

SOME SELECTED GOVERNANCE ISSUES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

A FESTSCHRIFT IN HONOUR OF LATE PROFESSOR A.E. DAVIES

VOLUME II

Editors
Emmanuel O. Ojo, Ph.D.
Luqman Saka, Ph.D.
Abdulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.

SOME SELECTED GOVERNANCE ISSUES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

A FESTSCHRIFT IN HONOUR OF

LATE PROFESSOR A.E. DAVIES

VOLUME II

Editors

Emmanuel O. Ojo, Ph.D.
Luqman Saka, Ph.D.
Abdulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.

© Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria 2020.

All rights reserved
No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form, or by any means i.e. electronics mechanical devices, electrostatic gadgets, magnetic tape, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the express written permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN: 978-978-574-213-8

Designed and Published by
College Press
Lead City University
3, Baale Mosaderin Road
Jericho G.R.A., Ibadan.
08036694838, 08022900793
E-mail: collegepress100@gmail.com

Foreword

Based on the renewed emphasis of donor agencies in underscoring the relationship that exists between governance and development, there has been a heightened level of concern for the governance environment in Nigeria. This has underscored the series of appraisals that have been carried out in determining the impact level of the democratic order after twenty years of its return. In the literature, scholars, policy makers, activists and Civil Society Organisations have all stepped up their engagement of governance issues in the country to the extent that none of its concerns or aspects has escaped the scrutiny of these critical stakeholders. Aspects such as the rule of law, separation of powers, legislature, economic management, infrastructural development and others have attracted the sustained interest of Nigerians and their foreign friends.

On the issue of rule of law, there are people who believe that the democratic order in the country needs to do more work in order to improve its image on this score. Both the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) and a section of the judiciary have frowned at the idea of subjugating the rule of law to the dictates of national security, leading the Punch Newspapers in Nigeria to symbolically brought back the military title of the Nigerian president (Muhammadu Buhari) in reflecting what the newspaper believes reflects the little respect that his administration has for the of rule of law. The spate of insecurity in the country is very alarming with herders-farmers conflicts, Boko Haram insurgency, kidnapping, among others, are showing no signs of abating. While the Federal Government under the leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari believes that it has brought the insecurity situation under control, there are Nigerians who still believe that the government is not doing enough to guarantee life and properties of Nigerians.

No doubt, the country since the return to democracy in 1999 has declared war on corruption with many court sentences secured and humongous amounts of money recovered from Nigerians with itching fingers. Notwithstanding, the war against corruption remains a contentious issue which the nation has to do

more in re-invigorating. There are some other issues that have been covered in the book especially in the sphere of external relations which I believe would be of interest to reader. I therefore recommend the book for its bold effort at examining some critical governance and external relations' issues that have cropped up in the first twenty years of the Fourth Republic in Nigeria. May the soul of Professor A.E Davies in whose honour the book has been published, rest in perfect peace.

Professor Hassan A. Saliu
Department of Political Science
University of Ilorin, Ilorin
February, 2020

Acknowledgments

All praises and adoration are to God, the Almighty for His blessings on the staff of the Department of Political Science, and the entire Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ilorin. The initiative for the publication of this book, the second in a two volume series to honour the memory of the late Professor Arthur Ebunoluwa Davies emanated from a discussion with Professor Hassan A. Saliu and Dr. F. A. Aremu. The late Professor A.E. Davies in whose memory this book was published joined the service of the University of Ilorin as a lecturer in the Department of Political Science in 1984, attained the professorial position in 1995, and retired from the service of the university in 2017. Professor A.E. Davies passed on in April 15th, 2018. We pray unto the Lord to grant his soul eternal rest. In bringing forth this volume, sincere appreciation is due to academic members in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin for their support for the realisation of the publication of this book. In particular, the efforts of Professor H.A. Saliu and Dr. F.A. Aremu is highly appreciated. Drs. A.R. Bakare and O.M. Adebiyi efforts in effecting corrections after the copy editing and proof reading are highly appreciated too. The editors also offered their sincere appreciation and thanks to the editorial desk at College Press, Lead City University, Ibadan and Prof A. Abubakar of the Department of English, University of Ilorin, for his assistance in proof-reading the edited manuscripts. We sincerely appreciate the commitment, timeliness and steadfastness of all the chapter-contributors. Once again, the editors sincerely appreciate the staff of the Department for their support and contributions to the success of the book project.

Luqman SAKA, Ph.D.
Acting Head of Department
February, 2020

Preface

Since attaining independence, Nigeria has being confronted with mirage of governance issues. The immediate post-independent crises of development, was largely underpinned by issues pertaining to governance and leadership failure. It manifested in inter-ethnic rivalry and suspicion, poor state of the economy, lack of proper understanding of the parliamentary system, and the restiveness of the military that eventually terminated the life of the First Republic in Nigeria. Shortly afterward, Nigeria under the military wage a thirty months civil war with devastating consequences. In 1970, the war came to an end with the surrender of the Biafran troops. Nigeria, no doubt has been facing some challenges with respect to its governance system, as there were governance issues or problems under the military and civilian administrations. These has not excluded the Fourth Republic which people had thought would serve as a kind of magical wand that would totally eliminate all debilitating conditions that retarded Nigeria's rapid development and usher the country into a new governance era that would be symbolise by a strong chord that would connect the government with the people. Problem such as corruption and the war against it, the continued existence of the local government councils and their democratic credentials, the role of traditional institution in governance process, the war against terrorism and the overall climate of Nigeria's external relations have continued to be topical issues that are been discussed under the current Republic in Nigeria.

One observes in this connection the areas of academic engagement of the late Professor A.E. Davies in whose honour this book has been published revolves around the topical issues that have been raised in this book. He was known to have contributed on corruption, electoral matters, local government administration, and Nigeria external relations, among others. This book, the second in a two volume series contains eleven chapters. Chapter one contributed by Dr. J.O. Olaniyi, Dr. O.M. Adebiyi and Mr. T.A. Awotunde engages in a critical discussion of some selected issues that bother on the governing process in Nigeria. Chapter

two is contributed by Drs. I.A. Aladegbola and A.O. Olaniyan examines the response of the state to corruption cases in the country. Chapter three which is on the anti-graft war of the Nigerian state is written by Dr. E.O. Ojo. Chapter four contributed by Dr. J.O. Olaniyi focuses on the connection between good governance, public policy and industrial relations in the nation. Chapter five by Professor O.L. Ovwasa discusses how the concept of participatory democracy has been played out at the local government level. In chapter six, Dr. E.E. Lawal, and Messer I. Aminu discusses how traditional institution had been contributing to the integrative process, using Lokoja traditional council as a case study. Chapter seven by Professor H.A. Saliu takes stock of the Fourth Republic on the foreign scene. While chapter eight, contributed by Dr. A.A. Raji follow up on the external sector by examining Nigeria's role in African affairs, chapter nine written by Dr. S. Wapmuk devote itself to an examination of Nigeria's contribution to the global war on terror. Chapter ten contributed by Dr. A.J. Edun and Messer A. Abubakar is on Human Rights promotion in Nigeria and its continued challenges. In the final chapter, Drs. F.A. Aremu and L. Saka make a submission on Nigeria closure of its border with Benin Republic and its implications.

The book is no doubt a befitting tribute to Professor A.E. Davies the longest serving Head of Department. The chapter contribution touched virtually all areas he had covered during his life time. We pray for the peaceful repose of his soul.

Emmanuel O. Ojo, Ph.D.
Luqman Saka, Ph.D.
Abdulrasheed A. Muhammad, Ph.D.
Department of Political Science
University of Ilorin, Nigeria
February, 2020.

About the Editors

Emmanuel O. OJO, (Ph.D.) is an Associate Professor of Political Science (Comparative Politics) at the University of Ilorin. He obtained all his degrees from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He is a Fellow of Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS), Texas State University, USA. He has published extensively in the inter-related areas of Nigerian Government and Politics, Politics and the Mass Media, Civil-Military Relations and International Relations. He authored Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria (2006); Mechanisms for National Integration in Nigeria (2009); he co-edited *The Legislature and Governance in Nigeria Vol. I (2004) with Vol. II* edited in 2018. He has also appeared in main stream journals in Political Science globally such as: Canadian Journal of Military and Strategic Studies, Indian Journal of Politics, Armed Forces and Society, Journal of African Elections and South African Journal of Military Studies among others. Dr. Ojo recently served as Special Adviser (Political Matters), and later appointed as Chief of Staff to the Governor of Oyo State.

