is

the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to their responsibility to the challenge of personal example, which is the hallmark of true leadership.

Developmental research indicates that Nigeria is fraught with poor leadership, bad governance, corruption, and weak bureaucratic institutions. It is an axiom that since the attainment of political independence, Nigeria has never been governed by selfless, truly transformational, and intellectually endowed leaders. Sadly, the country has not been able to enjoy the services of good, visionary, and selfless leaders since the time of independence.

Going by all the development parameters and performance indices, Nigerian leaders have failed economically, with low growth, massive unemployment, and rising inequality between the rich and the poor. Nigeria's per capita GDP is nothing to reckon with, poverty is widespread, and about 54 per cent of the population is living on less than one US dollar per day.

Nigerian Governance and Leadership, Lesson, Impacts and Critical Paradigms

Governance and leadership in Nigeria have experienced significant challenges, lessons, impacts, and critical paradigms, leading to the emergence of critical paradigms. This article explores these aspects in the Nigerian context.

Lessons Learned

In the Nigerian context, there are several important lessons learned from governance and leadership:

Corruption and Mismanagement: Corruption has been a longstanding challenge in Nigeria, affecting governance and leadership. Rampant corruption and mismanagement of resources have had detrimental effects on Nigeria's development. The diversion of public funds meant for essential services, such as healthcare and education, has resulted in poor infrastructure, limited access to basic amenities, and low quality of life for many Nigerians.

Transparency and accountability: This is closely linked to corruption. Governance at national, state, and local levels is neither accountable nor transparent, while due process

is boycotted. The various public sectors are shrouded in weak structures and poverty while lots of money are allotted to them in the budget. This is an offshoot of non-transparent governance by those in authority (Julius-Adeoye, 2011). Lack of transparency and accountability has been a major challenge in Nigeria, leading to corruption and mismanagement of public resources.

The rule of law: The leaders in Nigeria do not show respect for the rule of law, especially judicial decisions. This lends its bearing to the fact that the judiciary, which is an arm that upholds the rule of law, is held by the jugular political actors. Nwekeaku (2014) averred that Nigeria's constitution provides for the fundamental rights of the citizens and roles for every level of government. Thus it is not the lack of good laws that trouble Nigeria but the lack of good governance that seeks to twist these laws to their curves. Weak institutions and a lack of adherence to the rule of law have undermined governance and leadership in Nigeria.

Ineffective Economic Policies: Poor economic policies, including excessive reliance on oil revenues and inadequate diversification of the economy, have left Nigeria vulnerable to external shocks and economic instability. This has resulted in high levels of poverty, unemployment, and inequality.

Inadequate Security: Nigeria has faced significant security challenges, including insurgency, terrorism, and communal conflicts. Weak security institutions and inadequate responses to these threats have resulted in the loss of lives, displacement of communities, and disruption of economic activities.

Neglect of Rural Areas: Rural areas in Nigeria have often been neglected in terms of development and access to basic services. This has contributed to rural-urban disparities, poverty, and limited opportunities for rural dwellers.

Lack of Youth Empowerment: Nigeria's large youth population has not been adequately empowered or provided with opportunities for education, skill development, and employment. This has resulted in high levels of youth unemployment, social unrest, and youth involvement in criminal activities (The World Bank, 2018).

Electoral malpractices challenges: This problem has become a popular phenomenon in Nigerian politics. An average Nigerian believes that elections cannot be won except if it

is rigged. The state of our electoral system has indeed gotten worse to this extent. Election fraud has been a problem ever since the country's independence, and it still exists today in a modernized form. Election rigging was allegedly committed by the leadership of several political parties during the first republic, as an example of how our leaders are the architects of electoral fraud. The same happened in the second republic. Similarly, the fourth republic was not any different (Toyin and Adetoye 2014). It is doubtful that good governance can be established by the same group of people who are so desperate to gain power at any cost if, by now, our leaders and politicians are not prepared to face free and fair elections.

Impacts Made

Nigeria's socio-economic and political landscape have both been positively and negatively impacted by the country's governance and leadership. Here are some key impacts:

Political Stability and Security: Effective governance and leadership are crucial for ensuring political stability and maintaining security in Nigeria. Weak governance and poor leadership have often led to political instability, inter-ethnic conflicts, and insurgency issues like Boko Haram. On the other hand, strong governance and capable leadership contribute to maintaining law and order, fostering peace, and ensuring the safety of citizens (Kenny, 2019).

Economic Development: Good governance and effective leadership are essential for promoting economic development in Nigeria. Sound policies, transparent institutions, and competent leadership are crucial for attracting investments, stimulating economic growth, and reducing poverty. Conversely, weak governance and corrupt leadership hinder economic progress, discourage investments, and perpetuate poverty (World Bank, 2020).

Corruption and Transparency: Governance and leadership play a critical role in addressing corruption and promoting transparency. Corruption erodes public trust, diverts resources away from public services, and undermines development efforts. Transparent governance structures, strong anti-corruption measures, and accountable leadership are key in combating corruption and ensuring responsible resource management (Transparency International, 2021).

Social Services and Human Development: Effective governance and leadership are instrumental in delivering essential social services and promoting human development in Nigeria. Good governance facilitates the provision of quality education, healthcare, infrastructure, and other public services. Moreover, strong leadership is required to prioritize and allocate resources effectively, ensuring the welfare and well-being of the population (United Nations, 2015).

Democratic Consolidation: Governance and leadership are pivotal in consolidating democracy in Nigeria. Promoting democratic values, protecting human rights, ensuring free and fair elections, and fostering inclusive participation are vital for democratic governance. Competent leadership committed to democratic principles strengthens institutions, enhances political participation, and deepens democracy (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2020).

Critical Paradigms

Despite the progress made, there are still critical paradigms that need to be addressed in Nigeria's governance and leadership.

Several critical paradigms have emerged from Nigeria's governance and leadership experiences. One paradigm is the shift towards inclusive governance, recognizing the importance of diverse voices and the participation of marginalized groups in decision-making processes. Another paradigm is the emphasis on ethical leadership, promoting integrity, honesty, and the avoidance of corruption. Additionally, the paradigm of institutional strengthening has gained prominence, focusing on building robust institutions that can effectively deliver public services and enforce accountability.

Conclusion

In conclusion, good governance and effective leadership are critical for the development of Nigeria. The lessons learned from past experiences, the impacts made, and the critical paradigms that need to be addressed provide a roadmap for Nigerian leaders to build a strong and prosperous nation. By promoting strong institutions, inclusive and participatory governance, regional integration, and sustainable development, Nigeria can achieve its full potential. Good governance is a prerequisite for successful development, which every country craves.

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DEMOCRATIC KAKISTOCRACY IN NIGERIAN POLITY

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Abstract

Nigeria, which was imperially colonized between 1884-1960, regally birthed in 1914 and sovereignly republicanized in 1963 remains an annexed (rather than an amalgamated) country of many fragmented and disengaging nations that have been drowned in socio-economic quagmire through tribalized-ethnicism cum politicized democratic kakistocracy leaving her polity with an endemic bad leadership, enthronement of corruption and mediocrity. The researchers while writing this paper find out that democracy-with its multifaceted problems and Kakistocracy-with its glaring flaccidity, have left Nigerian governance stinkingly odious and malodorous corrupt.

Keywords: Democracy, kakistocracy, Nigerian polity, governance.

Introduction

There are variants of democracies in the world. I doubt if democracy in a developed world is the same as that of a developing world. I strongly disagree that democracy in the Global North is the same as the one in the Global South. Even if there is semblance, the Nigerian version of democracy I believe is quite at variance with others as long as the birth and formation of Nigeria remains cloudy. The existent comma or pitfall in our current governance is the form of deluded democracy better known as a democratic kakistocracy. Democratic kakistocracy is simply the government of the people by the

worst. Amid good candidates, the people are meant to select the worst to govern that in the name of democracy.

Many issues, of course, have given credence to this wrong choice. The choice of the wrong person through a democratic process is disheartening. It seems that the idea of an *anonymous we mentality* has continued to play a dangerous role and remains a great problem with choice-making or rather, the populace might be coerced into making a very fundamental problem of wrong choice. It seems, therefore, that the political institution is now bad that it offers nothing but the worst. And such is becoming the version of Nigerian democracy. The sections below try to x-ray these issues of selecting or electing the worst in the midst of the best in this political and national dispensation.

Naija as Nigeria

Socio-economic Politico cum Geographically Nigerian is a naturally hallowed country. Nigeria is blessed with rich natural resources and abundant human resources. Accordingly, *Nations Encyclopaedia (2023)* opts that Nigeria is located between latitude 40N and 140N of the equator and between longitude 30E and 150E of the Greenwich meridian. Therefore, the latitudinal extent of Nigeria is about 100 (140N-40N) while the longitudinal extent is 120 (150E-30E). Nigeria is in West Africa and centrally located in Africa. Apart from the Atlantic Ocean in the south, she is surrounded by francophone (French-speaking) countries. She is bounded in the west by Benin Republic, in the north by Niger Republic, in the east by Cameroun Republic, in the northeast by Chad Republic and in the south by the Atlantic Ocean. Nigeria is the fourth largest country in West Africa in terms of land area after Niger, Mali and Mauritania. An on-line source with regard to geography of Nigerian shows that the total land area of Nigeria is approximately 923,768 square kilometres. The greatest distance from east to west is approximately 1,300km while from north to south is about 1,100km (*Nations Encyclopaedia, 2023*).

In terms of population, Nigeria is the most populous single country in Africa and the seventh largest country in the world with a population of about 220 million persons based on the United Nation recent estimate (*Nations Encyclopaedia, 2023*). The country, Nigeria, came into existence in 1914 as a result of the acclaimed amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates. She became independent in 1960. As at independence, the country had three regions namely, North, East and West. The Northern region had its

headquarters in Kaduna, East in Enugu and West in Ibadan. In 1963, Nigeria became a republic and the fourth region known as Mid-West was created from the then Western region with its headquarters in Benin City. The political divisions remained four until 1967 when the country was further divided into twelve states. In 1976, the country was further divided into 19 states. On September 23rd 1987, two more states were created, making the total number to be 21. Nigeria presently has thirty-six states and a Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja which is the federal capital of Nigeria. Nigeria as a member of the African Union has been regarded as the giant of Africa. Studies show that Nigeria has over 500 indigenous languages are spoken in Nigeria and more than 250 ethnic groups. Lagos is Nigeria's largest city as well as its former capital.

Nigeria is a federation of 36 states with the federal capital territory - Abuja. The Federal Capital Territory, also known as FCT, is the capital of Nigeria. The Abuja FCT is not a state but is administered by a Federal Minister appointed by the President as part of his cabinet. Each state in Nigeria is subdivided into Local Government Areas (LGAs). *Nigeria Galleria (2022)* shows that, there are a total of 774 local government areas in Nigeria. Wikipedia upholds that at independence on October 1, 1960, Nigeria has three (3) regions: Northern Region, Western Region and Eastern Region. In 1963, a new region, the Mid-Western Region, was created from the Western Region. Then four years later in 1967, the regions were replaced by 12 states by military decree by the then Head of State General Yakubu Gowon. In 1976, seven new states were created by military decree by the then Head of State General Murtala Mohammed bringing the total to 19 states, including the Federal Capital Territory Abuja (Abuja was carved from parts Kwara, Niger, Kaduna and Plateau States with the bulk of landmass carved out of Niger State). In 1987, the then military President General Ibrahim Babangida created two new states were created - Akwa Ibom State from Cross River State and Kastina State from Kaduna State, bringing the number to 21 States. Four years later (1991), General Babangida created an additional nine (9) states bringing the total to 30 States. Finally, in 1996, the then military Head of State General Ibrahim Abacha created six (six more states, bringing the total to 36 states, which remains to the present date) (Okafor, 2023).

Moltchanova (2007) in "Nationhood and Political Culture" appreciated nationhood as a complex phenomenon that includes aspects of personal and group identity, history, culture, and political preferences. All of these features are shared by several kinds of groups, not only by national groups. Nigeria is often called the "Giant of Africa." This

name comes from the vastness of its land, the diversity of its peoples and languages, its huge population (the largest in Africa), and its oil and other natural resources.

