

Godfatherism In Nigerian Politics and Democratic Consolidation in The Fourth Republic 1999-2018

Fukpene Baitei

Department of Humanities
Lagos State University International School, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria
Phone: +2348039275312
E-mail: historicbaitei@gmail.com

Obe, Olubunmi Oyewusi

Department of Religions and Peace Studies
Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria
Phone: +2348033326040
E-mail: obeolubunmi5@gmail.com

Godonu, Emmanuel Jesuton

Department of Humanities
Lagos State University International School, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria
Phone: +2348067461951
E-mail: godonuimanuel@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

In contemporary democracy, politics of Godfatherism has become a major issue in many countries including Nigeria. In Nigeria, the activities of godfathers have been on the increase and it is a very sad irony that a country like Nigeria having generated huge revenue from petroleum since the 1970's have the most miserable infrastructures, medical services and educational system. The negative effects of godfatherism in a fragile democracy in our clime especially when peaceful coexistence is threatened cannot be over emphasised. Godfatherism is a potent avenue for corruption, bad governance, political instability, retrogression, mediocrity, perpetual poverty of the people and above all a threat to peaceful co-existence. This unholy alliance of godfatherism has also led to inter-party and intra-party defections, and conflicts among the party members. Against this backdrop, the paper unveils the problematic dimensions of the phenomenon of godfatherism which rears its ugly head in Nigeria, especially in the current republic as it affects peaceful co-existence.

The paper reveals that, godfatherism is a major factor to contend with if not handled constitutionally as the activities of these godfathers permeates in Nigeria's body politics. Primary and secondary sources were used in the collection, collation and interpretation of data.

Keywords: Godfatherism, Godson, Power, Peace, Unholy Alliance, Democracy.

Introduction

The word 'Godfather' appears in parenthesis in many western political studies. The situation is different in Nigeria. Politics of godfatherism has featured prominently in the political history of independent Nigeria. The series of political imbroglio experienced in some states of the country has exposed the negative impacts of crude political godfatherism in Nigerian politics. Godfathers are generally defined as men who have the power and financial capacity and are influential to decide and determine who gets nominated to contest elections in either primary or general elections and who wins in the elections. Godfatherism is a kind of political behaviour whereby an influential person in a popular or ruling party assists someone usually a lackey, i.e. godson to emerge as the governorship candidate of a party at all cost either by hook or crook. He will help him to emerge victorious in the state governorship election irrespective of whether he is a popular candidate or not. Nigerian version of godfatherism shows that an intending contestant must seek for blessings and sponsorship from a rich and powerful individual or group of individuals to get him into elective office. The implication is that, contestants no longer rely on their popularity among the electorates but on their chosen godfathers to help them secure electoral victory (Offor & Eze 2019).

This no doubt characterized Nigerian body politics. It has eaten into the fabric of the political arena that it has become almost difficult if not impossible for an individual to hold political office either by appointment or election without patronizing a godfather. It must be noted that, whatever assistance of the godfathers can never be given without stringent conditions. The godfather uses all he has to make sure his godson wins an election or gets political appointment with the hope of getting or receiving something greater in return. Godfatherism in Nigeria is a political investment where the investors are set to make profit at all cost, hence, the godfathers can do anything humanly and spiritually possible to protect their investment. These they achieved through several means such as vote buying, political violence, manipulation of election results, political assassination, blackmail, impeachment, defection and just to mention but a few (Afe, 2018).

An assessment of Nigerian fourth republic political arena shows that, it has more than before, become plagued by the overbearing influence of political godfathers, punctuating the political development of the nation. Most politicians considered Nigerian political godfathers as the most convenient means of winning elections. However, experience has shown that the patronage of political godfathers carries with it great consequences, for the public and the political stability of the country. The dominant role of the political godfathers in Nigerian politics and competition amongst godfathers to win elections for their godsons with ultimate intention of controlling state apparatus necessarily undoubtedly encourage the application of varying strategies to ensure electoral victory. In such circumstances Elections become a mere formality for the confirmation of a candidate already anointed by a godfather. This prompted some scholars to describe political godfathers as contractors, and fraudsters who execute political jobs for which they are paid heavily with a hundred percent interest rate. These people lack the basic understanding of the fundamental principles of governance. However, they still believe that government is there to be hijacked to serve personal political interest and enrichment (Emiri 2004).