Luqman SAKA, (Ph.D.) is a Reader in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He has his first and second degree in Political Science at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, and his doctoral degree in International Studies at the Universiti Utara Malaysia (the Northern University of Malaysia). He was a participant at the Clingendael Institute and ECOWAS Commission Workshop on 'Dialogue and Mediation Training of Trainers', 2018. He is also an alumnus of the American Political Science Association APSA, Africa Fellows Programme, 2013; the Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 2011 and CODESRIA Governance Institute, 2007. He is a member of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) and Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA). Dr. Saka's published works has appeared in Journal of Developing Areas, African Renaissance, Africa Security Review, and Hemispheres: Studies on Culture and Societies among other outlets.

Abdulrasheed A. MUHAMMAD, (Ph.D.) is a former Acting Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He had his B.Sc. and M.Sc. degrees from the University of Ilorin and a doctoral degree from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. He specialises in Federalism, Political Parties and Legislative Studies. He has several years of teaching and supervision experience and his articles have appeared in national and international outlets.

About the Contributors

Abdulkareem J. EDUN, (Ph.D.) teaches political science at the University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. He received his doctoral degree in Political Science from the prestigious Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Kaduna State, Nigeria. His area of specialisation is International Relations with keen interests in conflict and strategic studies. His publication has appeared in reputable national and international outlets.

Abdulrahman ABUBAKAR, is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He is currently a registered doctoral candidate in the same department. His areas of academic interest straddled Nigerian government and politics, African government and politics, comparative politics and election studies. He has published in reputable outlets on these areas.

Abdulfattah A. RAJI, (Ph.D.) teaches political science at the Fountain University, Osogbo, Osun State, Nigeria. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria. His research interests include; International Relations, Human Rights, Middle East Politics, African Political History, African Economic History and Islamic Political Thought. While his articles have been published in several local and international journals, he has also contributed chapters to several books.

Azeez OLANIYAN, (PhD.) Is of the Department of Political Science, Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria. His research interests revolve around issues of peace and conflict, social movements, ethnic politics, democracy and governance. He has attended various conferences to present his thoughts in these areas of interests. He also has a number of publications to his credit.

Ebenezer E. LAWAL (Ph.D.) holds B.Sc. (Hons) in Political Science Upper Division from ABU, Zaria; M.Sc. in Political Science from University of Lagos and Ph.D. in Political Science from ABU,

Zaria. He has published extensively in local, national and international journals on comparative politics, political theory, good governance, conflicts and international relations. He is currently affiliated with Federal University, Lokoja, Nigeria.

Emmanuel O. OJO, (Ph.D.) is an Associate Professor of Political Science (Comparative Politics) at the University of Ilorin. He obtained all his degrees from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He is a Fellow of Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS), Texas State University, USA. He has published extensively in the inter-related areas of Nigerian Government and Politics, Politics and the Mass Media, Civil-Military Relations and International Relations. He authored *Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria* (2006); *Mechanisms for National Integration in Nigeria* (2009); he co-edited *The Legislature and Governance in Nigeria Vol. I* (2004) with Vol. II edited in 2018. He has also appeared in main stream journals in Political Science globally such as: Canadian Journal of Military and Strategic Studies, Indian Journal of Politics, Armed Forces and Society, Journal of African Elections and South African Journal of Military Studies among others. Dr. Ojo recently served as Special Adviser (Political Matters) and later appointed as Chief of Staff to the Governor of Oyo State.

Fatai. A. AREMU (Ph.D.) is a Reader in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He is a Senior Technical Advisor on Policy and Legislative Advocacy at a Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation funded advocacy, and social accountability project *Partnership for Advocacy in Child and Family Health (PACaFH)*, a project anchored by development Research and Projects Centre (dRPC), Abuja, Nigeria. He belongs to the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR), and was involved in organising and facilitating the Utafiti Sera Policy Forum on Inclusive Growth and Employment Creation in Agriculture and Agro-processing in Nigeria organised by the National Institute for Legislative Studies in collaboration with PASGR. He was former Head at the Socio-Political Unit, Research and Training Department, National Institute for Legislative Studies, National Assembly, Abuja, Nigeria. He was also a former head,

Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin. He is the author of *Asymmetrical Foreign Policy Behaviour of Japan and China* (2011) and co-editor (with H.A. Saliu) of *Introduction to International Relations* (2012). His works have appeared in *IDS Bulletin*, *Africa Today*, *African and Asian Studies*, *Ritsumeikan Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*, and *Asia Pacific World* among others.

Hassan A. SALIU, (Ph.D.) is a Professor of International Relations at the University of Ilorin. He had served as the Dean of the Faculty of Business and Social Sciences and Head of Political Science Department, both at the University of Ilorin. His research interest covers Foreign Policy, African Government and Politics and Peace Studies. He is the author of numerous books and articles across the globe.

Isa AMINU is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Federal University Lokoja. He is a Doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science; University of Ilorin. He is a member of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA). He has published in local and international journal outlets. His areas of interest are in Public Policy, Political Economy and Development studies.

Isaac. A. ALADEGBOLA, (Ph.D.) is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Ekiti State University, Ado Ekiti, Nigeria. He had taught in the same discipline at the College of Education Ikere-Ekiti, and Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba Akoko, Nigeria. His research interest covers Political Economy, Public Administration and Development issues. Dr Aladegbola holds a PhD Degree in Political Science from University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He is a member of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA), a fellow of American Political Science Association (APSA) and was awarded the APSA Centennial grant in 2017.

Johnson O. OLANIYI, (Ph.D.) is currently a Professor of Political Science, Achievers University, Owo, Ondo State Nigeria. He was formerly an Associate Professor of Political Science at the

University of Ilorin. He holds B.Sc. and M.Sc. degrees in Political Science from the University of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria and a doctoral degree in Political Science from the University of Ilorin, Nigeria. Dr. Olaniyi also holds a Postgraduate Diploma in Education from the University of Ilorin. His area of specialisation is Psephology and Public Policy Analysis. He has published in reputable national and international outlets on these areas.

Luqman SAKA, (Ph.D.) is a Reader in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He has his first and second degree in Political Science from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, and his doctoral degree in International Studies from the Universiti Utara Malaysia (the Northern University of Malaysia). He was a participant at the Clingendael Institute and ECOWAS Commission Workshop on 'Dialogue and Mediation Training of Trainers', 2018. He was also an alumnus of the American Political Science Association APSA, Africa Fellows Programme, 2013 and the Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg, Switzerland, 2011. He is a member of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) and Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA). Dr. Saka's published works has appeared in national and international outlets.

Oluwashina M. ADEBIYI, (Ph.D.) is affiliated with the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. He obtained his degrees in Political Science from the same University. His area of specialisation is in comparative politics, identity politics, and democratisation studies. His articles have appeared in reputable national and international journals such as Journal of African Elections published by the Electoral Institute of South Africa. He is a member of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA).

Onovwakponoko L. OVWASA, (PhD.) attended the University of Ibadan where he obtained his B.Sc. (Hon) Second Class Upper Division in Political Science in 1982. He went back to the same University and obtained his M.Sc. in Political Science in 1987. He

capped his academic certificates with a Doctorate Degree in 2004 from the University of Ilorin. Ovwasa has taught in at least five Universities in the country namely: University of Ilorin (1983-2011), where he worked with late Professor A.E. Davies for Twenty-Seven (27) years before withdrawing his service in 2011. Delta State University, Abraka (2005/2006); Western Delta University, Oghara (2008-2009); Kogi State University, Anyingba (2011-2012). Ovwasa joined the Department of Political Science, Federal University Lokoja as Professor and pioneer, Head of Department on November 1st 2012. He served in that position till January 6th 2017.

Sharkdam WAPMUK, (Ph.D.) is a Senior Research Fellow, Head, Division of African Politics and Integration, and Ag. Director of Research and Studies, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Lagos, Nigeria. He served as consultant for international organisations and think tanks, lectures at various institutions in Nigeria and participated in local and international conferences, seminars, workshops and dialogues. He is currently, the editor of the *Nigerian Forum: A Journal of Opinion on World Affairs*, published by the NIIA. His research interests cut across the thematic fields of Afro-Asian relations, security, cooperation and integration. His articles have been published in local and international journals and books. He is a member of scholarly bodies, including the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) and Nigerian Society of International Affairs (NSIA).