Nation etymologically is from the Latin word *natus* meaning the root, made, produced by nature. In our context and usage, it has to do with people from the same root having the same language, habits of culture in their dressing, type of food and so on. An on-line Cambridge dictionary defines a nation as the fact of being a nation (a country with its government, language, traditions, etc.). Moltchanova (2007) in the paper "Nationhood and Political Culture, gave a new definition of nations thus: Nations are groups whose members share and identify with a particular kind of political culture or a set of beliefs and attitudes concerning politics. Basic to this political culture is the belief that membership in the group defines the bounds within which political authority can originate meaningfully for those it governs. This is why nations in this line of thought are seen as substantial entities; 'nation' is a category of practice, not (in the first instance) a category of analysis." The sense of a nation gives the idea of nationhood. Therefore. Nationhood is a result of a proper understanding of a nation. Nationhood is the status of being a nation. In the article "Nationhood and Political Culture", Moltchanova (2007) maintains that nationhood is a complex phenomenon that includes aspects of personal and group identity, history, culture, and political preferences.

Nation and nationhood are carefully expressed within the bounds of love for the fatherland. Hence, the idea of a nation as well as the concept of nationhood is linked as one entity in trying to identify a politically independent community with citizens from the same root in terms of origin. Nigeria in this regards with her multifaceted ethnic groups properly described as a nation. Nigeria has many nations with different languages and peculiar lifestyles with regard to eating habits, dressing and other aspects of cultural dispositions. Theo Nwalor, in his preface to Jude Uwalaka's book, *The Struggle for An Inclusive Nigeria: Igbos To Be or Not To Be? A Treatise To Nwaigbo*, however, refers to Nigeria as a three-legged structure. Hence, he reiterates that "this tripodal structure, Nigeria, is made up of Yoruba Nigerians, Hausa Nigerians and Nigerian Igbos. To be authentic Yoruba or authentic Hausa or authentic Igbo (*or authentic Fulani*) and authentic Nigeria, are not mutually exclusive". Recently we recognise Fulani Nigerians as Fulani Nation. The other minor nations are the minor tribes or ethnic groups that exist independently of other major ones. Nigeria as a country of many nations houses more than 250 ethnic groups with the major ones as treated above as Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba and recently Fulani is popular because of their socio-political influence in Nigeria. Wikipedia

on the Profile of Nigeria maintains that Nigeria has over 250 ethnic groups, the most populous and politically influential being Hausa-Fulani 29%, Yoruba 21%, Igbo (Ibo) 18%, Ijaw 10%, Kanuri 4%, Ibibio 3.5%, Tiv 2.5%. *Wikipedia* endorses the fact that Nigeria is a very ethnically diverse country with more than 371 ethnic groups, the largest of which are the Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. To this end, there are at least 371 tribes in Nigeria. With over 500 languages which are spoken among its about 230 million people. This is a result of the number of existing ethnic groups, some of the popular languages spoken in Nigeria are listed as follows; Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa, Kanuri, Ijaw, Ibibio, Edo, Fulfude, Tiv etc. Nigeria has one official language which is English, as a result of the British colonial rule over the nation. Research in 2018 has that Ethnicity in Nigeria is shown below as Hausa 25%, Yoruba 21%, Igbo 18%, Fulani 6%, Ibibio 3.5%, Tiv 2.4%, Kanuri 2.4%, Ijaw 1.8%, and others 19.9%. These differential varieties ought to be the beauty of one country with many nations. And these varieties express in a very deep sense the often glorified maxim unity in diversities and diversity in unity (Findlay, 2019).

Democracy

The word democracy comes from the Greek words *demos*, meaning people, and *Kratos* meaning power; so democracy can be thought of as *the power of the people*: a way of governing which depends on the will of the people. The definition of democracy from the Turnbull, Lea & Parkinson (eds). (2023) is that it is a system of government in which the people of a country can vote to elect their representatives. Merriam-Webster (ed). (2022) has it that democracy is a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives. It is a form of control of an organization or group by the majority of its members. There are a few types of Democracy Direct democracy, Representative democracy, *ohacracy*, *ohazurume*, Constitutional democracy and Monitory democracy. Websters (1970) defines democracy as a government in which supreme power is invested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through representation. Turnbull, Lea & Parkinson (eds.) (2023) has it that democracy is the government in which the supreme power is held by the people and used by them directly or indirectly through representation. The Synonyms of democracy are republic, sovereignty, self-rule, self-government, autonomy, home rule and self-determination as against dictatorship, tyranny, monarchy, autocracy, despotism, totalitarianism, theocracy and monocracy.

On Democracy in Africa

It is a truism that African democracy or democracy in Africa is simply limping. A great and better version of democracy existed in Africa before Western imperialism politicized and politicized Africa in the name of colonization instead of a developmental nation. The Western imperialism that claims to teach us democracy has done unprintable things in Africa in the name of democracy. Unfortunately, most of those arrogant imperialists are back with their version of democracy for Africa as the third world. How can a country that opposed our liberation, supported colonial agenda and regime as well as the apartheid in South Africa, the white racist minority in Zimbabwe, the Portuguese, the colonial government in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau Zimbabwe and Cape Verde assure Africans of the democratic process in their dealings with us. How can a country that toppled many democratic government institutions in Africa, instigated and championed most coup d'états in Africa come to teach us democracy? Really! A country that has killed and supported the massacre of many of our democratic leaders beginning with Patrice Lumumba toppled Kwame Nkrumah and gruesomely murdered Murmah Gaddafi is today teaching us how to be democratic nations of Africa. How can a country and its allies that opposed the African Union and her developmental strategies having killed the originator of such an idea mention democracy to us? How can a country that is built of brutal force, years of enslavement of other human beings, the humiliation of other human beings, the exploitation of human beings, plundering of other nations' human and natural resources, oppose all forms of human rights come back to teach us democracy and democratic dispensations. This is why many scholars believe that the white imperialists' democracy is highly truncated and inefficient. And stubbornly the colonial masters remain in Africa even amid the Magisterial order to *Hands-off Africa*. A country they hate yet they wish to remain within with their racist arrogance of reversed post-colonial agenda. Today having done with their colonialism and neocolonialism, they are into Post-colonialism and post-colonization and its post-colonial agenda may be most cruel-some and of course, the Western countries' imperialism remains the greatest problem of our time. This Western imperialism widens as there exists as they continue to champion the G-8, the global divide and recently the digital divide.

Kakistocracy

Kakistocracy according to Turnbull, Lea & Parkinson (eds.) (2023) is the “government by the least suitable or competent citizens of a state”. Merriam-Webster online dictionary

equally defines it as “government by the worst people”. Kakistocracy, therefore, means a state or society that is governed by the least suitable or incompetent citizens. That is to say categorically that kakistocracy is the government of the worst in the midst of the seeming and comparable best. By all human standards and kind humane evaluation kakistocracy is the rule of the incompetent. Incapable and unqualified citizens of the state. This kind of rule has nothing to do with the idiomatic fact that *in the country the blind one-eyed man is the king*. Never. Rather, it is a type of leadership where the worst choice is purposefully made among better options. With Greek origin, as early as 19th century kakistocracy is the government of *the worst*, the *kakistos*. It is a government of the worst people. It is a government by the least suitable. It is the government of the lowest degree of competent citizens of any state.

Kakistocracy remains the leadership by the worst or least qualified in the midst of the best and most qualified. It is the government of the idiots. That is the *idiocracy*. It is the leadership of the idiots, the moron, the imbecile, the simpleton, the nincompoop, the feeble unreasonable elders and the aged. There is a middle term to this word and type of leadership about plutocracy, gerontocracy and other forms of government limited by age-related problems. Kakistocracy is quite different. It is a deliberate preferential acceptance of the worst against the good, better, and best of the citizens. Often thinkers and researchers have linked kakistocracy to the type of government imposed and practised by the colonial and imperial masters especially Britain which has subjected some countries to remain under their rules till date.

Kakistocracy has over the years metamorphosed into other forms of ill-fated government thereby tilting towards apartheid, neocracy (government administered by new or untried persons) and Kleptocracy (from Greek *kleptos*, *thieves*, is a government whose corrupt leaders (*kleptocrats*). All these forms of government used their political power to expropriate the wealth of the people and land they govern, typically by embezzling or misappropriating government. Nevertheless, a look at the Greek political organization will buttress our appreciation of the type of government and the type of people within the state. Human society gives humanity the opportunity for a meaningful life and meaningful contribution to life. The contribution is meaningful if it borders on human effort. The Greeks acknowledging this fact decided to categorize human beings on earth into three types: *The Idiots*, *The Tribesman* and *The Citizens*. *The Idiots* are those who don't care, defy every civility and live like mere brutes amongst others. *The Tribesman* is too tribalistic and looks at everything from the point of view of his or her tribe or ethnic

background. It can be terrible to have a tribesman as a leader, he would alienate the rest and would be very sectionalism in political appointment. *The Citizens* are people who believe you are part of them and their tribe. For them, we are one and they do things as the law prescribes and loves and treat humanity as one caring for the well-being of others. In complementarity, the Roman Society has three major social classes *Citizens*, *Non-citizens* and *Slaves*.

Nigerian Polity

Politics means "the things concerning the *polis* and is the origin of the modern English word politics. Aristotle asserts what Plato tacitly denies: that man is by nature a political animal. Man is by nature a political animal because he can communicate and dialogue about justice and good. The city is before the individual. Aristotle in his *Politics* was very clear in his advocacy for a political community, *a polis*, that guarantees a good life. The city is a political partnership that comes into being for self-sufficiency but exists primarily for the sake of living well. Rahe (2000) continues, to believe that "mere life brought the *polis* into being...and through the life of the *polis* that the gregarious beings (human beings) of this sort have a share in the good life".

Nigerian Polity is under a democratic dispensation trusting the people of making wise choices during elections. Unfortunately, there this political syndrome and canker-worm have continued to mar Nigerian Politics leaving her with a peculiar style of leadership popularly known as Gerontocracy and kakistocracy professionally referred to as Gerontocratic Kakistocracy. Right from the time of independence, the almighty British rule, the hoax amalgamation and the eventual republic, the imperial masters never meant well socio-economic and development-wise. Research has shown that the colonial masters ends up having power on independence over the societal misfits and disadvantaged areas. The British just like the French colonial masters places the independence of their subjects in the fate and hands of the gerontocratic *kakistos*. An x-ray of a Nigerian prototype is very important.

Nigeria became a British protectorate in 1901. The period of British rule lasted until 1960 when an independence movement led to the country being granted independence. The colonial era was from 1882 to 1960. Nigeria first became a republic in 1963 but succumbed to military rule after a bloody *coup d'état* in 1966. Back in history, Nigeria was birthed in 1914. On this purported amalgamation instead of annexation the British

colonial masters had an agreement with the Jihadists on how to share and own Nigeria as an entity of protectorates.

Research shows that the following were the alleged *Nigerians* who officially was involved in the signing of the amalgamation: Sir Kitoyi Ajasa (a lawyer representing the African community in Lagos as a Legislative Council member of the Colony since 1902), His Highness, Oladugbolu (Alaafin of Oyo), Hon. R. Henshaw (Obong of Calabar), Hon. Maiturare (Sarkin Mussulumi and Sultan of Sokoto), Hon. Abubakar (Shehu of Borno) and Hon. Usman (Emir of Kano). Note the representation in the discovered list. The *pact* is between the British and the Northern Oligarchy even as Jihadists. These persons who signed the amalgamation were not *National Figures*. Their names have never appeared anywhere, as the *founding fathers* of this great Country. Something definitely must have gone wrong somewhere. There were a little more than 25 persons that were involved in the so-called “Amalgamation” of January 1914. Only about six persons were selected in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Nigeria, the rest were Jihadists and the British including Frederick Lord Lugard himself as well as Lewis Harcourt. Where were the founding fathers then? Was there some unknown agreement between these colonial masters and the purported six persons? What was the content of the treaty? Where is the document?

Political inequalities as well as Boko Haram is a direct consequence of this gap and lapse. Lord Lugard and British colonial rule gave little or no thought to the consequences of the amalgamation of people of different nations and multicultural backgrounds. Fafowor (2013), maintains, however, that the indirect rule which is the product of amalgamation remains the major source of ethnic and tribal politics in Nigeria today. The Nigerian-Biafran war, therefore, was one of the fundamental mistakes and aftermath effects of the amalgamation. With its proximity to the coast, the South had for long been subjected to Western influences.