A political godfather, being conscious of making huge returns from investing in a godson, subjects his godson to make a form of promise, undertake traditional oath, or sign a written agreement. If any omission or commission the godson does not respect the oath, the godfather would go to any length to recover what he feels is his return on investment. Following the overbearing influence of the political godfathers on political office seekers, the latter are robbed of their independence; thus they become mere surrogates and are conditioned in such a way that they become totally subservient to their godfathers (Regen, 2004). The Nigerian frontline Nationalist leaders, such as Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Alhaji Ahmadu Bello and other influential Nigerian pre-independence leaders, who later become godfathers in the post-independence era, were respected and worshipped. Although some people tried to exaggerate their impacts, but their brand of

godfatherism no doubt added value and experience to governance in the first republic (Fawole, 2001).

Historical Ascendancy of Godfatherism in Nigeria

The term “Godfatherism” is deeply rooted in the sociology of the traditional Nigerian pre-colonial societies. The patron/client relationships that characterized the term in modern Nigerian politics have cultural roots among many Nigerians peoples. It is not a totally a new phenomenon among Nigerian politicians to have one or other type of 'godfather'. An apt example could be derived from the pre-colonial major ethnic groups in Nigeria. The term 'godfather' has a local equivalence among the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo and these words have been in usage since the pre-colonial era. In pre-colonial Hausaland, a godfather is known as 'Maigida' (landlord or the head of a household). These landlords provided brokerage services to Hausa traders in transit in different parts of West Africa. These Hausa traders brought cattle from their homeland to different parts of southern West Africa and took back kola nuts to the North. At the various transit centres where they have to stop to do businesses, they rely on a 'Maigida' to facilitate their economic activities. The 'Maigida' provides them with accommodation, storage and brokerage services. He receives compensations for their services and many of them became rich from the number of clients they had.

Even in Hausaland, from where these itinerant traders came, this kind of patron/client relationship is popularly known. As Ferguson observed: In Hausaland, when a stranger with kola is staying in the house of one man, and a potential buyer is staying in the house of another man, they bargain over the kola and on each calabash they set aside two kola nuts, 'Yan K'ida', as a gift: one goes to each of the landlords. The Hausa sell kola nuts by the hundred (K'warya). One kola nut is added to every hundred that is counted or sold. This is what the 'maigida' gets for commission. In other words what a broker gets is just one percent of everything that is sold. In Yoruba Kingdoms and empires, a 'godfather' is referred to as 'baba Kekere' (the small father), 'Baba Isale' (the father of the underground world), or 'Baba Nigbejo' (a great help in times of trouble) (Isaac, 2005). The most historical of these terms is 'Baba Kekere'. It was used to depict community leaders with whom people of less social status identified as a way of providing physical, social, political and economic security for themselves. It must be noted that during the 19th century Yoruba civil wars, most of the Yoruba refugees who came to settle in Ibadan in the early nineteenth century settled with the 'Baba Kekere' in the city. These were military chiefs and patrons appointed to be in charge of certain Ibadan colonies by the town's traditional council. The migrants who settled under these Ibadan chiefs paid the 'Baba Kekere' tribute, part of which the 'Baba Kekere' transmitted to the Ibadan authorities. In return the chiefs were obligated to protect those under them against any act of violence that characterised Ibadan during the period (Falola

1985).

The idea of godfatherism also manifested itself in the pre-colonial Igbo communities. The popular relationship between 'Nnam-Ukwu' (my master) and 'Odibo' (the servant) in the Igbo societies is an apt example. A younger person is entrusted to a more matured and experienced person for training in social, economic and moral adulthood. The role played by the man in this kind of relationship is closely related to that of a modern day godfather. In such circumstance, the latter is expected to set the boy up in his business after undergoing whatever training the master must have given him. In the three cases mentioned above, a person of lesser social status attaches himself to another person, usually of higher status, for support, which could be social or economic. The godfather gets something in return from the adopted son for the transactional relationship. It is probably on this understanding that the modern notion of godfatherism in Nigeria is based. In other words, the phenomenon of godfatherism is not strange to the cultural world of the Nigerian societies. What might be considered strange is the transposition of this social or economic system into the political arena and also the ridiculous way and manner the patrons now ask returns or kick back from their clients as compensation for providing them with 'brokerage services'.