Taiye A. AWOTUNDE, is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He is currently on his doctoral programme at Babcock University, Illishan-Remo, Ogun State, Nigeria. His area of academic interest include; comparative public administration, comparative politics, Nigerian government and politics and local government studies. He has published in reputable local and national outlets on these areas.

Contents

Chapter One 1
Analysis of some Contemporary Issues in Nigeria's Fourth Republic
Olaniyi, J.O., Adebiyi, O.M., & Awotunde, T.A.

Chapter Two 28
The Nigerian State and the Fight Against Corruption
Aladegbola, I.A., & Olaniyan, A.O.

Chapter Three 47
The Anti-Graft War Under President Muhammadu Buhari
Ojo, E.O.

Chapter Four 68
Good Governance, Public Policy and Industrial Relations in Nigeria
Olaniyi, J.O.

Chapter Five 98
An Appraisal of the Concept of Participatory Democracy in Nigeria's Local Government Administration, 1999-2011
Ovwasa, O.L.

Chapter Six 121
The Traditional Institution and the Process of Integration in Lokoja, Kogi State
Lawal, E.E. & Aminu, I.

Chapter Seven 139
An Overview of Nigerian Foreign Policy, 1999-2019
Saliu, H. A.

Chapter Eight 166
An Appraisal of Nigeria's Role in Africa's Affairs
Raji, A. A.

Chapter Nine 189
The Nigerian State and the Global War on Terror
Wapmuk, S.

Chapter Ten 215
Democracy and Issues of Human Rights in Nigeria:
Prospects and Challenges
Edun, A.J. & Abubakar, A.

Chapter Eleven 227
The 2003 Closure of Nigeria-Benin Republic
Border and Its Implications
Saka, L. & Aremu, F.A.

CHAPTER ONE

ANALYSIS OF SOME CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

Olaniyi, J.O., Ph.D.
Adebiyi, O.M., Ph.D.
Awotunde, T.A.

Department of Political Science
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Kwara State Nigeria

Introduction

Nigeria, as a post-colonial nation, has been bedevilled by myriads of contentious and trending issues. Such issues come in various dimensions- political, social and economic. With its enormous natural resources, land mass and a large youthful population, Nigeria is regarded as the giant of Africa with great potential for development and growth. At independence, many believed that by the 1970s, Nigeria would be one of the developed countries, at least, in Africa, given its enormous wealth of human and material resources. However, after fifty-eight years of its existence as a sovereign and independent nation, the country is still categorised as a poor country, with a Gross Domestic Product of 375.77 billion dollars (Nigeria Data Portal, 2018).

The current situation which the nation is grappling with cannot be disconnected from the contemporary political issues and challenges facing the polity. This underscores the need for an analysis of certain critical issues in contemporary Nigerian politics. While Nigeria is faced with multi-dimensional contemporary political issues and challenges, the focus of this discourse comprises some of the critical issues in contemporary Nigerian politics. Such issues include party politics, elections and electoral violence, corruption, inter-governmental relations and restructuring, farmers-herdsmen conflict and Boko Haram insurgency.

An Overview of the Nigerian State

Nigeria became an independent country on 1st of October, 1960 and attained the status of a Republic on 1st of October, 1963. Nigeria is a pluralist state, with numerous and diverse ethnic groups. According to Ojo (2009), it is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world. Some of its ethnic groups are even bigger than many states in contemporary Africa. He further claims that as at the time of Nigeria's independence, there were over 3,000 ethnic groups in the world, of which about 1,000 are in Africa. Of these 1,000 ethnic groups, 445 are in Nigeria alone.

According to Worldometres (2015), Nigeria has a population of over 186 million with a total land mass of 923, 770km^2, which is twice the size of Cameroon with 475, 00km^2, four times the size of the United Kingdom with 245, 000km^2 and nearly three times the size of Benin Republic, Togo and Ivory Coast put together (Ojo, 2009). In view of these characteristics, Nigeria is the most populous black nation in the world and the largest country in the continent of Africa. But it is not the largest in terms of landmass but in population.

Despite being characterised by numerous ethnic groups, three ethnic groups are predominant in Nigeria. They are the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba and the Igbo. The Nigerian state operates a federal system and is divided into six geo-political zones, namely North-west, North-east, North-central, South-south, South-west and South-east. The Northern zone is dominated by the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group, the Western zone is inhabited by the Yoruba speaking group, while the South-eastern part of the country is dominated by the Igbos. The South-south is inhabited by a number of minority ethnic groups such as the Ijaw, Urhobo and Itsekiri. Regardless of the diversity, the major ethnic groups have managed to stay together as a sovereign nation, though not without conflicts revolving around issues of identity and accusation of dominance by one ethnic group over the other. These have largely remained dominant issues in defining the nature and character of the Nigerian state. Aworawo (2000), notes that after independence in the 1960s, the Nigerian state has almost

An Overview of the Nigerian State

Nigeria became an independent country on 1st of October, 1960 and attained the status of a Republic on 1st of October, 1963. Nigeria is a pluralist state, with numerous and diverse ethnic groups. According to Ojo (2009), it is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world. Some of its ethnic groups are even bigger than many states in contemporary Africa. He further claims that as at the time of Nigeria's independence, there were over 3,000 ethnic groups in the world, of which about 1,000 are in Africa. Of these 1,000 ethnic groups, 445 are in Nigeria alone.

According to Worldometres (2015), Nigeria has a population of over 186 million with a total land mass of 923, 770km^2, which is twice the size of Cameroon with 475, 00km^2, four times the size of the United Kingdom with 245, 000km^2 and nearly three times the size of Benin Republic, Togo and Ivory Coast put together (Ojo, 2009). In view of these characteristics, Nigeria is the most populous black nation in the world and the largest country in the continent of Africa. But it is not the largest in terms of landmass but in population.

Despite being characterised by numerous ethnic groups, three ethnic groups are predominant in Nigeria. They are the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba and the Igbo. The Nigerian state operates a federal system and is divided into six geo-political zones, namely North-west, North-east, North-central, South-south, South-west and South-east. The Northern zone is dominated by the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group, the Western zone is inhabited by the Yoruba speaking group, while the South-eastern part of the country is dominated by the Igbos. The South-south is inhabited by a number of minority ethnic groups such as the Ijaw, Urhobo and Itsekiri. Regardless of the diversity, the major ethnic groups have managed to stay together as a sovereign nation, though not without conflicts revolving around issues of identity and accusation of dominance by one ethnic group over the other. These have largely remained dominant issues in defining the nature and character of the Nigerian state. Aworawo (2000), notes that after independence in the 1960s, the Nigerian state has almost

been in perpetual crisis. This, according to him, has been manifesting in numerous cases of mass violence between ethnic groups across the country, coups and counter coups and a civil war. This may have prompted Ofoche (2012:2) to submit that the history of Nigeria is tainted "with short-lived governments, dysfunctional institutions and poor leadership". These in his view have moulded how citizens of the country understand issues of politics, nation building and the national question.

Olorode (1998), identifies some characteristic features of the Nigerian state. According to him, the Nigerian state is capitalist, neo-colonial, dependent and underdeveloped. By neo-colonialism and 'dependent' he meant that Nigeria is not yet independent in certain respects, since foreign interest and models still dominate and dictate the political and economic choices of the country. In addition, in situations involving conflict of interests between the Nigerian people and global international capital, the Nigerian state will act through the elite to defend the interests of the global capital against those of the Nigerian people (Olorode, 1998). It is on this note that the ruling elites are authoritarian, meaning that those in control of the state apparatus see themselves as standing above the people. They do not see the state as deriving its legitimacy from the people, rather they believe that the state needs to exercise power through the repeated demonstration of its capacity for the use of coercive power (Cabral cited in Iyàyi, 2004). Therefore, the ruling elite are considered as not accountable to the people and exist mainly for their own selfish interests because they are characterised by arbitrariness, insensitivity, greed, dishonesty and abuse of power which are mainly the causal drivers of violent conflicts among the various ethnic groups in the country (Sagay, 1995).