The amalgamation enthroned bizarre and corrupt practices of acrimonious unrest among Nigerians. This was what our current political leaders inherited and it explains their lack of commitment to the rule of law and public accountability. In effect, the 1914 amalgamation in Nigeria destroyed an indigenous political and administrative system that was far more democratic and accountable and replaced it with a colonial system of government that was wholly undemocratic and lacked any kind of accountability. It laid the foundation for a despotic government in Nigeria, virtually without any checks and

balances in the system. The Nigerian-styled politics of *Kakistocracy* and *gerontocracy* are explored under three broad areas of Corruption, Bad-Leadership, Greontocratic and Kakistocratic Politics

Candid Evaluation of Nigerian Democracy

The area known as Nigeria began to come under British control in 1861 and was made a British colony in 1914. Nigeria gained independence in 1960 and became a republic in 1963. Nnamdi Azikiwe became Governor-General on 16 November 1960, with Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister, and became the first Nigerian named to the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. When Nigeria became a Republic in 1963, he was its first President. In both posts, Azikiwe's role was largely ceremonial. In the heat of this thriving political era, Nigeria was merely surviving amid nationalities' dissenting and disengaging voices that were suppressed. However, that lingering ethnic strife soon led to military coups and the most civil war.

However, one of the enduring events in the history of Nigerians as a country of nations is the Nigerian-Biafran civil war or rightly regarded as the 1967 massacre of the Igbos. It is estimated that during the civil war, more than one million people died in the battle, as a result of ethnic cleansing referred to as that *civil war*, or because of starvation claiming the vast majority of lives. After the war, bank accounts owned by Biafrans were seized and a Nigerian panel resolved to give every Igbo person with an account in Nigerian Bank only 20 pounds. This is history, a painful one at that. The book, *The Biafran Story*, is a 1969 non-fiction book by Frederick Forsyth about the Nigerian Civil War (1967–70) in which Biafra unsuccessfully attempted to secede from Nigeria. *The Biafra Story* was originally written by Frederick Forsyth who has been working as a correspondent for the BBC Africa Service in Enugu but he quit the job and left for Biafra after becoming "so disgusted" with the BBC's "lies and distortions". The revised edition of the book was published in 1977 under the title *The Making of an African Legend: The Biafran Story*. Another work was that of Chinua Achebe's *There Was a Country*. It is a personal history of Biafra by the literary icon Chinua Achebe. It's like telling the story of the Nigerian-Biafran civil war from the horse's mouth.

The sad story of 1967 starting with the first coup and the murder of northern Nigerian leaders that led to the pogroms in which decades of thousands of Igbos living in the north in the Gen Emeka Ojuwku declaration for the south-eastern region's secession from a

country in which Ndigbo "felt unwanted" was not necessary if the needed intervention was respected. The war broke out and was waged by Nigerian Federal General Yakubu Gowon and was heavily supported by the UK government whose interest was in our oil. It was the crudest war as Biafrans fought Britain with partially empty hands for good three years even though her engineers in their ingenuity tried to make something like the infamous Ogbunigwe (Ojukwu Bucket Bomb).

The war in the expressions of Achebe was out of sheer ignorance amid their ego-driven policies. Even though there was this pronouncement of *no victor, no vanquished*; even though Ndigbo were reintegrated into Nigerian society, they are still faced with vagaries of marginalization and all forms of economic discrimination as every Igbo man, no matter what you have in the bank then was offered £20 flat fee as well as those wanting to convert their Biafran currency into Nigerian Naira amidst other policies of abandoned properties. Yet Ndigbo is true Nigerians in every sense of the word and every part of Nigeria to date. Achebe's book looks forward to a better Nigeria where justice, fair play, good governance, productive spirit will replace corruption, religious bigotry, good leadership and a spirit of consumerism. The coup ushered in the military and military groups ruled the country from 1966 to 1979 and from 1983 to 1999. 1979-1983 saw the emergence of the 2nd republic with Shehu Shagari as President. The military came back having tasted power and never wished to leave. Between 1999 and now we are enjoying the 3rd republic mixed with the worst system of government in the name of democracy and for Fela, it's Demo-crazy.

The list of past Nigerian *Presidents* save a few former *Heads of State* shows a litany of old leaders, a form of gerontocracy that has culminated into gerontophobia. The list depicts a display of kakistos. We must note that old age being a blessing is very specific. In Igbo socio-political affairs, for example, the eldest has a designated position that is sustained and he or she remains in such particular post even as ceremonial head. However, there is a capable youth that seconds him or her to support him officially. However, there are positions of authority that youthfulness is needed as against old age. One such position that demands youthfulness is the Presidency. It's disheartening that with 109 years as a country, we are yet to get it right in regard to governance. 109 years as a country, we still believe that the youth are too young to rule. After 109 years of *There is a country* and 63 years after independence, we are yet to get it right with governance amid the existing leadership of kakistocracy and gerontocracy. After years of existing as a country of nations pivoted on *unity in diversity*, many unhealthy policies like

a quota system, federal character, federalism, etc. continue to highlight the obvious gaps of nationalities through the ethnic lines and tribal boundaries inherent in Nigerian socio *cum* geopolitical affairs.

Nigerian Democracy

The term *demokratia*, postulated by the Athenians, as “rule of the people” which was coined from *demos* “people” and *Kratos* “power” or “rule” very prevalent in the 5th century B.C. within their political system was such that the democratic citizenship was exclusive to an elite class of free men only, that is the *citizens as against some of the tribesmen and idiots as well as the Slaves* and women. The Nigerian version of democracy as shown below will make the differential exception while exposing our problem over the years with the almighty democracy with our *nascent Nigerian democracy* since 1960 is ever plagued with a myriad of intrigues, marred with glaring corruption amid thuggery and other archaic and crude forms of electioneering and political thievery with any respect and regard to rule of law and the revered electoral act. The worst is that the Democratic umpires have been compromised. The 2023 democratic election in Nigeria is simply a mockery of democracy. Even the blind saw it and the deaf heard the blunder and daylight robbery and disenfranchisement of the electorates. The whole was swept under the carpet thus if you are not happy with the national democratic umpire go to court. And the political impunity of imposing a selected that elected candidate moves on.

Democracy according to Abraham Lincoln’s definition is *the government of the people, by the people and for the people*. Jokingly *Brainjotter* (BJ) Comedy made an impressive input in this classical definition to fittingly mock our Nigerian leadership system when he redefined democracy according to Nigeria as *the government of some people, for some people and by some people*. And the key phrasal concept for him in this definition is *some people* which can equally be defined as *people that have bastard money*. Continuing, he rejected *the election* as the method of choosing *some people* in any democratic system like Nigerian. Rather he opted for *selection*. Accordingly, BJ noted that in other countries, it is election but in Nigeria it is selection. And he hilariously dramatized this selection in selecting and announcing the candidate of his choice as the class captain. Even as the whole class has listened to the manifestos of the few contestants, who ought to have bought *election and or selection forms*, by paying into his account, and voted otherwise, BJ announced the candidate of his *choice selection*. When

the class objected BJ reminded them that he used the method in tandem with the Nigerian definition of democracy. He, however, advised the class to go to court if they don't agree with him.

Nigerian contemporary democracy is a sham and inglorious sabotage of political innuendoes. Nwogu (2015) reasoned that name-calling and name-dropping among the political class is the order of the day. Every activity, every policy of a ruling party is questioned and criticized by the opposition. This tends to overheat the polity. Politicians should endeavour to complement enduring strides made by opposing parties. On the other hand, constructive criticism should be openly acknowledged and amends made where necessary. This promotes enduring democracy and brings to the barest minimum dissenting opinions amongst the ruling class.

Conclusion

Nigerian polity seems to have a version of her government. It's a government that borders on old people, the worst set of people in terms of character and disposition and selection in terms of election. *Wikipedia* made a summary of Nigerian polity thus: Nigerian version of politics takes place within a framework of a *federal, presidential, representative democratic republic* in which executive power is exercised by the federal government. The *Federal Government of Nigeria* is composed of three distinct branches namely the *legislative, executive and judicial* whose powers are vested and bestowed upon them by the *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*, the *National Assembly*, the *President*, and lastly, the *Federal Courts*, which includes the *Supreme Court* which is regarded as the highest court in Nigeria respectively. One of the major functions of the constitution is that it provides for separation and balance of powers among the three branches and aims to prevent the repetition of past mistakes made by the government, some other functions of the constitution include that it divides power between the federal government and the states, and it also protects various individual liberties of the citizens of the nation. Democracy in Nigeria's independence and membership in the British Commonwealth (1960) and republic (1963) was short-lived with a coup d'état with a military regime (1960-1979 and 1983-1999). With all these facts on the ground, Nigeria battles with a democratic dispensation that is more viable than kakistocratic.

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AFRICAN MIGRATION AND GLOBAL COMMUNITY

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Abstract

Migration as a movement has been a natural and human affair in the history of humanity. The world, structured in continents, Continental Africa has been greatly involved in migration before and more right from the dawn of her expedition that culminated in colonization through slavery unto neo-colonization and recently through the open market policies. Using the method of sheer analysis, the researcher finds out and acknowledges the travails and contemporary challenges of African Migration within the global community.

Keywords: Africa, migration, global community.

Introduction

Migration has always been part of human existence. Human beings being curious can never be static. They move around and explore things or places unknown to them, thereby making new findings. This desire to make discoveries make them interact, relate and connect with people outside their environment. Some people move in search of work or economic opportunities, to join family, or to study. Others move to escape conflict, persecution, terrorism, or human rights violations. Still, others move in response to the adverse effects of climate change, natural disasters, or other environmental factors.

Many people migrate out of choice while some migrate out of necessity. Some of these people who migrate to other states or countries end up experiencing the opposite of what they had expected. Many get frustrated and take up any available job not minding its legality and morality. The effect of migration is not only felt by the receiving countries alone, the countries of origin of the migrants are equally affected. The population decreases and many homes are left desolate as many migrants refuse to return to their home countries. Lack of manpower to execute tasks, especially in the rural areas also

deepens underdevelopment, poverty and increased lack, thereby, encouraging lawlessness and leadership by the wealthy. This work tries to link African migration with the global community taking into cognisance the European migration and the reasons behind their movement. The effects of the movement of Africans on the world as a whole because no man is an island.

Appreciation of Migration

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another. It can be within a country, between countries or even regions. It can also be a permanent, temporary or seasonal movement. Migration happens for various reasons which may be economic, social, political or environmental. The impact of migration is felt in both the place left behind and the place where migrants settle. This impact can either be positive or negative. Some people may decide to migrate to another country to improve career opportunities. Some others are forced to migrate, for example, someone who migrates because of war or famine or even as a slave. In Geography, migration is referred to as the movement of humans from one place to another. It is most times prompted by "push" and "pull" factors.

Push factors are those negative elements that force one to leave an environment like wars, political instability, famine drought among others. Pull factors are those positive elements that attract people to another environment like political stability, improved healthcare services, lots of employment opportunities, better working conditions, better learning institutions and also better climate. National Geographic Expedition (2015) defined migration as the movement of people from one geographical location to another to settle either permanently or semi-permanently. Migration (human) is the movement of people from one place in the world to another to take up permanent or semi-permanent residence usually across a political boundary. An example of "semi-permanent residence" would be the seasonal movement of migrant farmers/ labourers. People can either choose to move ("voluntary migration") or be forced to move ("involuntary migration"). Migration has occurred throughout human history beginning with the movements of the first human groups from their origin in East Africa to their current location in the world. (para.1).

The major cause of rural-urban migration is identified as the search for better wages, education, political and social stability, better technologies, employment and business opportunities. Others are poverty, unemployment, crop failures and famine, and

inadequate social amenities and facilities in the urban centres such as pipe-borne water, electricity, good roads, hospitals, schools, and vocational centres. Migration is certainly not a recent phenomenon, on the contrary, it has been part of human history since its very beginning. People have migrated from one continent to the other, from country to country or internally, inside the same country. While migration has been beneficial in one aspect, it has equally been destructive on the other hand. People move intending to live a more promising life, have access to basic life amenities and advance the developmental and infrastructural conditions of their countries of origin. Many remit money, foodstuff, cars etc to their families, introduce innovations to their communities and assist in improving the infrastructural and technological standards of their countries while away and for these purposes, any parents, relatives and communities do not object to either the temporary or permanent migration of their citizens.