In its first fifty years of existence, the history of post-independent Nigeria is indeed replete with conflicts, coups, counter coups and a civil war. Almost immediately after independence, the country was engulfed in a web of political crisis particularly orchestrated by the 1964-65 Western region election crises. There was also dissatisfaction on the part of some political parties with the emergence of the Northern People's Congress

(NPC) as the winner of the 1964 federal elections. The Action Group, in particular, expressed its disappointment over the poor conduct of the election and, consequently, rejected its outcome. This, coupled with the controversies surrounding the census figures, generated tensions in the polity. The unending violence and sporadic restiveness led to the first military coup in the country (Bach, 2006). Some prominent northerners were killed in the coup led by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu. Two of them were Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Sir Ahmadu Bello, the premier of Northern Region and Sardauna of Sokoto. This occurrence fuelled ethnic resentment, particularly between the Igbos and the Hausas. In July, 1966, there was another counter coup that brought in Lt. Colonel (later General) Yakubu Gowon (Bach, 2006).

The lingering memory of the killing of Sir Ahmadu Bello and Sir Tafawa Balewa continued to infuriate the northerners against the Igbos of the South. This later led to the widespread killing of Igbos in the North in September 1966. This incident equally led to the mass exodus of Igbos from the northern region back to their homeland in the eastern part of the country and the resolve by the ethnic group to secede and create the Republic of Biafra. This plan, however, met with fierce resistance from the General Yakubu Gown-led administration. The resistance led to a civil war which lasted for 30 months. The war, which reports claimed to have led to more than one million deaths from both sides, came to an end in January, 1970, when the Biafran forces surrendered (Suberu, 2001). This was followed by a policy of reconstruction and rehabilitation introduced by the federal government. However, democratic regimes that were later inaugurated in 1979 and 1983 did not last long, as they were terminated by military coups. The process that would have led to the emergence of the Third Republic was also cut-short by the General Ibrahim Babangida-led military regime. However, the present Fourth Republic, which commenced on 29th May, 1999 remains uninterrupted as at the time of this study.

Issues in Contemporary Nigerian Politics

From the foregoing, it can be deduced that issues which surround Nigerian politics today are products of the crises which engulfed the country soon after its independence. Such factors accounted for the termination of the First and Second Republics. They also played out in the aborted Third Republic. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Nigeria as a post-colonial nation before the Fourth Republic has witnessed more of military rule than democratic governance. However, since 29th of May, 1999 Nigeria has been operating an uninterrupted democratic system, which is the longest in the political history of the country. While democracy has been stable since 1999, the country, as a sovereign nation, has had to cope with some contemporary contentious and trending political issues and challenges which, at some points, had threatened to tear the nation apart. Some of the issues are discussed in this chapter.

Party Politics, Elections and Electoral Violence

What can be referred to as the emergence of party politics in Nigeria cannot be divorced from the inauguration of the Clifford's Constitution of 1922. The Constitution made provision for an elective principle in Lagos and Calabar provinces. With provision made for election, there was the emergence of political parties, first of which was the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) formed and led by Sir Herbert Macaulay (Ojo and Adebayo, 2012). Elections were not however held until 1923. The 1923 election was contested by the only political party in Nigeria then, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (Nwosu and Olaniyi, 1996).

The introduction of the elective principle by the Clifford's constitution flagged off party politics and formation of political parties in Nigeria. It is noteworthy that the election was relatively peaceful. It was not until 1959 that Nigeria began to witness pronounced violence during elections (Nwolise, 2007). The conduct of the 1959 general elections which led to independence in 1960 was far from being violence-free. According to him, the

electoral process was laced with all forms of violence including thuggery and election rigging. He further notes that the election had been barely completed when the then Governor-General, Sir James Robertson, instructed Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the Northern People's Congress to form a government, claiming that the British colonial masters had wished to hand over power to their Northern crony (Nwolise, 2007).

Like the 1959 elections the 1964 federal elections and the 1965 regional elections were far from being free and fair. The elections were the first to be conducted without the supervision and interference of the colonial masters. It was during this election that Nigeria as a country witnessed manifest and pronounced electoral violence. Ojibo, (1980) observes that immediately after independence, the political situation in Nigeria was turbulent. Several factors contributed to the political instability, among which was a shaky tripartite federal structure based on strong regionalism. He further states that the disparity in the sizes and populations of the three regions, the three major regionally-based and tribally-sustained political parties, and the cut-throat competition amongst politicians were other factors that contributed to political instability. This consequently led to the first military coup in the country in 1966 (Ojo and Adebayo, 2012). According to Nwabueze (2010:57), the main cause of the endemic large-scale civil disorders and violence was:

> the large number of social groups pieced together in one state with the weak glue of colonialism, but who differ from each other, not only in language and other element of culture like tradition, occupation etc, but also in character, attitude, habits, feelings, way of life and social conditions to the extent that it constitute them to be different nation or peoples that relates in -antagonistic, mutually antipathetic, utterly incompatible and bitterly hostile to each other.

Diversity also formed the basis for the formation of political parties in Nigeria. Political parties of the First Republic had their

roots in ethnic affiliations. The Action Group (AG) was formed as an off-shoot of Egbe Omo Oduduwa (association of the descendants of Oduduwa, the mythical ancestor of the Yorubas). Similarly, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) was formed as an off-shoot of Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa (the association of people of the North) (Dudley, 1982). Also, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens, which initially had a national outlook, later turned to be identified with the Igbos. Other political parties that were also later formed had each representing a particular caucus or group. The political competition was tense among the three leading parties such that each party maintained a strong hold of its ethnic base. They were intolerant of the other as a result a high tendency of conflict arose among them. This was captured aptly by Adebayo, (2006:64) when he posits that:

> with the political parties championing ethnic causes, it was difficult for a conflict of interest not to arise. Hence, post independent Nigeria reeled from one crisis to another, resulting in a bloody intervention by the military in January, 1966, just six years after independence.

After thirteen years of military rule, civilian had another opportunity to steer the machinery of government of the country in 1979. A general election was conducted to usher in the Second Republic. The forms and ideology of the parties that contested the elections were not different from those of the First Republic. Consequently, five political parties contested the Second Republic elections. These were: the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the National Party of Nigeria (N.P.N), the People's Redemption Party (PRP), the Great Nigerian People's Party (GNPP) and the Nigerian People's Party (NPP) (Adebayo, 2006). There was a reduction in the incidence of electoral violence during the elections. Nevertheless, Nwolise, (2007) claims that the election attracted a lot of criticism as the Supreme Court delivered a controversial decision on the winner of the presidential election, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, based on a questionable mathematical theory introduced

to determine the winner instead of the use of an electoral college as provided for in the constitution.

The general elections held in 1983 were met with criticisms, outright rejection and violence. Obioha and Roberts, (2005) claims that the grudge that was nurtured since the 1979 general elections snowballed into sporadic violence in the 1983 general elections. The elections were characterised by widespread rigging, electoral fraud, and malpractices. There were inciting political campaigns and campaigns of calumny as some political leaders incited the public, even before the general elections, as was the case in Oyo State where the state governor reportedly threatened chaos on a larger proportion than was the case in 1965 (Obioha & Roberts, 2005). Violence pervaded before, during and after the elections. Nwolise, (2007) averred that violent thuggery re-emerged and the elections were rigged, even by the officials of the Federal Election Commission of Nigeria with the support of the police. The people reacted again by trouping to the streets in anger and government ordered the police to shoot at sight. Consequent upon the public disorder that ensued, Nigeria's path to a consolidated democratic system was once again blocked through another military coup on the 31st December, 1983 (Nwolise, 2007). As a result of this, there was another period of military rule which lasted till 1999.

The election that would have ushered in the Third Republic was annulled by its organiser and mastermind, General Ibrahim Babangida (now retired) despite claims by both local and international observers that the election which took place in June 1993 was the freest, fairest, most credible and violence free election that have taken place in the history of Nigeria. The election was won by the Social Democratic Party (SDP) flag bearer, Late Chief MKO Abiola. Under controversial circumstances, General Ibrahim Babangida stepped aside as the Head of State on August 26, 1993, thereby leading to the inauguration of an Interim National Government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan. The interim government had barely lasted for three months when it was overthrown by the late General Sani Abacha in a coup. The death in office of Abacha brought in the

administration of General Abubakar Abdulsalam. On getting to office, Abubakar almost immediately announced a transition programme to usher in a democratically elected government. In view of this, elections were held in 1999. Three political parties; the Alliance for Democracy (AD), All Peoples Party (APP) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) were registered by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to participate in the elections into legislative and executive positions. The Peoples Democratic Party's presidential flag-bearer, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, won the presidential election and was sworn in as President on May 29, 1999, thus, signalling the commencement of the Fourth Republic. The 1999 general elections were relatively devoid of violence, which Olaniyi, (2017) attributes to the fact that they were supervised by a military junta.

Apart from the 1999 general elections, other elections held in the Fourth Republic have been characterised by varying degrees of violence, fraud, rigging and malpractices. The 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 general elections were all characterised by different levels of electoral malpractices and violence (European Union Election Observation Mission, 2015). It was alleged that the then ruling party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), with the connivance of INEC, perpetrated monumental and massive rigging. This explained why it was argued that what took place in 2003 was mere intimidation of voters and selection of preferred candidates and already decided winners (Abimbola and Adesote, 2012). The electoral process of 2003 was also described as being characterised by monumental fraud by the Transition Monitoring Group (2003). Apart from the reports of fraud, the 2003 general elections were tainted with pockets of violence. The 2007 elections did not fare better. They were described as worse than 2003 elections (European Union Election Observation Mission, 2007).

The electoral violence, rigging and malpractices which characterised the 2007 general elections did not spare some political executives. For instance, the then President of the country, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, publicly declared that the 2007 elections would be a "do-or-die affair" (Obasanjo, 2007).

Politicians aspiring for one post or the other practically supervised all forms of electoral malpractices and rigging - a venture which used to be left to their political thugs. The electoral body (INEC) was not left out. This was aptly described thus:

> the state was grossly irresponsible during the 2007 elections, with the presidency promoting violence. INEC, in collusion with the ruling PDP and the presidency with the help of the police, rigged elections for the PDP and favoured candidates. The president, governors, commissioners and ministers were personally involved in generating electoral violence - physical, psychological and structural (Nwolise, 2007:157).

The 2011 general elections were not devoid of violence. The violence which occurred after the announcement of the Presidential election results was described as the worst in the nation's electoral history (European Union Election Observation Mission, 2011). The Human Rights Watch (2011) reported that 800 people were killed within three days of the announcement of the presidential election results. According to the organisation, the victims were killed within three days across 12 northern states. The violence also led to the displacement of more than 65, 000 people (Human Rights Watch, 2011). From the foregoing, it can be seen that Nigeria's electoral process and party politics has been laced with violence and acrimony. As noted by Okoli and Iortyer, (2014:20):

> Electoral politics in Nigeria has become a perplexing phenomenon, entailing the application of the most desperate and despicable tactics to clinch and maintain power. In this context, lawlessness, violence and impunity become indispensable elements of the electioneering.

In a similar vein, Ojo and Adebayo, (2012) noted, that right from independence, elections in Nigeria have been programmed

to fail. In their view, party politics and the conduct of elections in the country have been devoid of internationally acceptable standards which, according to them, have been the bane of democratic advancement and consolidation in Nigeria. Okoli, (2008) also argue that crises associated with electoral politics in Nigeria have been the stumbling block in the way of the nation's desire for a consolidated democracy. He further contends that among such issues is the propensity of the elite to turn political and democratic processes to a winner-takes-all affair.

Corruption

Another phenomenon that has dominated contemporary politics in the Nigerian state is the issue of corruption. Corruption manifests in various dimensions in the country. While the phenomenon has eaten deep into the fabrics of the Nigerian political system, its impact is felt more in the political terrain, most especially as it relates to electoral politics. The nation's electoral process, right from independence, has been characterised by corrupt practices which manifest in the form of money politics and vote-buying. Vote-buying and money politics became prominent in post-colonial Nigeria after the First Republic. In the First Republic, incidences of vote-buying and money politics were minimal. This, according to Ovwasa, (2013), was due to the fact that during the First Republic the most potent medium through which the political elite appealed to the electorate in order to secure their votes and electoral victory were ethnic and religious sentiments. This was made possible because the viability of political parties were tested based on their ability to appeal to primordial sentiments. It is, however, noted that though political parties distributed material commodities to voters at political rallies, the electoral process was devoid of the deployment of huge amounts of money to woo voters so as to win their votes (Ovwasa, 2013).

The advent of money politics and vote buying in the nation's political terrain became prominent during the Second Republic. Politicians and the political elite engaged in the deployment of money in electoral competitions. The brazen display of the propensity of the political elite to deploy money in

order to achieve electoral aims was so conspicuous that Davies (2006), cited in Ovwasa, (2013:7) avers that:

> there was so much display of affluence and use of money by the wealthy contractors and the mercantile class that those who emerged victorious in the conventions and the primaries of some of the political parties, notably the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Nigerian People's Party (NPP) and the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) belonged to the business-managerial group.

During the Second Republic, corruption was witnessed at all levels of government as well as in almost all political parties. It was observed that the then ruling party, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) championed corrupt practices. This, according to Adamolekun (1985), was displayed in the competition to amass wealth and properties. The brazen display of corrupt acts by the political elite was partially responsible for the military coup which put an end to the government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1983.

During the 1993 electoral process, money politics and vote-buying took the centre stage. The 1993 electoral campaign period was a period of doling out cash to voters by the various contestants for the various political posts (Ovwasa, 2013). It is further observed by Ovwasa, (2013) that the activities of the two major political parties; the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC) were taken over by rich individuals. Complaints of bribery and the conspicuous use of money to influence voters, even at the primary elections, were common (Ovwasa, 2013). Ojo (2000) claims that this was attested to by the then military Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida, when he stated that:

> there were authenticated reports of election malpractice against agents, officials of the NEC and voters... there were proof of manipulation, offers and acceptance of money and other forms of bribery. The amount of money spent by the

presidential candidates was over 2.1 million naira (Ojo, 2007).

The above revelation, coupled with other unknown factors, was, according to the then military government, responsible for the annulment of the elections. Money politics and vote buying in the Fourth Republic has been unprecedented. It was observed that money politics and vote buying got to its pinnacle in the Republic (Ovwasa, 2013). Money politics and vote-buying have been so rampant that it occurs even within the so-called political elite during the conduct of party primaries. The incidences of vote-buying in Nigeria's Fourth Republic have been described as unprecedented by some scholars (Onapajo, Franscis, Okeke-Uzodike; 2015; Ovwasa, 2013; Bratton; 2008). In an empirical study carried out on Nigeria, Bratton (2008) claims that there was a high incidence of vote-buying and inducement in the 2003 and 2007 general elections. In addition to this, it was discovered that during the 2011 presidential party primaries of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), there was blatant use of money to influence party delegates by the two leading contestants - the then incumbent President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan and Alhaji Atiku Abubakar (Lazarus 2011, cited in Onapajo *et.al.*, 2015).

It was reported that at the PDP's presidential primaries of 2014, US$3,000 and US$10,000 were given to each delegate by Atiku Abubakar and Goodluck Jonathan, respectively, to influence the delegates' choice of candidate (Onapajo *et.al.*, 2015). Given the number of delegates present to be 8,500, the scholars notes that Goodluck Jonatahn would have spent US$85 million while Atiku Abubakar would have spent US$25.5 million. The money used by the then incumbent President was alleged to have been withdrawn from the account of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), which adversely affected the nation's foreign exchange earnings and transactions (Onapajo *et.al.*, 2015). The scholars further discovered in their study that vote buying and money politics was not limited to the voters alone. They claim that electoral officials were also targets of vote buying and money politics. They also claim that during the 2011 gubernatorial election in Osun State attempts were made to compromise

electoral officers so as to influence the outcome of the election. A presiding officer confirmed this when he claimed that:

> bribery was introduced in one form or the other; financial gratifications to all officers with the hope that the presiding officers will be manipulated in their favour. I can specifically speak of the PDP, a total of ₦1.1 million were given to us at our first meeting. We were told, "If they catch you, you cannot mention us. They wanted us to inflate the number of accredited voters (Onapajo et.al., 2015:8).

In the 2018 governorship election in Ekiti State, there were allegations of vote-buying by the various political parties that contested the election. It was reported that vote buying characterised the electoral process. It was observed that the two major political parties which contested the election; the APC (All Progressives Congress) and the PDP were guilty of the offence (Atoyebi, 2018). The allegation was that while the APC offered N5,000 per vote, the state government offered N3,000 per vote 'electronically'. The state government, which paid the money to the accounts of civil servants, tagged the payment as 'logistics' which, in this context, amount to inducement.