Migration as we already know is the movement of people from one geographical location to another due to some reasons like insecurity as we are experiencing in some regions in Africa; for greener pastures and so many other reasons. Migration, again, is as old as the world for even in the Scriptures, Abram was told by God to leave his town to another place unknown to him where He (GOD) will show him (Gen. 12: 1-9). People migrate daily and this can be temporary, permanent or seasonal movement. In migration, the geographical location where one is coming from is known as the Origin or Source region while the location where one is going into or entering is destination or receiving region.

Types of Migration

Immigration: When a migrant goes into another location from his or her original location or moves into a new location. For example, the Europeans who came to Africa are African immigrants

Emigration:- When a migrant leaves his original location and goes to another location. For example, Africans who left the African continent for Europe are European emigrants.

In general, migration leads to the discovery of new areas around the global community. This implies that without immigration, there will be no development, no interaction among people and people will live in isolation.

Understanding of the African Continent

Africa is one of the seven continents of the world. It is the second largest continent and is bounded by the Red Sea on the East, the Mediterranean Sea on the North, the Indian Ocean on the South and the Atlantic Ocean on the West. It is divided almost equally in half by the equator. Africa's physical geography, environment, resources and human geography can be considered separately. Africa has eight main physical regions which are the Sahara, the Sahel, the Ethiopian Highlands, the Savanna, Swahili Coast, the Rainforest, the African Great Lakes and Southern Africa.

According to Clarke, Middleton and Mabogunje (2023), Africa has several islands associated with it. Of these, Madagascar, one of the largest islands in the world is the most significant. Other smaller islands include Seychelles, Socotra and other islands to the east; the Comoros, Mauritius, Reunion and other islands to the southeast; Ascension, St. Helena and Tristan da Cunha to the southwest; Cape Verde, the Bijagos islands, Bioko and Sao Tome and Principe to the west and the Azores and Madeira and Canary islands to the northwest. Africa is the most tropical continent. Its climate and vegetation range from equatorial rainforest to tropical deserts and savanna grasslands. Africa is most likely one of the must-see places for many people around the world. Its massive land mass covers approximately 6% of the entire surface of the earth.

Africa can boast of having the longest river in the world which is the River Nile, a very large waterfall which is Victoria Falls located between Zimbabwe and Zambia, having the largest desert in the world which is the Sahara Desert, a very large mountain - a free-standing mountain- Kilimanjaro, a very large lake called Lake Victoria. It also has the 4th largest Island in the world, is, Madagascar.

Recently, the African continent is seen to be splitting into two and it is speculated that a new ocean will be formed between Africa and the new continent in the future. This break-up which is happening around the East African Rift will now make landlocked countries like Zambia and Uganda have coastlines in the nearest future.

Concept of Global Community

Globalization

Ochigbo(2004) explains that globalization has become the defining ideology that describes the fast-paced breaking down of barriers that use to define regions and nation-states. Globalization is the word used to describe the growing interdependence of the world's economies, culture and populations, brought about by cross-border trade in goods and services, technology and the flow of investment, people and information. Intriligator (2003) posits that globalization is a powerful real aspect of the new world system, and it represents one of the most influential forces in determining the future course of the planet. It has manifold dimensions: economic, political, security, environmental, health, social, cultural, and others.

Globalization has had significant impacts on all economies of the world, with manifold effects. It affects their production of goods and services. It also affects the employment of labour and other inputs into the production process. In addition, it affects investment, both in physical capital and in human capital. It affects technology and results in the diffusion of technology from initiating nations to other nations. It also has major effects on efficiency, productivity and competitiveness. With all that has happened, one can say that Globalization has become an emerging reality. Countries have built economic partnerships to facilitate these movements over many centuries. Globalization has to do with the spreading of international interconnectedness and interrelationships in all aspects of life. Thus, the universe is being shaped by economic and technological forces which promote shared economic, cultural, religious and political spheres of human activities. Globalization makes it possible for migration or immigration.

Global Community

The global community, according to Forgeard (2021) refers to the growing interconnectedness of people around the world. It is made up of people from all over the world who are connected by gender, interests such as technology, economics, global issues and more. People who look similar and have similar backgrounds can easily communicate with each other but when people from different cultures come together, they learn each other's values and begin to understand each other.

A global community is important because it brings together people from all over the world who share common values and beliefs. "Global Community" has become a buzzword due to the result of globalization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

European Migration

European migration is appreciated in Africa as African Immigration. This means that the Europeans left the shores of their continent and came into Africa (immigration). These Europeans came to Africa because they are curious to find out if there was anything useful or resourceful in Africa. They came, searched and discovered not only natural but also human resources. Reasons for European Migration

Exploration: The motives that spur human beings to examine their environment are many. Strong among them are the satisfaction of curiosity, the pursuit of trade, the spread of religion, and the desire for security and political power. At different times and in different places, different motives are dominant. Sometimes one motive inspires the promoters of discovery, and another motive may inspire the individuals who search.

The Europeans came to discover the continent, of Africa, to find out what Africa is endowed with in terms of natural resources. They discovered many natural resources which include petroleum, gold, diamond and many others. They discovered that Africa have in abundance what they needed to develop their economies and these kept them coming.

Spread of Religion/Christianity: European countries like Great Britain, France and the Netherlands sought to educate and reform African cultures through the dissemination of Christian doctrine. European explorers viewed practices unfamiliar to them and the diverse cultures on the continent of Africa as lesser and uncivilized. Again, they view the religious practices of Africa as witchcraft and heathenism and therefore sought to convert the indigenous peoples of Africa.

Engagement in Commerce/ Trade: These Europeans discovered Africa when they were searching for trade routes that will lead them to India. They found out that there were varieties of untapped natural resources which would help them grow their economies, and then they started bringing us items like sugar, dry gin, clothes and many others in

exchange for our resources. Within the continent itself, local exchanges among adjacent peoples fit into a greater framework of long-range trade.

The merchants from Britain, France, Portugal, and the Netherlands who began trading along the Atlantic coast of Africa, therefore, encountered a well-established trading population regulated by *savvy* and experienced local rulers. European companies quickly developed mercantile ties with these indigenous powers and erected fortified “factories,” or warehouses, on coastal areas to store goods and defend their trading rights from foreign encroachment. It may therefore seem surprising that European importers found many customers for their goods among local populations in West Africa. In exchange for their wares, Europeans returned with textiles, carvings, spices, ivory, gum, and African slaves.

Slavery/ Slave trade: The Europeans later realized that Africans were willing to give away their relatives in exchange for goods and /or at any price so they also started trading on human beings. Slaves were purchased in West Africa, and shipped to the Americas to work and produce cotton etc. The cotton was then shipped to Europe and converted into textiles. The textiles were then shipped to Africa in exchange for more slaves. During the 16th century, Portuguese explorers became engaged in the African slave trade. They kidnapped Africans and forced them to work on plantations and mines in their colonies in the New World. Other European countries soon participated in the slave trade as well.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade lasted from the 1500s to the mid-1800s. Even after the slave trade had ended, European interest in Africa was still going strong. European countries saw that Africa was a continent full of vast natural resources and mineral wealth. They started nursing another plan on how to take Africa for keeping.

Colonialism: Collins English Dictionary defines Colonialism as the practice by which a powerful country directly controls less powerful countries and uses its resources to increase its power and wealth. The colonizers in Africa were mainly the European countries and the effect of this colonialism is still felt today. The main reason for colonization was for the Europeans to acquire raw materials for their industries in Europe, although they claimed that they were on a mission to civilize the Africans (Boahen 1974). The colonialists also had to take direct control of the African economy and political administration to produce the type of food required for their industrial workers back home. One of the reasons for the colonization of Africa, as we know, is that the

colonialists required additional food supply and spices for the fast-increasing urban population as a result of the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution initially came with a decline in agricultural production in Europe and as a result, it was hard for the rural areas to produce enough food for the increasing urban population. There was therefore the need for the market not only for the population of raw materials but for the food to sustain the increasing population.

The African economy before colonization was primitive and based on the barter system. Since one of the objectives of colonialism was to find a market for European manufactured goods and raw materials for the industries, there was a need for an organic linkage between the African economy and market with that of the international system controlled and directed by the colonizers. Direct control of the African economy and political administration made possible colonialism. Africa was compelled or forced to accept the international division of labour which assigned her the compulsory role of production of agricultural raw materials required by the industries in Europe. During this time, many European countries expanded their empires by aggressively establishing colonies in Africa so that they could exploit and export Africa's resources. Raw materials like rubber, timber, diamonds, and gold were found in Africa. Europeans moved further into the continent in search of raw materials and places to build successful colonies. Great Britain, France and Germany were the biggest contenders. The natives often fought against the European powers; however, they often lost because the European weapons were superior.

African Migration

Since Africa referred to as the "Mother Continent" is believed to be the oldest inhabited continent on Earth. One can rightly say that migration started from Africa because it was from there that the movement of people to discover other lands started. There are three types of migration in Africa: Movement of people within the continent (Internal); Movement of people from outside into the Continent and Movement of people out of the continent. Movement of People from Outside into the Continent: This refers to the Europeans who came to Africa. These Europeans came with diverse opinions. Some of their reasons are;

Religion: Europeans came to Africa with their religion. They converted Africans from their traditional religion and idol worshipping to Christianity through the introduction of the Bible and Churches to us.

Exploration: They came to explore and discover what Africa is endowed with. When they came, they discovered many mineral and natural resources like gold, diamond, petroleum and so many other resources which they do not have and this exploration and discovery led to exploitation.

Colonialism: Seven European countries came and divided Africa among themselves. Countries like Britain, Germany, Portugal, France, Belgium, Italy and Spain. This is so because, they were searching for new markets for their manufactured products, needed raw materials for their industries need to invest surplus capital in the less advanced regions of the world and desired to spread their western education and Christian religion to Africa.

Movement of People within the African Continent: People move from one African country to another due to some factors like political instability, religious factors and sometimes nature disasters. Some other factors are for further studies like some students from Nigeria going to Ghana for studies; Again, nomadic farmers (Fulani) from countries like Niger, Mali, etc leave their countries with their herds of cattle and flocks of sheep to other countries like Nigeria. Some others leave their countries to others for commercial purposes that is business merchandise for example many Nigerians go to South Africa, Cameroon, Ghana and so on to do business.

Movement of People out of Africa: This refers to Africans who left the African Continent for other countries of the world. This group of people can be referred to as “African Migrants”. Some of these migrants were forced to leave the continent against their will-Slavery. For most of Tropical Africa, the first extensive involvement with the outside world was through the slave trade where people were exported in return for goods. Educational purposes are one of the reasons why many young African migrate abroad. They go out to get better quality and free education just as is obtained in Canada now.

Career enhancement: people irrespective of their profession are willing to work abroad to explore new places, get better employment and be stable in life.

Population: The increased population has resulted in lesser job opportunities and lower wages.

Poverty: This is a situation where an individual household is not able to meet the basic living requirement due to low wages, unemployment, constant increase in prices of commodities and so on.

Better Health Care: Due to this singular reason that everyone has the right to good health, people most times migrate to get better and improved healthcare. For example, people normally go to India in search of improved healthcare. The reasons why people migrate from Africa to other foreign countries are very many.

Effects of African Migration in the Global Community

This African migration has not been in favour of us Africans because we suffer labour shortages in highly skilled areas such as information technology and health services and also in manufacturing and construction. For fear of rising national unemployment, many receiving countries have become more selective about the migrants they are willing to take in, preferring mainly those with skills or capital to invest.

On the other hand, developing countries view migration as offering an opportunity to reduce unemployed citizens, earn revenue through the remittance of workers' salaries and import skills, knowledge and technology through returning citizens. Demography is another effect of African migration in the sense that the population in Africa keeps increasing rapidly while in the developed countries, it is not and to keep their economies working, they need manpower which is readily available in Africa.

Solutions to These African Migration Problems

Jobs should be created in the home countries of the migrants. Most times, jobs are scarce and salaries very low obliging people to seek opportunities elsewhere. Government can stem the flow of citizens seeking to leave by creating jobs and making the region conducive for their citizens. The health care sector should be enhanced by equipping hospitals and health centres with modern medical facilities and also upgrading the salaries of health workers. Upgrading our educational sectors by making the teaching and learning environment conducive and making the welfare of teachers better. Government

should equally solve this problem of insecurity which has become the order of the day in recent times as well as put an end to ethnic and religious wars which have become rampant recently.