Similarly, there were serious allegations of vote-buying and inducement during the just concluded 2018 gubernatorial election in Osun State. It was revealed that representatives of some of the contestants utilised social media platforms to lure prospective voters and Permanent Voter Card (PVC) holders in Osun State, to sell their votes (Nwogu, 2018). Further investigations showed that the N10, 000 was offered for votes and PVCs. It was also revealed that an undisclosed amount of money was given to each Ward's party leader a day to the election. To buttress this, a prospective voter was quoted as saying:

> there is nothing they can do to stop vote-buying especially in this election, because politicians are desperate to outdo one another in their bid to buy

> votes. They have started bringing money out but this time round, because of the noise over it, they will be more discreet in sharing the money. Money has been given to the leader of the party in our area, but they are yet to tell us how much (Nwogu, 2018).

Members of the various political parties which contested the elections accused one another of trying to sway voters by offering financial inducements to secure their votes and be in possession of their PVCs. In addition, in the just concluded PDP presidential primaries held in Port Harcourt, the Rivers state capital, there were allegations of vote buying and delegate inducement. Unconfirmed reports stated that various aspirants contesting to clinch the party's ticket to contest the 2019 Presidential election offered various amounts of money to influence delegates' choice at the convention. The vote buying which characterised the primaries was described as being of international standard (Ebuzo, 2018).

Vote-buying and money politics have become disheartening features of the country's electoral and political process. The rate at which vote-buying and money politics are used in electoral processes is alarming and saddening. Vote buying has been turned to an alternative means of rigging elections. It seems to be the trending mode of electoral malpractices. The political elite and office holders, in their bid to win electoral contests and retain political offices, indulge in all forms of vote buying and money politics. This is why elections, to them, are always do-or-die affairs. Correlating this, Bratton, (2008) observes that elections in this part of the world are nothing but the struggle to gain access to state resources, the ultimate reward in the society. In view of this, the political elite employ both legitimate and illegitimate means to secure electoral victory. Rather than serve as opportunities for engaging in public debates, elections in this context are periods for politicians to indulge in appealing to sentiments for mass mobilisation and manipulation of electoral laws (Bratton, 2008). This, according to Schaffer, (2007), manifests in an unconventional mode of electoral fraud which is vote buying.

Intergovernmental Relations and Restructuring

Nigeria as a multi-ethnic state adopted federalism in 1954. Since that period till now, Nigeria has been reeling from one problem to the other. Such problems pertain to achieving national cohesion through establishing an effective and balanced federal structure. Achieving this however, has not been easy (Ojo, 2009). The nature and dynamics of the Nigerian federation makes intergovernmental relations a political necessity.

With over 400 linguistic and cultural groups, a population of over 186 million, 36 states, 774 local governments, the practice of cordial intergovernmental relations is indeed a necessity (Elaigwu, 2007). As a concept, intergovernmental relations refer to the interaction between the various levels of government in a federal state so as to achieve certain set goals and objectives through cooperation. It involves consensual tools for harnessing mutual benefits of the federating units (Opesking cited in Bello, 2014). The Nigerian state adopted the federal system with the believe that intergovernmental relations will assist in promoting cooperation, managing conflicts, responding to changing circumstances and delivering services more efficiently in the federation (Bello, 2014).

Since adopting federalism as a system of governance, the Nigerian state has had to cope with the challenges of managing her numerous and diverse multi-ethnic nationalities and fashioning out an acceptable resource control mechanism which will thus facilitate the emergence of a valuable and balanced revenue allocation formula. One of the main conflict areas between the federal government and the constituent units is the issue of resource control and revenue allocation. As noted by Ojo (2010), one of the main challenges facing the polity which is capable of instigating emotions and which seems to have defied all possible solutions is the issue of resource control and equitable revenue allocation. The issue of resource control has indeed become a thorny one.

At the centre of the resource control issue are the Federal Government and the oil producing states, which include but are not limited to the following: Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Ondo and Rivers states (Dunmoye, 2002). The oil producing states are agitating that the Federal government should apply the principle of derivation in disbursing national revenue generated largely from their states. They argue that they are supposed to have a larger share of the revenue generated from their states. While they agree that the revenue from the offshore resources should go into the nation's purse, they request that 13% of such revenue should accrue to their states, which they believe the Federal Government has not been doing (Dunmoye, 2000). Consequent upon this, there have been constant conflicts between the Federal Government and the oil producing states.

The agitation and conflict which surrounds the issue of resource control and allocation is borne out of the claim by the oil producing minority states of marginalisation and neglect by the Federal Government. Rather than being a hub of development and growth owing to its abundant deposit of crude oil, the Niger-delta region is a vivid illustration of the paradox of a region living in poverty amidst wealth. The Niger-Delta region has been under constant degradation due to oil exploration and has been characterised by various forms of conflicts. This situation was aptly captured by Elaigwu, (2008:72) when he asserts that:

> despite being the goose that lays the golden eggs for the nation, the Niger Delta is widely regarded as a region wounded by youth militancy, fragmented by internal strife, bruised by incessant conflicts between local communities and oil producing multinationals, and glamorized by series of high-profile kidnapping incidents. What makes Nigeria what it is today is oil; what makes Nigeria comfortable comes from the Niger Delta; but unfortunately, the Niger Deltans are not comfortable at all.

The attendant disadvantaged position of the Niger-Delta region and the claim of marginalisation have been the drivers of violent confrontations between the people of the region and the Federal Government and oil companies involved in the exploration and extraction of oil in the host communities (Ovwasa, 2002). Thus, there is the challenge of resolving the complex revenue allocation challenges.

Successive governments, at one time or the other, have engaged in the revision of the revenue allocation formula. However, arriving at a formula which will take into consideration the predicaments of the region where the bulk of the revenue is derived and be acceptable to the other regions, has largely remained an illusion (Ojo, 2010). The issue of resource allocation and revenue sharing has long remained a contentious issue in Nigeria. As noted by Abdullahi (2014), several principles have been used as basis for sharing revenue in Nigeria. These principles are: derivation, need, national interest and even development. Others include: population, geographical peculiarities, absorptive capacity, internal revenue efforts, equality of states, continuity, fiscal efficiency, national minimum standards for national integration, land mass and financial comparability.

The current debate over the issue of resource control and revenue allocation is directly targeted at posers which include whether or not the Federal Government should still maintain its total control of the revenue accruing from the sale of oil largely derived from the Niger-Delta region where the bulk of the oil producing minority states are located or whether the states should have a considerable level of control over the revenue generated from their area. They also include whether government at all levels uses the proceeds to provide goods, services and infrastructural facilities for the betterment of the people, particularly those of the oil-producing states and the entire nation in general (Abdulahi, 2014). Such posers also formed part of the basis for the recent call for restructuring the country.

The issue of restructuring is currently generating heated debates within the polity and has become the watchword of political leaders and socio-economic cum political groups who

appear to be the main advocate of the idea. The debate focuses on the clamour for the restructuring of the nation's federal arrangement in response to the complaints of marginalisation by the oil producing states and various segments of the country. This is borne out of the claim that the nation's federal system impedes the growth and development of the constituent units and the actualisation of the people's wishes and aspirations (Ikpeazu, 2018). Ikpeazu notes that with an ever growing population expected to be the third highest in the world by 2050, an economy largely driven by oil where agriculture contributes less than 10% of the nation's total earnings, constricting land mass, poor technological and infrastructural development to boost food production, healthcare delivery and manufacturing, it was high time the nation's federal system was restructured (Ikpeazu, 2018).

However, the notion of restructuring as lately being clamoured for in Nigeria means different things to different people. To some, restructuring means redesigning of the country's federal system; to others, it simply connotes resource control and revisiting the revenue sharing formula. Others, however, believe that restructuring entails decentralisation and the devolution of powers. Whichever way it is perceived, it should be noted that each of the segments proposing restructuring sees it from the angle that suits its economic and political aspirations. Thus, the issue of restructuring has been turned to a platform for appealing to the electorate in order to secure electoral gains.

The issue of restructuring is largely driven by conflict of interests which have weakened the intentions of its advocates (Farabiyi, 2017). He further observes that many of its proponents are already using the issue as a campaign point for the 2019 general elections. For instance, a former Vice-President of Nigeria, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar promised to restructure Nigeria if he was elected President of the country in 2019 (Nwakama, 2018).

Based on the foregoing, Farabiyi (2017), argued that the real intentions of the proponents of restructuring is doubtful as there is no clear-cut difference between the ongoing call for restructuring and the change mantra which was used by a political party to drive its campaign in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria.

The conflicting interests behind the call for restructuring among the political elite has not really given a clear picture of the real intentions of the political class as regards the issue. Farabiyi (2017), further notes that while the masses perceive the call as the quest for good governance, accountability and transparency, the political elite in order to stay relevant in the nation's political terrain see it as a viable instrument for appealing to electorate so as to garner their votes during the forthcoming general election in the country.

Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict and the Boko Haram Insurgency

Another issue that has characterised the country's contemporary politics is the issue of insecurity, largely orchestrated by the farmers-herdsmen conflict and the Boko Haram insurgency ravaging the country, particularly the Northern part of the country. The farmers-herdsmen conflicts involve disputes over farming and cattle rearing between herders, mostly Fulani and local farmers. The conflict is more predominant in the North-central states Benue and Plateau, in particular. Since the commencement of Nigeria's Fourth Republic the farmer-herder conflict has claimed thousands of lives and rendered many people homeless (Ameh, 2018). According to Baca (2015), the unending farmers-herders conflicts in large part of the Sahel is largely brought about by the increase in number of farmers and farmlands and the consequent reduction in the amount of land available for pasturing. This has resulted in deteriorating environmental conditions, desertification and soil degradation, the breakdown in traditional conflict-resolution mechanisms in land and water disputes and the proliferation of small arms and crime in the rural areas (Baca, 2015).

The conflict between farmers and herdsmen has been responsible for the increased spate of killings in the North-central zone of the country and some parts of the North. It was alleged that between 2010 and 2013, 80 people were killed due to the feud (Global Terrorism Index, 2015). The index further revealed that in 2014 alone 1,229 deaths were recorded. Most deaths, according to the global index, occurred in Benue, Kaduna,

Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba states, which recorded as high as 847 deaths while Zamfara State, in the Northern part of the country, had a death toll of 229 (Global Terrorism Index, 2015). According to the Coalition on Conflict Resolution and Human Rights in Nigeria the conflict has been responsible for over 2000 deaths (CCRHRN, 2018).

One puzzle yet to be resolved is what could have instigated violence between the herders and the farmers. Leme (2017), citing the Manbilla Plateau of Taraba state as an instance, notes that herders and farmers have been living peacefully together for centuries. Noting that prior to 1999, when the present political dispensation was kick-started, there was considerable peace while security was also tighter. According to Leme (2017), the advent of democratic rule would have fuelled ethno-religious conflicts which manifest in the form of conflicts between farmers and herders. It further states that the conflict must have been instigated by the political elite for political gains (Leme, 2017).

The violent activities of the Boko Haram insurgency group have also generated serious security concern within the polity. The group, which began its activities in 2009, is made up of youths and Almajiris (Onuoha, 2012). Since its inception, the group has waged serious extremist campaigns and anti-government attacks that led to the death and displacement of several thousand of people (Copeland, 2013). For instance in 2011, in 115 separate attacks by the group, 550 deaths were recorded. In all, 2,800 deaths were recorded in 2011 alone (Copeland, 2013). In 2013, more than 1,000 people were killed as a result of the group's attack. In 2014 the death toll drastically increased to 10,849. Currently, the insurgents have spread their tentacles to neighbouring Cameroon, Chad, and Niger which made the insurgency a major regional conflict (Campbell, 2014). From 2009 to 2017, the Boko Haram insurgents were responsible for the death of more than 100,000 people and the displacement of over 2,000,000 people (Tukur, 2017). To achieve their aims, the group usually employ violent tactics such as suicide bombing, kidnapping and guerrilla warfare. Given the magnitude of their deadly activities and the attendant high casualty rates, the Boko Haram insurgent group has been

described as the world's deadliest terrorist organisation (Pisa and Hume, 2015).

Conclusion

Since independence, Nigeria has been confronted with issues which manifest as challenges to the socio-economic and political growth of the polity. Although such issues are not entirely new to the country, they have assumed unprecedented dimensions since the commencement of the Fourth Republic. While Nigeria is confronted with several issues, the challenge posed by party politics, elections and electoral violence, corruption, inter-governmental relations and restructuring, farmers-herdsmen conflict and Boko Haram insurgency are conspicuous and have constituted serious security and development challenges to the country. The challenges posed by these issues are enormous and are capable of retarding the developmental growth of the nation.

There is, therefore, the need to combat the challenges posed by these issues. There is also the need to discover courageous, competent, incorruptible and dedicated political elites to drive the process of good governance. One way through which this can be achieved is for the political class to strive to develop themselves as a people to shun all forms of discrimination masquerading in the forms of religious and ethnic bigotry. By so doing, the national question which has remained an endemic issue will no longer be a thorny issue in the nation's political terrain.

References

Abdulahi, M. (2014). Politics of resource control and revenue allocation: Implications for the sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. *Journal of Politics and Law, 7(4):176-180*

Abimbola, J.O, Adesote S.A. (2012). Political parties and the quest for good governance in Nigeria. In: V.O. Edo and E.F. Salami (eds.) *Issues and trends in Nigeria's development*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, 248–265

Adamolekun, L. (1985). *The fall of the Second Republic*. Ibadan, Spectrum Books

Adebayo, P.F (2006). Political parties: Formation, development, performance, and prospects. In: E.O. Ojo (ed.) *Challenges of*

sustainable democracy in Nigeria. Ibadan: John Archers (Publishers) Limited

Ameh, C.G. (2018). Amnesty international reveals how many Nigerians Fulani herdsmen killed in 2018. Available at: http://dailypost.ng/2018/01/30/amnesty-international-reveals-many-nigerians-fulani-herdsmen-killed-2018/. Assessed 14th March, 2018

Atoyebi, O. (2018, July 22). Ekiti vote buying: rewarding emerging electoral fraud with victory. Available at: https://punchng.com/ekiti-vote-buying-rewarding-emerging-electoral-fraud-with-victory/. Assessed on the 17th of October, 2018

Aworawo, D. (2000). Mal-distribution and poverty as factors in the crisis of the Nigerian state. In: S, Odion-Akhaine (ed.) *Thoughts in demilitarization*. Proceedings of a Three tier Conference on Demilitarization. Lagos: Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization.

Baca, M.W. (2015, August 21). My Land, Not Your Land: Farmer-Herder Wars in the Sahel. Available at: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2015-08-21/my-land-not- your-land. Assessed 21/10/2018

Bach, D. (2006). Inching towards a country without a state: prebendalism, violence and state betrayal in Nigeria. In: C.H. Clapham, G. Mills, (eds.) *Big African states*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 47-79.

Bello, M.L. (2014). Inter-governmental relations in Nigeria: an assessment of its practice at the local government level. *Journal of Poverty, Investment and Development, 4: 66-76*

Bratton, M. (2008). Vote buying and violence in Nigerian election campaigns. Afrobarometer *Working Paper No. 99*

Campbell, J. (2014, January 12). Nigeria security tracker. Available at: https://www.cfr.org/nigeria/nigeria-security-tracker/p29483. Assessed: 21st October, 2018

CCRHRN (2018, August 9). Over 2000 Nigerians killed in farmers-herdsmen clashes across Nigeria. Available at: http://saharareporters.com/2018/04/09/over-2000-nigerians-killed-farmers-herdsmen-clashes-across-nigeria-group. Assessed 21st October, 2018

Copeland, F. (2013). The boko haram *insurgency in Nigeria: comprehensive information on complex issues*. Civil military Fusion Centre. Pp 1-7

Davies, A.E. (2006). Money and politics in the Nigerian electoral process. A Memo of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Ilorin.

Dudley, B.J (1963). The concept of federalism. *Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies, 5(1):95-103*

Dunmoye, R.A. (2002). Resource control: which way forward? *News Letter of the Social Science Academy of Nigeria, 5* (1).

Ebuzo, C. (2018, October 6). Live updates of PDP's presidential primaries in Rivers state. Available at: https://www.pulse.ng/news/politics/pdp-presidential-primaries-get-live-updates-hereid8944912.html. Assessed 18th October, 2018

Elaigwu, J.I (2008). Re-branding the Niger-Delta for socio-economic development, Business day Newspaper, 7(11):72-73

Elaigwu, J.I. (2007) *Fiscal federalism in Nigeria: facing the challenges of the future*. Jos: Aha-Publishing House.