Conclusion

African migration has a very serious impact on the global community not minding what caused the movement. Many times, people migrate out of their own will, others are forced while others are due to circumstances. Migration should be encouraged especially when both the Source and the Receiving regions benefits from it. Whichever may be the case, African migration brings about the interaction between Africa and the World at Large.

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THE EFFECTS OF LABOUR MIGRATION AND BRAIN DRAIN SYNDROME ON HUMAN CAPITAL FORMATION IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Labour migration involves the transfer and flight of technical know-how and skills from one nation to another, to secure a better job and establish a new residence. It has consequences for the individual, the country of origin and the country of destination. Over the last decades, an increasing number of developed countries have put in place different mechanisms to encourage the immigration of only the most talented, skilled individuals from developing countries. A good example is the international visa lottery scheme. This scheme is put in place perhaps because developing countries cannot fully exploit the abilities and skills of human capital, as they do not have enough jobs to offer. Thus, Nigeria and other developing countries have become a human capital-generating machines for the developed world. It is an indisputable truism that labour migration has adverse effects ranging from social, cultural, and political to economic upon the emigrant's country. The thrust of this paper, therefore, is to examine the factors responsible for the flood of Nigerian migrants witnessed during the past couple of years. The dynamic consequences of labour migration and brain drain syndrome on human capital formation in Nigeria will be considered. Empirical studies have established the global net benefits of labour migration, but their findings are inconclusive about the impact migration has on the emigrant's country. Hence, the need for human capital formation in an emerging economy will also be addressed. Finally, the paper will offer policy recommendations to ensure immigrants' economic contribution to developing human capital.

Keywords: Nigerian Migrants, Migration, Brain Drain, Human Capital Formation, Insecurity, Corruption

Introduction

Over the last decades, an increasing number of developed countries have put in place different mechanisms to encourage the immigration of only the most talented, skilled individuals from developing countries. It is an indisputable fact that labour migration hurts the emigrant's country. According to Dunn and Mutti (2004:212), an influx of immigrants can affect welfare in the host country when it leads to congestion in the use of public goods and services, such as roads, parks and schools or greater demand for transfer payments to cover expenses of housing, food, and medical care. The net fiscal balance from immigration depends upon taxes paid versus the extra demands for services and transfers created.

According to Docquier and Marfouk (2006), 10.7 per cent of the highly skilled population who were trained in Nigeria ended up working abroad in 2006, mostly in Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. In the United States and Europe, 83 percent and 46 percent, respectively of the Nigerian immigrant population are highly skilled. On average, 64 per cent of the Nigerian emigrant population has tertiary education. In the medical field, 14 per cent of physicians who were trained in Nigeria worked abroad and, 90 per cent of whom live and work in the United States and the United Kingdom (Clemens and Petterson, 2007). There have been marked increases in the number of Nigerians. Todaro and Smith (2006:390), submitted that education plays a powerful role in the growing problem of the international migration of high-level educated workers – the so-called brain drain – from poor to rich countries. This is particularly true in the case of scientists, engineers, academics, and physicians, many thousands of whom have been trained in home country institutions at considerable social cost only to reap the benefits from and contribute to the further economic growth of the already affluent nations.

Conceptualizing Brain Drain

Brain drain' is defined as the movement of health personnel in search of a better standard of living and life quality, higher salaries, access to advanced technology and more stable political conditions in different places worldwide. According to Mba and Ekeopara

(2012), brain drain can be described as the migration of educated and skilled labour from poorer to richer countries. Education or skill, which represents an investment in human capital, is usually cheaper to acquire in poorer, labour-abundant countries since its provision is usually a labour-intensive activity. Those with the skills or education then move to developed countries where the return to their human capital is higher. Such migration is often encouraged by laws and institutional factors, as most countries look more favourably on immigration by those with skills than those without. (Pearce, 1992).

Meaning of Human Capital Formation

The term human capital formation implies the development of abilities and skills among the population of the country. To transform the liability of the huge size of the population into assets adoption of various measures for human capital formation is very much essential. According to Harbison, human capital formation indicates, “the process of acquiring and increasing the number of persons who have the skills, education and experience which are critical for the economic and the political development of the country. Human capital formation is thus associated with investment in man and his development as a creative and productive resource.” The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an intergovernmental economic organisation with 36 member countries, founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade. Some of its foundering members are the United States of America, Germany, France, Turkey, United Kingdom, Spain, Canada, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal, Greece, Belgium, Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Iceland, Luxembourg, etc. Human capital is a measure of the skills, education, capacity and attributes of labour which influence their productive capacity and earning potential. According to the OECD, human capital is defined as: “the knowledge, skills, competencies and other attributes embodied in individuals or groups of individuals acquired during their life and used to produce goods, services or ideas in market circumstances”.

Different Views on Human Capital

Theodore Schultz's “Investment in human capital” (1961) was an early proponent of the theory. He stated, “Although it is obvious that people acquire useful skills and knowledge, it is not obvious that these skills and knowledge are a form of capital, that this capital is in substantial part a product of deliberate investment”

Gary Becker's "Human Capital" (1964) in his view, human capital, is determined by education, training, and medical treatment, and is effectively a means of production. Increased human capital explains the differential of income for graduates. Human capital is also important for influencing rates of economic growth.

Howard Gardener – different types of human capital. Gardener emphasized the different types of human capital. One could increase education, but be a poor manager. A successful entrepreneur may have no education. Human capital is not one-dimensional.

Schultz/Nelson-Phelps – the ability to adapt. Human capital should be looked at from the ability to adapt. Can workers adapt to a changing labour market? A labour market which is shifting from full-time manual work in manufacturing to flexible work in the service sector.

Emigration Rate in Nigeria

The number of Nigerians living outside Nigeria more than doubled between 1990 and 2013, from 465,932 to 1,030,322. In 2013, nearly two-thirds of emigrants (61.4%) were residing in more developed regions. This is a relatively new pattern. For instance, in 1990 only 33.8 per cent of Nigerian migrants lived in more developed regions. By 2000, this had increased to 52 per cent, and a further 56.7 per cent in 2010. That increasingly more Nigerians find their way to more developed regions is a function of the employment-driven nature of Nigerian emigration. In addition, Nigerian emigration to the West is highly selective of the educated, skilled and professionals who are more likely to be attracted by the economic opportunities of more developed regions.

The diminishing numbers of Nigerians in the South region or less developed regions are related to dwindling economic realities and social upheavals in many countries. Nigerian migrants to the less developed regions of Africa and Asia are less positively selected, comprising mainly people in business, trading and construction, many of whom are short-term migrants. In recent years, there seems to be an influx into China, India and other Asian countries that hitherto had very few Nigerian citizens. Nevertheless, the number of Nigerian emigrants to these counties is still relatively low.

In 2013, 35.6 per cent of Nigerian emigrants lived in African countries; 34.2 per cent in Europe, and 26.4 per cent in North America; the rest lived in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Oceania. Nigerian migrants in African countries mostly live in West

Africa (46.2%) and Middle Africa (42%). It is hardly surprising that there were more Nigerian emigrants in West Africa given the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons. From the most preferred to the least preferred, the destinations of Nigerian emigrants within Africa are Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Benin, Ghana, Gabon, Niger, Togo and Sudan. The most preferred destinations in Europe were the United Kingdom (184,314), Italy (48,073), Spain (36,885), Germany (22,687) and Ireland (18,540).

The United States was the single most important destination of Nigerian migrants in 2013, as it had been since 1990, with 252,172 or about 25 per cent of all Nigerian emigrants. This is a clear manifestation of the superb opportunities offered by the United States concerning employment, education and training, and social and cultural identification compared with other countries in the world.

Migration in Nigeria - A Country Profile 2014 3 The number of Nigerian asylum-seekers increased sharply from 8,294 in 2006 to 10,148 in 2007 and 15,022 in 2008. European countries remain the most targeted destinations by Nigerian asylum-seekers, with Italy (5,673), Ireland (1,009), Switzerland (988), the United Kingdom (970) and Spain (808) as the most preferred destinations. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) disclosed that Nigeria had more than 17,000 asylum-seekers in Chad, Cameroon and Niger in 2013, largely due to the crisis in Nigeria's northeastern region. More than 800,000 persons were internally displaced in north-east Nigeria in 2014 as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states.

The Effects of Labour Migration and Brain Drain on Human Capital Formation in Nigeria

Labour migration and brain drain are big problems for many developing countries like Nigeria in the process of globalization. Many Nigerian students have opportunities to pursue their studies abroad. However, at the end of their programmes, many of them do not return home. Consequently, the country in general, and the institutions in particular have lost those talented citizens (Bonga and Dafiaghor, 2014). In less developed countries (LDCs), the negative effects can mainly include losing high-skilled labour and human capital to foreign labour markets, especially the "brain drain". The effects are:

- Insufficient manpower assets to mount various institutions in the country
- Loss of tax of manpower assets to the migrated country

- Loss of investment in the education of migrated manpower assets
- Loss of capital used to employ expatriates to replace migrated manpower
- Production of half-baked graduates from higher institutions
- Decline in enrolment of post-graduate students.
- High lecturer/student ratio in tertiary institutions across the nation.
- High mortality rate
- Underdevelopment of the nation
- Loss of remittance of money sent by migrated manpower to a foreign country
- High level of illiteracy

The Need for Human Capital Formation in an Emerging Economy

The building of a modern nation is based on science and technology, and to a large extent upon the development of people and the planning of human activity. Several factors account for economic growth and national development of a nation, these include human capital, natural resources, technological progress, etc. But none is more important and vital than human capital; most nations today are development oriented towards improving the lots of mankind (Okwoli, 2014). It is very difficult, if not impossible for any country and in this case Nigeria to achieve sustainable growth and development without the full mobilization and effective utilization of its human capital. As an indispensable agent of national development, the need to develop human capital is very important and urgent. Onwuka and Eguavoen (2007) adduced that this exposure to new ideas has led to remarkable growth in the size and power of firms which in turn has enhanced better utilization of productive resources and improvements in social developments. They noted, however, that the process has generated peculiar problems for underdeveloped countries, especially Nigeria. One such problem is that Nigeria can hardly produce goods and services that can withstand competition from countries with high industrialization. The cause of the problem is mainly, the absence of qualified human capital. Well-developed and qualified human capital is undoubtedly needed to step up productivity for sustainable development in Nigeria (Egbule, and Okobia, 2018).

The relevance of human capital for Nigeria can be seen from the point of view of the need to increase the proportion of skilled persons in the labour force towards the transformation of the Nigerian economy to pave the way for the industrial revolution. Developing a favourable attitude among employees towards the company will result in increased productivity (Okwoli, 2014). He asserted that investment in human capital can

improve its quality, and thereby have the same or even a more powerful effect on the production of goods and services. Concurring with the above assertion, Uwazie and Okezie cited in Mezieobi (2016) stated that human resources are indispensable assets in the provision of labour essential for the production of goods and services, bringing other factors of production such as land and capital together and exploiting them for development. The development of human capital or resources will enhance human performance and effectiveness in this regard.

The relevance of human capital also arose from the fact that there are emerging changes in the fields of production and marketing in the country. These high managerial skills and technical officers are needed in all stages of the production process; it also requires high-level skilled manpower. Hence, human capital development in Nigeria should be given the right type of planning and orientation to be able to place the country on a higher economic pedestal. In the same vein, human beings are prime members of innovations and agents of change. In support of this, Harrison (1973) posited that ideas come from people and are put to work by people. However, it is now a common belief that the key to economic growth and development in Nigeria is man. Hence, the qualities of man as a labour force have to be planned. Also, there is a need for human capital development in Nigeria to handle the problem of the integrated financial market. The global financial market tends to transmit international, regional, national and local shocks more rapidly than in the past decades. It is the case that as volumes of intermediation and currency transactions increase, global shock with its destabilizing effects increases. These problems can be tackled if the Nigerian nation employs technical manpower, through effective human capital development, that can put in place appropriate fiscal policies aimed at reducing the negative effects of this shock (Mordi, 2016).

Human capital development enhances the utilization of domestic resources for further development of the economy. The continued dependence on foreign expatriates has not only crumbled our economy but has failed to enhance the desired results and set goals. Poverty and inequality are one of the greatest setbacks to Nigeria's economic development. The increased global wealth is only concentrated in the hands of a few privileged individuals in Nigeria. To this end, Abduraheem (2003) opined that there is a decline in average income over the years in Nigeria. He noted that over three million people in Nigeria live on two or fewer dollars per day, in a world of unprecedented

wealth. The above phenomenon can be properly managed with well-developed human capital.

Related Literature on the Reasons for Labour Migration and Brain Drain in Nigeria Inadequate Infrastructure

Inadequate infrastructure also creates problems for economic growth. Basic infrastructure (health care, education, roads, water supply, energy, railway, telecommunication, etc) is essential for the maintenance of life in society. Nigeria's poor infrastructure requires that the Federal Government must spend \$ 15 billion annually for improvement so that it can be maintained to an acceptable level according to a report on the state of infrastructure by ICRC. Poor infrastructure is one of the major constraints to economic growth and development through its debilitating impact on productivity, investment inflow, competitiveness, cost of doing business and people's confidence in government and the economy (Loto and Nkaogu 2011). There is a high correlation between the availability of infrastructural services and the income levels of most economies. Barro (1996) has extended the relationship between infrastructural services such as health and economic growth. He developed a growth model including physical capital inputs, level of education, health capital and the quantity of hours indicators which raises the incentives to invest in education and a rise in health capital lowers the rate of depreciation of health, adding that there are diminishing marginal returns to investment. Grossman (1972), and Bloom (2000), explain that healthy individuals are more efficient at assimilating knowledge and in consequence, obtain higher productivity levels.

In the 1960's and 1970's, Nigeria, Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea had similar GDP per capita. But these countries have by far exceeded Nigeria in growth due to an increase in infrastructural development and total factor productivity. Ohio (2008) argued that infrastructural development is as central in terms of its importance as an ingredient of social and economic stability. He clarified this issue further by looking at how valuable an infrastructure is the World Bank estimates that every 1% spent on infrastructure will lead to an equivalent 1% increase in GDP which gives a positive correlation between infrastructure and GDP. In many parts of Nigeria, electricity is erratic and in most cases not available at all, no pipe-borne water, deplorable condition of roads, hospitals are mere consulting clinics and the educational system crumbling without any Nigeria University being among the top one thousand universities in the world. Mba (2010) stress that Government should invest in the productive sector of

the economy and minimize expenditure on things that do not add to the productive capacity of the nation. Capital investments in infrastructure are the key to economic growth because this would help reduce the cost of investment and production, generate employment and reduce the migration rate.

Corruption

Corruption is the abuse of public trust for private gain; it is outright stealing. Osoba (1996) defines corruption as benefits contrary to legal and moral norms, and which undermine the authorities, to improve the living conditions of the culprit(s). Dike (2011) observes that corruption is probably the main means of accumulating quick wealth in Nigeria. Corruption occurs in many forms, and it has contributed immensely to the poverty and misery of a large segment of the Nigerian population. An absence of corruption encourages investment and efforts to expand the pie rather than merely fight over its distribution and thus encourages growth. To this extent, improvements in governance in general and reduction of corruption, in particular, could be means to accelerate the process of development. In addition, as society grows wealthier, good governance becomes more widely demanded by the public (Todaro and Smith 2006). The high incidence of corruption has continued to attract growing interest and great concern. Bureaucratic organizations in Nigeria have no exception to this devastating syndrome. Over the past decade, most organizations, private or public, are closed down because of the worst excess of brigandage of economic form of corruption which has obstructed the normal institutional rules and regulations (Katuka and Yaro 2009).

In Nigeria, institutions have been linked seriously with corruption. The World Bank Report (1997), defined corruption as “the abuse of public power for private gains”. Political corruption takes three basic forms: embezzlement, bribery and nepotism. There are many channels through which corruption impact on economic growth. According to Ajayi (2003), corruption misallocates human talents to rent-seeking rather than productive activities. It lowers overall investment and reduces the ability to provide for the rule of law. Corruption increases the size of public investment because of the opportunities for manipulation by corrupt officials. Corruption may reduce government revenue because it comprises the government’s ability to collect taxes and tariffs. Thus, there is a negative relationship between corruption and both investment and growth. Between 1999 and 2007, the Federal Government of Nigeria claimed to have spent over

N1trillion, N204billion naira and \$16billion on integrated power supply, road construction and maintenance and still wallop in epileptic power supply and unimaginable deplorable roads (Obayelu, 2007; Mba 2010).

Mono-Product Economy

Before the discovery of oil in Nigeria in 1956, she was famous in her agrarian economy through which cash crops like palm produce, cocoa, rubber, timber, and groundnuts, were exported, thus making Nigeria a major exporter in that respect (Oloya and Egbule, 2016). Today, the above fact is history. For a one-dimensional economy like Nigeria, the implications are quite far-reaching. Nigeria is a good case study because 80% of her foreign exchange earnings come from the sale of crude oil. Its annual (federal) budget is created based on projections on oil prices and the quantity of oil sold. Unfortunately, due to the dwindling prices of oil in the global market, Nigeria is in a very pitiable state politically, economically, socially and otherwise. Other reasons include:

- Mass unemployment
- Mass poverty
- Poor pension scheme
- Poor salaries and conditions of service
- Crises (political, religious, communal, educational)
- Poor infrastructural facilities
- Poor recreational facilities
- Lack of opportunity for advancement
- Poor education facilities
- Poor health facilities
- Lack of a good rewarding system for hardworking manpower

Key Issues for Consideration/the way forward

Rather than completely blaming the developed countries and globalization for her human capital flight, Nigeria should consider the following options as remedial strategies, in order to benefit maximally from her human resources.

Technological Development and Revolution

Science and technology are twin factors that tend to revolutionize the world today. A country has to be fully integrated into the world economy to harness the benefits of such integration. She has to first embark on a serious technological revolution such that it will be able to play a significant role in the globalization process. Any nation that is not making concerted efforts at technological revolution is doing so at its peril. This understanding gave Usman (2000) cited in Ikem & Ebegha (2013) the impression that only the nations that embarked on technological revolution can effectively join the globalized world. Science and technology should be made the key to developing countries' developmental efforts and should be seen to be pursued with zeal and zest.

Quality and Functional Education

Education is a veritable tool for any developmental efforts, the world over. Quality education is the education and experience that can meet the yearning and aspirations of people. It is the outcome that encompasses knowledge, skill and attitudes and is linked to national goals of education and positive participation in society (Akporehe & Obielumani, 2013). It should be of paramount importance that the educational system in developing countries is qualitative and functional; emphasizing the development of science and technology, as well as skill acquisition (entrepreneurial education). The key infrastructure and facilities for qualitative education should be made available and the human resources should be well-trained to competently handle them, such that developing countries' products are highly competitive in the international arena.

Free Competitive Economy

Developing countries also have to adopt a free competitive economy. They have to transition from a government regulated market to a free competitive economy; liberalizing its economy for foreign investors. Capitalist economy (competitiveness) is known all over the world as the economic policy that creates wealth and promotes real growth as production is geared towards profit making.

Reform of Domestic Finance

Nigeria should endeavour to reform its domestic financing to make it strong and capable of supporting its nation's economic growth. A strong financial base is necessary for industrial development. It also guarantees both short-term, medium-term and long-term investments. In Nigeria, for instance, the bank reforms, leading to mergers and acquisitions are geared towards this goal, as they will have the capacity to finance viable capital projects that will improve the national economy. Against this backdrop, the researcher recommends restructuring the countries' economies in order to minimize the negative effects of globalization and harness its benefits.

Diversification of the Economy

For a very long time, Nigeria, for instance, has completely depended on revenue from crude oil (a one-time agrarian economy). There was total neglect of other sectors of the economy. This has put a serious strain on the revenue from crude oil. Diversification of the national economy, therefore, is the only antidote to economic growth and development. The approach has been used by the Asian Tigers to achieve success, as they now emerged as the New Industrialized Countries of the world. Developing countries like Nigeria should divert their interest, especially to agricultural products such as cash crops and animal products, as well as solid mineral exploration. It can be unequivocally asserted that Nigeria's development impotence cannot be solely attributed to colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism as often perceptively advanced by scholars of radical persuasion; but also its weak domestic economic structure. There is therefore the necessity for developing countries to diversify their economic base to confront the challenges of the contemporary globalization process and remain relevant in the scheme of world events.

Provision of a Conducive Working Environment

Based on the premise that an unsatisfactory working environment, owing largely to dilapidated and obsolete facilities, was and is still partly responsible for human capital flight in Nigeria, it is suggested that urgent and massive overhaul of facilities especially in the universities, hospitals and research centres be undertaken. In the view of Ekundayo et al (2010), apart from the physical working environment, there is also a compelling need to make the psycho-social environment conducive. In this regard, there should be proper appreciation and recognition for intellectual and professional worth. Also, the

Nigerian government should address and review all the various policies that have triggered the migration stream of intellectuals from universities, and other professionals like doctors, pharmacists, nurses, engineers, etc, from the country.

Foreign Investment

The Nigerian government have to attract foreign investments both wholly and in partnership with indigenous entrepreneurs in the areas of construction, power generation, oil refining, real estate development, telecommunications, and gas station infrastructural provision. In concrete terms, foreign investment has been quite staggering. Globalization and indeed its neo-liberalist expansionism in the African space have opened up a wide economic movement and multi-national labour market orientations (Nwankwo & Ofozoba, 2016).

Improved Human Resources

The governments of Nigeria should develop their human resources to meet up with the knowledge requirements of the globalization process. Most developing countries have a large chunk of human resources ready to be utilized by foreign firms. Their human resources should be properly developed so that they can contribute and participate in national and international economic activities. In the education sector, for instance, the governments of developing countries should sponsor teachers to attend conferences and seminars both locally and internationally – this will help to update their knowledge on current global issues, especially the application of ICT in the teaching-learning process.

Efficient and Effective Economic Management

No country is poor as far as the distribution of natural resources is concerned. I believe the main challenge of developing countries is the mismanagement of available resources, both natural and human, as well as money politics. Hence, they should pursue efficient and effective economic management of their resources to raise the people's standard of living and overall economic development of the nations. The resources of the nations should not be wasted through high-level corruption, ethnic sentiment, self-centredness and embezzlement.

Advancement in Research

Research is a careful search and systematic investigation towards increasing the sum of knowledge. It is the most important tool for advancing knowledge and relevant skills. Knowledge induces productivity. Without advances in research, human capital development will be at a standstill. Research cannot be divorced from human capital and economic development. Education through quality research is needed to produce knowledge innovations and entrepreneurial skills to achieve overall development. There is ample evidence to show that research and education (especially higher education) has contributed to the rise and expansion of the world knowledge-based economy. In addition, investment in and joint publications of research work with international schools should be encouraged.

Conclusion

I examined the relationship between the migration rate of skilled workers, brain drain and human capital formation in Nigeria. Since the beginning of creation, humans have always involved themselves in movement activities. It has been a major occurrence in the history of Africa and the entire globe generally.

Migration can have a range of social, cultural, political and economic effects. It involves the transfer and flight of technical know-how and skills and financial assets from one location to another. Migration also has consequences for the individual, the area of origin and the area of destination. Nigeria cannot achieve long-term economic development by exporting its natural resources. The professionals that are emigrating out of Nigeria include those with technical expertise, entrepreneurial and managerial skills and in the new world order; economic growth and development are driven by people with knowledge. It is the most talented citizens that should lead the people to create wealth and eradicate poverty. Hence their absence increases the endemic corruption and makes it easier for the looters to continue in the act. If revered to brain gain will enhance economic growth in Nigeria.

Recommendations

To reverse the brain drain and boost economic growth, the Nigerian government should create a conducive environment for investment that will ensure employment opportunities

and reduce poverty. It should also put in place a good institutional framework, and maintain zero tolerance for corruption. It must provide the much-needed infrastructures such as a good health care system, good roads and transportation systems, affordable and functional education, water supply, security, stable energy and telecommunication (ICT) facilities. These essential ingredients make life worth living.

Most Nigerian government officials use taxpayers' money to travel abroad for routine medical check-ups. Banning this practice would force the government to bring back medical doctors of Nigerian origin that emigrated to Europe and America. Corruption and money laundering should attract capital punishment, and the recovered funds should be invested in the real sector and not the money market for the benefit of all citizens. Capital (human and knowledge) and labour (skill) are the major prerequisite for growth and constitute the brain drain in developed countries.