European Union Election Observation Mission (2007) EU's final report on April 2007 elections, The Punch, 23, 24 and 27 August, pp. 1, 2 and 4

European Union Election Observation Mission (2011). *Nigeria: General Elections April 2011 Final Report*. Abuja: EUEOM

Farabiyi, A.O. (2017). The Structure of Nigeria's Restructuring Rhetoric. Centre for Allied Research and Economic Development, National Discourse, 002

Global Terrorism Index (2015). *Measuring and Understanding the impact of terrorism*. New York: Institute for Economic and Peace

Human Rights Watch (2011). Nigeria: Post – Election Violence killed 800. Available at: www.www.org/nead 2011/05/16/nigeria-post-election-violence-killed 800. Assessed 10th October, 2018.

Ikpeazu, O. (2018, January 5). Reflections on the restructuring debate. Available at: https://punchng.com/reflections-on-the-restructuring-debate/. Assessed: 20th October, 2018

Iyayi, F. (2004). *The conduct of elections and electoral practices in Nigeria. Being the Text of Paper Delivered at the NBA Conference, Abuja on 24th August, 2004*

Leme, A.U. (2017). Understanding farmers-herdsmen conflict and the way forward. Available at: https://www.thecable.ng/understanding-farmers-herdsmen-conflict-way-forward. Assessed: 21st October, 2018

Nigeria Data Portal (2018, May 2018). Nigerian Gross Domestic Product Report (Q1 2018). Available at: http://nigeria.opendataforafrica.org/NGNBSNGDPPTO2016/nigerian-gross-domestic-product-report-q1-2018. Assessed: 13th October, 2018

Nwabueze, B. (2010a). Colonialism *in Africa: origin, nature, and end of colonialism in Africa (Vol. I)*. Ibadan: Gold Press Ltd.

Nwakama, O. (2018, January 30). What is restructuring. Available at: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/07/what-is-restructuring. Assessed 21st of October, 2018

Nwogu, S. (2018, September 22). Politicians woo voters with N10,000 on WhatsApp as Osun elects new governor. Available at:https://punchng.com/osun-2018-politicians- devise-new-tactics-of-vote-buying-woo-pvc-holders-on-whatsapp/. Assessed 18th October, 2018

Nwolise, O.B.C. (2007). Electoral violence and Nigeria's 2007. *Journal of African Elections: Special Issue. Nigeria's 2007 General Elections. 6(2):155-179.*

Nwosu, N.I. & Olaniyi, J.O. (1996). Colonialism and the emergence of party politics in Nigeria. *Transafrican Journal of History, Vol. 25:20-28*

Obasanjo, O.A. (2007), Address at PDP presidential campaign rally. Abuja.

Obioha, E. & Roberts, F. (2005). Electoral violence and the role of the Nigerian police. In: Onu A & Momoh, A. (eds.) Elections and democratic consolidation in Nigeria Proceedings of the 23rdannual conference of the nigerian political science association.

Ofoche, C.O. (2012, March 15). Socio-economic problems in Nigeria: causes and remedy. Available at: http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a561627.pdf. Assessed 20th November, 2018

Ojibo, O. (1980). *Nigeria returns to civil rule*. Lagos: Tokion (Nigeria) Limited.

Ojo, E. (2010). The politics of revenue allocation and resource control in Nigeria: implications for Federal stability", *Federal Governance, 7 (1): 15-38*

Ojo, E.O (2009). *Mechanisms of national integration in a multi-ethnic Federal state: the Nigerian Experience*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers.

Ojo, E.O. & Adebayo, P.F. (2012). Living without the state: a rear view mirror of Nigeria's 50 years of independence. *African Social Science Review, 5(1): 14-30*

Ojo, E.O. (2007). Vote-Buying in Nigeria: money politics and corruption in Nigeria. UK: Department for International Development (DFID)

Okoli, A.C. & Iortyer, P. (2014). Electioneering and dialectics of political stability in Nigeria: implications for sustainable democracy. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences, 12(4):20-30*

Okoli, A.C. (2008). *Opportunism and expediency: the Machiavellian basis and logic of electoral violence in Nigeria*. A paper presented at the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) Conference held at Benue State University, Makurdi.

Olaniyi, J.O. (2017). African political parties and the question of development and underdevelopment: Insights from Nigeria. In: Mudyaradzi, V. (ed.) *Underdevelopment, development and the future of Africa*. Bamanda Cameroon: Langaa Research and Publishing Company, 389-434

Olorode, O. (1998). Imperialism, neo colonialism and the extractive industries in Nigeria.In: Sarowiwa, K. (ed.) *The Crisis of the Nigerian State*. A CDHR Special Publication.

Onapajo, H., Francis, S., & Okeke-Uzodike, U. (2015). Oil corrupts elections: the political economy of vote buying in Nigeria. *African Studies Quarterly, (15)2:2-21*

Onuoha, F.C. (2012) Boko Haram: Nigeria's extremist Islamic sect. Aljazera Centre for Studies. Available on http://studies.aljazeora.net. Assessed 13th March 2014.

Ovwasa, O.L. (2002). The oil producing minority state and marginalisation in Nigeria. *Nnamdi Azikiwe Journal of Political Science, 2(2): 57-69*

Ovwasa, O.L. (2013). Money politics and vote buying in Nigeria: the bane of good governance. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences, (3)4:1-19*

Pisa, K. & Hume, T. (2015). Boko Haram overtakes ISIS as world's deadliest terrorgroup. Available at: https://edition.cnn. com/2015/11/17/world/global- terror-report/. Assessed 21st October, 2018

Sagay, I.E (1995). Nigeria: the travails of democracy and the rule of law. In: M.A. Ajomo & A. Sambo (eds.) *Nigeria: democracy and the rule of law.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Suberu, R.T. (2001). *Federalism and ethnic conflict in Nigeria.* Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press

Schaffer, F. (2007). *Elections for sale: the causes and consequences of vote buying.* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Tukur, S. (2017). Shocking revelation: 100,000 killed, two million displaced by Boko Haram insurgency, Borno Governor says. Available at: https://www.premiumtimesng.com/ news/headlines/223399-shocking-revelation-100000-killed-two-million-displaced-boko-haram-insurgency-borno-governor-says.html. Assessed 14th March 2018

Worldmetres (2012, December 3). Nigeria Population (live). Available at: http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/nigeria-population/. Assessed 25th December, 2015.

The term governance has varied meanings. Notwithstanding, no one has been able to dismiss its pivotal role in development efforts of modern nation states. Therefore, there is a general consensus that a nation's efforts at development would mean nothing when its governance structure and practice are unhealthy. Based on the understanding that democratic governance is a sine qua non for development, this book contains chapters that are devoted to some governance issues in Nigeria under the Fourth Republic. Authors of chapters in the book have painstakingly examined issues such as participatory democracy at the local government level, anti-corruption war, insecurity, foreign policy issues, among other topical issues.

The main submission of the book is that democracy has not made much impact on the governance environment in Nigeria. It therefore contains some pathways in changing the situation for the better. One of these is that the war that the Nigerian state has launched on corruption is commendable but the lingering issues of selectivity, media war approach and lack of due diligence that have characterized the fight need to be addressed to galvanize the citizenry in giving it their full backing. The second is that not much change has been observed with the conduct of the country's external relations. Old habits and kits are still evident in the pursuit of Nigeria's external relations. The major antidote against the observed governance deficits in the nation from the perspective of the book is that the standard democratic practice should be allowed to reflect more in all facets of the nation's governance process.

About the Editors

Emmanuel O. OJO, (Ph.D.) is an Associate Professor of Political Science (Comparative Politics) at the University of Ilorin. He is a Fellow of Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS), Texas State University, USA. Dr. Ojo just served out his term as the Chief of Staff to the immediate past Governor of Oyo State, Isiaka Abiola Ajimobi.

Luqman SAKA (Ph.D.) is a Reader in the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He is an alumnus of the American Political Science Association (APSA) the Africa Fellows Programme and the Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

Abdulrasheed A. MUHAMMAD, (Ph.D.) is a former Acting Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Nigeria. He specialises in Federalism, Political Parties and Legislative Studies.

A Publication of the Department of Political Science, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria 2020

COLLEGE PRESS
08036694838
08022900793

ISBN 978-978-574-213-8