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ADDRESSING MARGINALISATION AND POLITICAL INJUSTICE: THE CASE FOR ROTATIONAL PRESIDENCY IN NIGERIA"

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Abstract

This study critically examined the contentious notion of 'rotational presidency in Nigeria'. While some proponents argue that the competence of presidents should be considered against their regional origin, others contend that such a stance may have misleading consequences. Notably, since the 60-year-old existence of Nigerian as a Republic, the Northern region has produced more presidents and dominated national leadership for 40 years, raising concerns about whether the best is only found therein. The study employed a time series research design and documentary method to collect both qualitative and quantitative data from secondary sources. Using the content method of analyses, the work addressed and redressed the impacts of marginalisation and political injustice on Nigeria's democracy. This research, therefore, advocates for the rotation of the presidency among all geopolitical zones of Nigeria to foster equity and fairness and also to exploit diverse leadership qualities to necessitate Nigeria's socio-economic and political development. The study concludes that ensuring a balanced representation in the nation's apex office will reduce political violence, address ethnoreligious agitations, and ultimately contribute to the stability and prosperity of Nigeria's often troubled democracy.

Keywords: Rotational Presidency, Nigeria, Marginalisation, Political Injustice.

Introduction

A chequered history has characterised Nigerian politics. After going through British Rule from 1861 to 1960, the young nation adopted a federal system of government and its attendant parliamentarism, through which Sir Abubarkar Tafewa Balewa became the first prime minister. This birthed the first federal republic in 1963, leading to Dr Nnamdi Azikwe's ceremonial presidency. However, Nigeria surprisingly started to experience ethnic tensions and political instability in its infancy, resulting in several bloody and bloodless military coups. The significant but failed Biafran secession from Nigeria during the civil war that lasted from 1967-1970 during the reign of Major General Yakubu Gowon is a proof of the country's democratic nightmare and still leaves an imprint in the current polity of Nigeria.

There were several attempts to reinstate a democratic government which punctuated the military regimes. Of all, the Obasanjo-Shagari military-civilian transition succeeded first but was truncated by another military coup led by General Muhammadu Buhari in December 1983. The nation underwent several other military coups, rules, and reforms, however, none of them was able to place the country in its desired sustainable political trajectory, not until 1999 when Gen Abdulsallami Abubakar eventually handed the government over to President Olusegun Obasanjo for a sustainable civilian rule. Following the political history of Nigeria, the need for political stability, equity and fair play cannot be overemphasised.

As Obi 2017 opins, the issue of ethnicity and religiosity are found to be the topmost cause of Nigeria's political inequality and instability and they are rooted in Nigeria's history, culture, and political institutions. As a multi-ethnic nation, political equity and justice are crucial for Nigeria's progress, social harmony, economic development, and democratic consolidation (Adelana, 2022). The foundation for inclusive governance, economic growth, and positive international relations, which are crucial for the well-being and prosperity of any nation and its citizenry are lacking in 21st-century Nigeria. Hence, this paper examines the role of rotational presidency in addressing the problems of marginalisation and political injustice.

Research Design and Methodology

The study employed a time series research design to analyse political trends. It utilised a qualitative approach and collected data through the documentary method. Secondary data were obtained from textbooks, journals, conference papers and internet resources. The study adopted content analysis and systematic logical induction to analyse the collected data.

Conceptual Clarifications: Rotational Presidency, Marginalisation and Political Injustice:

1. Rotational presidency is a system of government in which the office of the president is rotated between different regions or ethnic groups. This system is often used in countries with a history of ethnic or regional conflict, as it can help to promote peace and stability by ensuring that all groups have a fair share of power.
2. Marginalisation is the social exclusion of individuals or groups from full participation in society. This can be due to a variety of factors, including race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, disability, or socioeconomic status. Marginalised groups are often denied access to resources and opportunities, and they may experience discrimination and violence. They may also be stigmatised and stereotyped.
3. Political Injustice is a concept that refers to the unfair and unequal distribution of political power and influence. It is often contrasted with political equality, which simply means that all citizens have the same legal rights and opportunities to participate in the political process.

Conceptual Framework

Rotational Presidency

As described by Hartzel and Hoddie (2003), a political power-sharing agreement mandates or facilitates the participation of a broad set of decision-makers in government. The parties to such agreements are usually ethnic groups, political parties, armed forces, or other organisations representing social groups with opposing interests (Hartzell and Hoddie 2003, 2007). Power Sharing aims to ensure that no groups, and ideally no citizens, suffer policies that are seriously detrimental to their interests.

The two basic principles of rotational presidency are equity and fairness. The principle of equity preaches that all regions or ethnic groups should have an equal opportunity to hold the office of president by rotating the presidency between different regions or ethnic groups, or by setting quotas for the number of presidents from each region or ethnic group. The principle of fairness means that the best candidate for the presidency should be elected. This can be achieved by using a fair electoral system, such as a single transferable vote system, which allows voters to rank their preferences for candidates.

Marginalisation and Political Injustice

According to Causadias and Taylor (2018), marginalisation is a multifaceted, dynamic, context-dependent, and diversified web of processes that has probabilistic implications for development, is anchored in power imbalance, and is systematically targeted at particular groups and individuals.

Political injustice, on the other hand, is the denial of political rights to individuals or groups. Among them are the freedoms to vote, hold public office, and take part in political activities. According to Gaus and Shoelandt 2018, political injustice stems from marginalizations inherent in political institutions and for societies to quell such, members of top political bodies must, in tandem with the social contract theory, seek terms with which all can live, albeit such terms may not be their most preferred possibility (Van Schoelandt and Gaus 2018).

Marginalisation and political injustice are often interconnected. For example, marginalised groups are often denied political representation, which can make it difficult for them to advocate for their respective interests. This can lead to further marginalisation, as these groups are unable to participate in the political process and have their voices heard. The consequences of marginalisation and political injustice in a given society include but are not limited to increased poverty and inequality, reduced access to social amenities, increased crime and violence, social unrest and total instability.

Historical Overview of Nigeria's Political System

The political system in Nigeria has evolved since its independence from the colonial rule of Great Britain on October 1, 1960. The first republic existed from 1960-1966 when

Nigeria eagerly embraced its new status as a parliamentary democracy with a post-independent structure of federalism. Before independence, the country witnessed the rise of prominent political parties such as the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), led by Nnamdi Azikiwe, the Northern People's Congress (NPC), led by Sir Ahmadu Bello; and the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo; In this era, some ethnic inclinations already began to crystallise. However, they made concerted efforts that fostered the Nigerian independence of 1960 through agitations by labour movements and cultural organisations.

After gaining independence, a federal structure was constituted in 1963 that led Nigeria to being a republic for the first time. However, the First Republic faced challenges like ethnic and regional tensions, corruption, and political instability, which eventually led to a military coup in 1966. (Onwuatuegwu, 2020).

Following the coup, Nigeria experienced a tumultuous period marked by a series of military coups and counter-coups. Major General Yakubu Gowon assumed power and led the country through the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), which aimed to address the secessionist aspirations of the southeastern region (Biafra). After the war, General Gowon initiated plans to transition Nigeria back to civilian rule but was overthrown in 1975 by General Murtala Ramat Mohammed. However, his tenure was short-lived as he was assassinated the following year, leading to General Olusegun Obasanjo taking charge and overseeing the transition to civilian rule.

The Second Republic began in 1979 with the adoption of a new constitution and the return to civilian rule. During this period, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), led by President Shehu Shagari, held significant sway in the political landscape. However, economic challenges, corruption, and political unrest plagued the era, culminating in another military coup in 1983.

The military once again assumed power in 1983 through a coup led by General Muhammadu Buhari. Nigeria witnessed a series of military governments, with frequent leadership changes, as the nation grappled with its challenges. General Ibrahim Babangida came to power in 1985 and introduced a transition program aimed at returning Nigeria to civilian rule. This process faced a major setback when the presidential elections held on June 12, 1993, were controversially annulled. General Sani Abacha

took power in 1993 and ruled until he died in 1998, paving the way for the eventual return to civilian rule.

The Fourth Republic dawned in 1999 when Olusegun Obasanjo, a former military head of state, was elected as President under the banner of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). This marked Nigeria's triumphant return to democracy after years of military rule. Since then, Nigeria has witnessed the rotation of power between different political parties and presidents. The political system follows a presidential model, featuring a multi-party system and periodic elections at the federal, state, and local levels.

Rotational Presidency, Marginalisation and Injustice in Nigerian Politics

During the tenure of the late Gen. Sani Abacha, the Rotational Presidency concept was first established in Nigeria through a National Constitutional Convention held in 1995. At the conference, it was decided to divide the country into six geo-political zones and to fill national political positions through a rotation system that would ensure equal representation from each zone. This rotational principle was meant to be included in the Draft Constitution and applied across all levels of government, with a provision for a transitional period lasting 30 years (Njoku, 2005). However, this plan did not see the daylight as obviously, it is absent in the 1999 constitution.

Furthermore, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC), Nigeria's two most powerful political parties, are committed to justice, equity, and fairness in their respective constitutions. According to Okwudiri and Ugwuera (2014), the policy of rotation and zoning was enshrined in the PDP constitution (Article 7.2 (c)) but had various lacunae that made it vulnerable to manipulations by the party's executive and zoning committees, respectively. Hence, the idea of zoning was not once again effectively practised during the sixteen-year rule of the PDP let alone being sustained in the nation's politics. In the same vein, Article 20 (e) of the APC constitution clearly states:

“Without prejudice to Article 20(u) and (iii) of this Constitution, the National Working Committee shall subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee make Rules and Regulations for the nomination of Candidates through primary elections, All such Rules, Regulations and Guidelines shall take into consideration and uphold the principle of Federal Character, gender balance, geo-

political spread and rotation of offices, to as much as possible ensure balance within the Constituency covered” (APC Constitution, Article 20 {e})

Just as in the case of PDP, the constitution did not make clear provisions on the modalities of enforcing the rule, subjecting it further to manipulations and misinterpretations. From the purview, it is obvious that the principle of rotational presidency or zoning, as seen by major Nigerian political institutions, is only a charade used by political elites and is robbed of its earlier stated principles which are equity, justice and fairness. To underscore this, the political marginalisation of some geopolitical zones is glaring in the post-independent and post-military regimes of the Nigerian government as contained in Tables 1.1 and 1.2.

Table 1.1: Geopolitical Zones of Nigeria's Presidents from 1963 to 1999

S/N	Geopolitical Zone	Tenure (years)
1	North-West	11
2	South-West	4
3	North-Central	18
4	South-East	199 days

Source: Wikipedia ("List of heads of state of Nigeria", 2023)

Table 1.2: Geopolitical Zones of Nigeria's Presidents from 1999 to 2022

S/N	Geopolitical Zone	Tenure (years)
1	South-West	8
2	North-West	11
3	South-South	6

Source: Wikipedia ("List of heads of state of Nigeria", 2023)

From the tables 1.1 and 1.2 above, the Northern zones of the country had held national leadership for a total of 40 years out of the 60 years that Nigeria had existed as a republic. Breaking the figures down, the Northwestern zone has ruled more than any other for 22 years, both in the military and civilian regimes (Murtala Mohammed, Shehu Shagari, Sani Abacha and Muhammadu Buhari). Their runner-up, the Northcentral zone dominated the military regime with a total of an 18-year rule (Yakubu Gowon, Ibrahim Babangida, and Abdulsalami Abubakar). Third position Southwest had had their fair share of a total 12-year rule (Olusegun Obasanjo's double tenures both as a General and a civilian and the few months of Chief Ernest Shonekan). At present, they have another potential 4-year addition if the incumbent president Bola Ahmed Tinubu completes his tenure. The South-south managed to clinch the fourth position through the 6-year reign of Goodluck Jonathan. The Southeastern part only got a glimpse of the apex position through Gen Aguiyi's Ironsi's short military regime. Note that the ceremonial leadership of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (Southeast), ran concurrently with the Prime Ministership of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (Northeast) from 1963-1966. Therefore, the Southeast and Northeast zones of the country have fallen through the cracks in Nigerian apex leadership, raising the national question of whether they are no longer part of Nigeria. Little wonder, disruptive agitations sprout from the last three zones stated above. According to a study conducted by Olaiya et al (2014), over 70% of the legislators out of a sample size of 150 believe that without the zoning principle, there is a potential for the government apparatus to be manipulated by a particular ethnic group and therefore

support the zoning principle as a means to resolve these contentions and establish a lasting peace. In support, Akinola (1996) cited in Ambali and Mohammed (2016) argue that since 1960, the main source of conflict in the Nigerian polity has been several failed attempts by the country to base its democracy on foreign political systems instead of seeking a system of governance best applicable to its unique multi-ethnic, religious and cultural state.

A glimmer of hope came when the 1995 National Constitutional Conference tried to change this status quo by adopting a rotational presidency. It seemed a practical solution to address the contention since it reduced concerns about ethnic dominance in the presidency. However, the absence of the rotation principle in the Nigerian Constitution left it devoid of long-term sustainability. Fast forward to 2023, the internal PDP and APC architecture of zoning was jettisoned in 2022, when the parties decided to throw the presidential ticket open in their primary elections, after practising the same for years, buttressing the point that is only tool used when it seemed favourable and not according to the rule of law. Thus, Akinola et al (1996) asserted that the absence of power rotation in the Nigerian constitution and the inadequate adherence to the principle of rotation by political parties significantly contribute to political violence, instability, and the underdevelopment of Nigeria.

Some authors criticise rotating the presidency among geopolitical zones because they believe it may lead to conflict among states of a zone over which state produces candidates. Olugbade (1992: 320) also expressed concerns about introducing further problems into the country's federation through zoning. On the other hand, some suggest that instead of implementing zoning, the focus should be on empowering the marginalised people of Nigeria economically and politically for development (Abubakar, 1998: 173). In relation, Adelana (2022) suggests that power rotation, regime change, or power shifts based on geopolitical or ethno-religious considerations may not effectively address the challenges of insecurity and secession agitations in Nigeria. He explores the concept of political power rotation in Nigeria's fourth republic and its relationship with security and integration challenges and argues that while power rotation is believed to promote fairness and mitigate fears of majority tyranny, the focus should shift towards cultivating good leadership qualities such as vision, integrity, and the ability to unite people. The study emphasises that Nigeria needs improved security, lasting peace, ethno-religious harmony, nation-building, and democratic sustainability. It suggests that the real problem lies not in the ethnic or regional origin of the President but in the inter-class

conflicts for control of state power. Ultimately, it highlights the importance of practising good governance and transcending regional divisions for Nigeria's progress and socio-political stability.

Having evaluated the arguments of various authors who are for and against the principle of presidential power rotation, this research deduces that while the minority of authors in the discourse posit that rotational presidency is not the solution to, or may exacerbate Nigeria's problems of inequity and marginalisation, the majority agree that it is a panacea for peace, justice, equity, good governance and development, recommending that it should be enshrined in the constitution. However, little or no further studies have delved into the intricacies of what the policy should contain. Considering the negligence and calculated manipulations of the power rotation proposition by the major political parties, even though it is contained in their constitutions, this work contends that the mere constitutionalisation of rotational presidency is inadequate to address the problems of marginalisation and political injustice in the country. Hence, the relevance of this research.

Some Ethnic and Regional Agitations in Nigeria:

The marginalisation and political injustice as x-rayed in the analysis above have orchestrated significant and seemingly intractable ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria since it attained independence in 1960. The most notable conflict was the Nigerian-Biafran war which according to Onwuatuegwu (2020) has remained a dark point in the history of human civilization in Nigeria and Africa, leaving a death toll of over 2,000,000 (Onuoha, 2016). The impact of other prominent regional conflicts, involving various separatist and militant groups, influenced the country's political stability are evaluated below:

1. Movement for Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) (2004-2014)

The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) was one of the largest militia organisations in Nigeria formed in 2004, operating in the oil-rich Niger Delta region. Economic inequalities in Nigeria are believed to contribute to the rise of the group. Its focus on attacking oil infrastructure, exploiting and oppressing civilians, and causing environmental devastation is because of partnerships between corporations and the Nigerian government. Primarily composed of Ijaw members, MEND disrupted the

activities of international oil firms and the Nigerian government, citing economic disparities, environmental degradation, and fraud in the Niger Delta as their reasons. They employed various strategies such as armed assaults, kidnapping, murder, pipeline destruction, and oil theft. MEND utilised swarm-based manoeuvres, speed boats in swamps to attack the government's defences. Their objectives include localising oil control and seeking reparations from the government due to environmental degradation resulting from the oil industry activities in the region. The group's activities, including guerrilla warfare, sabotage, theft, kidnapping, and property destruction, posed a regional threat in the Niger Delta and throughout Nigeria.

2. Niger Delta Avengers (2016-present):

The Niger Delta Avengers emerged in 2016 as a militant group operating in the Niger Delta region. Their activities of bombing pipelines, oil infrastructure, and wells had severe consequences for the region and the nation. Moreover, it negatively impacted the revenue generated by the states in the region. The state's share of the 13 per cent derivation is determined by the amount of oil they produce. The militants' actions, coupled with the decline in global oil prices, resulted in a reduction in oil production and subsequently affected the states' budgets, leading to a shortage of funds for the provision of social amenities. According to Governor Okowa of Delta State (Onabu & Iroegbu, 2016), the region is suffering financially, environmentally, and economically due to the pipeline bombing by the Niger Delta militants. The group was targeting oil pipelines and other crucial infrastructure, costing the central government N1.3 billion (\$6.72 million) every day and making it difficult to implement the 2016 budget of N6.07 trillion (Eziukwu, 2016). The group's actions have also had an effect on marine security in the Gulf of Guinea, leading to an upsurge in pirate attacks coming from the Niger Delta area. In the Gulf of Guinea, criminal gangs from Nigeria that operate in the Niger Delta are involved in 70% of piracy-related crimes. Nine of the 12 attacks that were reported in the Gulf of Guinea during the first quarter of 2016 originated in Nigeria (Onuoha, 2016). The Niger Delta insurgents' activities also had an impact on Nigeria's ability to produce electricity. Electricity output has decreased as a result of the bombing of gas pipelines that deliver gas to power plants, with capacity falling from roughly 4,800 megawatts in August 2015 to 1,000 megawatts in May 2016. (Onuoha, 2016). The nation's economy's productivity and service delivery have suffered as a result of this downturn.

3. Boko Haram (early 2000s-present):

Boko Haram, also known as Jama'atul Ahlus Sunnah Lidda'wati wal Jihad, began as a small-scale Islamic movement in Maiduguri, Borno State, about 2002, with a concentration primarily on preaching and almsgiving. The Nigerian government's crackdown on the group's adherents, which resulted in Muhammad Yusuf's death as their spiritual and political leader, however, marked a dramatic change in the group's operations in 2009. Around 13,000 people were killed by Boko Haram between 2009 and 2015. The gang has intensified its attacks against law enforcement officers, governmental agencies, educational facilities, mosques, and the general populace. The kidnapping of 250 schoolgirls in Chibok in April 2014 was one prominent occurrence. The group's menace undermines Nigeria's ability to function as a cohesive political entity. The sect leader declared the territory under their control to be a new Islamic Caliphate in August 2014, with stringent Sharia laws in place. (Shuaibu et al, 2015).

4. Indigenous People of Biafra IPOB (2015 - Present):

The 2012-founded IPOB, which replaced MASSOB, has also contributed to the instability of Nigerian politics. Protests, run-ins with the police, and disruptions of public events have resulted from the group's pro-Biafran separatist ideology, especially in the southeast. As a result of several military crackdowns on IPOB activities in the country's southeast between 2015 and 2017, there were numerous reports of protestors being killed during various protests at Owerri, Aba, Asaba, and Port Harcourt (Johnson and Olaniyan, 2017). After then, the group started fighting against Nigerian security forces. The arrest and arraignment of the Igbo separatist group's leader Maazi Nnamdi Kanu by the federal government on about 15 counts, including terrorism and treasonable crime, increased the commotion the group was causing. For instance, a compulsory Monday sit-at-home policy, a disguised curfew, has been enforced by the non-state group in the Southeastern states of the country since July 2021 and defaulters severely punished. This civil unrest has claimed many lives and properties of innocent easterners and is almost coming to stay in the region since the demands of the group are not yet met.

Table 1.3: Summary of major ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria

S/N	Agitation or Conflict	Start Date	End Date	Duration (years)
1	MEND	2004	2014	10
2	Niger Delta Avengers	2016	Present	7
3	Boko Haram insurgency	2002	Present	21
4	IPOB protests	2015	Present	8

Source: Wikipedia

From table 1.3, it is clear that some agitations spiked at the advent of former President Muhammadu Buhari's tenure in 2015. This points to the fact that agitations for self-independence either by governance or resource control were rekindled in some quarters of the country during this period, buttressing their marginalisation and leading to political instability. In line with this, Terwase (2016) opined that the proliferation of secessionist groups during Buhari's regime is tightly connected with the truncation of the zoning formula earlier adopted by the People's Democratic Party, through which their past

administrations ensured a balanced occupation of the executive and legislative arms of government by candidates from the major ethnic groups of Nigeria.

Through an empirical analyses of the agitations of the above-mentioned groups and their implications on peace and political stability, one can easily deduce that each tends to fight for the rights of people from one or more of the six major geopolitical zones of the country, maintaining an ethnic or religious inclination. Also, they have been pivotal in disrupting political stability in Nigeria at various points in the nation's history. MEND, Niger Delta Avengers, Boko Haram insurgency, and IPOB movements with their concomitant conflicts, fueled by ethno-religious tensions, secessionist aspirations, and political grievances, underscore the point that there have been severe marginalisations of some ethnic minorities in the Nigerian polity, hence the pockets of grievances from such regions. Olaiya et al (2014) support this proposition that ethnic conflicts have negatively impacted the country's democracy in the past.

Conclusion

Against this backdrop, the various challenges to the Implementation of the rotational presidency have been appraised. In contrast to the arguments by various authors concerning the workability of the rotational presidency in addressing marginalisation and political injustice for the peace and progress of Nigeria, this paper asserts that the principle of rotational presidency remains a formidable solution to the problems in question. Criticism that the principle would not address the Nigerian question is too close to call. Above all, this paper affirms that the loopholes that shroud the idea are the reasons why the principle may seem ineffective. If properly addressed in line with the principles of equity, justice and fairness, and enshrined in the constitution with an explicit successive plan and strict enforcement, the issue of marginalisation will be completely addressed and the nation will once again enjoy stability, peace, and a rapid socio-economic and political development. Hence the solution to the Nigerian question transcends above factoring it into the constitution to defining the practical guidelines to be followed.

Recommendation

The study therefore recommends that federal governments should set up an all-encompassing committee to address the issue, that would marshal out in clear detail how

rotational presidency should be coded into the constitution, practised and sustained. The committee should comprise stakeholders from all the ethnic groups and religious affiliations of the country, including youth forums and women's social groups. The deliberations and proceedings of such would be representative of popular opinions and would address the problems of marginalisation and political injustice in Nigeria.

Suggestions for Further Studies

The study takes into account the proliferation of agitations and separatist groups in the country. The four selected for the study are only sample size from the whole and the most prominent in terms of disrupting political stability in the country. Also, a cursory look at this work shows apparent loopholes for exploitation, especially for critical minds on the aspect of the possibility of the implementation of the recommendations therein. However, the nature of research is such that it is never ended; hence from the academic point of view and from research, propositions have been made. It therefore becomes the preoccupation of the policymakers to see to the implementations if objectively, these recommendations can ameliorate Nigerian political squabbles and tension. However for those who genuinely feel that more need to be done especially on the aspect praxis of implementation and not just theory, the research goes on.

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ABOUT THE BOOK

POLITICS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

The 2023 Annual Conference of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies was held at the University of Nigeria Nsukka. It focused on the relationship between Africa and the global community and aimed at retelling the African story in a unique African manner. This is very important as the African continent has been presented and described in the global space, most times negatively and by non-Africans. This APAS conference, therefore, told the story of Africa from within Africa and in rare African voices - to counter erroneous ideas and projections about Africa. The Conference brought together progressive visionaries from across the continent to reflect critically and discuss theoretical and empirical perspectives on African landmark achievements, setbacks and future developments. The multidisciplinary conference facilitated conversations across a broad spectrum of disciplines and generated robust engagements. This enabled the forging of ambitious but concrete paths that will catalyse Africa's prosperity.

The present work on *Politics And Economic Development In Africa* is a collection of papers presented at the conference bordering on politics and economic development. Through this piece, the Conference shares the fruits of her research with the rest of the academic community.



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