The present-day godfatherism which derives its source from the pre-colonial societies is taken to a criminal extent which has far-reaching negative effects on the democratization process as well as punctuating the political development of country. Godfatherism also characterised the politics of the nationalist leaders as majority of them were godfathers of a sort. They were preceded by the first generation Nigerian elites to establish contact with the European in the late 1800s. The leading figures were the traditional rulers who later became the hub of the indirect rule policy of the British in the country. Between the early 1900s and the late 1940s' the educated, religious and business elite competed for influence with the traditional rulers. These people acted formally and informally as the middlemen between the British colonial officials, European trading houses and the local people. Those who could not read nor write relied on the 'professional' letter and petition writers for making their cases before the colonial authority. The business-minded among this first generation of Nigerian elite competed with European firms for the sale of imported goods. For example, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and a few others invested in the transport business and gradually launched themselves into political activities. During this period, it was difficult to have direct access to the Europeans without the facilitative roles of these elites (godfathers). This provided many of them with the opportunity to become godfathers; they determined who and who could not meet the Europeans. Those who wanted the favours of the white men had to go through these godfathers. This was the situation of things before Nigeria got independent from the British imperial authorities. (Nnamani 2003).

The commencement of Political godfatherism in Nigeria is teachable to the activities of nationalist activities of the 1950s, where the educated elite championed the struggle for Nigerian independence. These elites, most of whom had only primary education, were respected for their knowledge and bravery in confronting the white man. They became idolized by their people and their personal opinions became the formal interests of the ethnic groups they claimed to represent. People who wanted to join in politics went to them for endorsement or blessings. These people were the leaders of regional political groups that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s (Isaac, 2005): the Northern People's Congress (NPC) representing the interest of the Northern Region, the Action Group (AG), headed by Chief Awolowo for the Western Region, and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), headed by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe representing the Eastern Region. (Awofisayo, Odu & Fukpene, 2020). The role of the godfathers at this time was to show the way for the other Nigerians in a colonial system.

Political godfathers during this period were to teach their godsons how to disrespect the white man who wanted to rule Nigeria forever. The political godfathers of this era included the then Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. The other elder statesmen that fell into this category in Nigerian politics include Mallam Aminu Kano and Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim. These political leaders, up to the point of their death, dictated pace of politics as they determine who could occupy political offices in the geo-political regions they led. The godsons of Sir Ahmadu Bello later became a mythical political cabal, known as the 'Kaduna mafia' in Nigerian politics. The godsons of the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo in South-Western Nigeria, collectively known as 'Afenifere' (those who wish others well) included the late Chief Bola Ige, Late Alhaji Lateef Jakande, and Chief Bisi Onabanjo, all of who were state governors during the second republic in Nigerian history (1979-1983). Similarly in Eastern Nigeria, Dr. Azikiwe's included Chief Jim Nwobodo and Chief Sam Mbakwe, both of whom were also governors in Anambra and Imo states respectively from 1979 to 1983. Alhaji Abubakar Rimi and Alhaji Balarabe Musa, who were governors of Kano and Kaduna states during the second republic, both recognised Alhaji Aminu Kano as their political godfather throughout his lifetime. The only difference between these early godfathers in Nigerian history and their contemporary peers is that they supported and nurtured their godsons positively rather than negatively. The emphasis of this generation of godfathers was on developmental issues and not money.

They also did not demand, figuratively, pounds of flesh from their adopted sons as the present-day godfathers do. These godfathers of blessed memory motivated their adopted sons to higher levels of political morality and made it necessary for them to be accountable to those who voted them into office. They also provided the regimes of their godsons with logistical support. Some of the godsons produced by Ahmadu Bello, Obafemi Awolowo and

Nnamdi Azikiwe (most especially Alhaji Jakande, Chief Bola Ige, Chief Jim Nwobodo, Chief Mbakwe, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, Alhaji Balarbe Musa, etc.), later became godfathers themselves, most especially during the ill-fated third republic. It must be noted that virtually all the godfathers we have presently lack the commitment to democratic principles especially rule of law needed for reproducing the godfathers that produced them. In the South-west for instance, many claimed and still claim to be followers of Chief Obafemi Awolowo. They dress like Awolowo and profess his political ideals but do something else. They claimed to have Awolowo vision without the needed mission of Awolowo they claimed to follow (Isaac, 2005).

Reasons for the Rise of Godfatherism

Historical ascendancy of political godfatherism as noted above is closely linked to pre-colonial Nigerian societies. In Nigeria today, the activities of godfathers have been on the increase. The fundamental question is what could have been responsible for the recent rise of political godfatherism in Nigerian body politics? Individual sponsorship within the frame work of party politics of election in the country is almost impossible due to the poverty rate. Individual and party sponsorship arises as a result of the huge cost involved in the running of party machinery and campaigns, rallies and elections. Due to the level of poverty, it is often beyond individual financial capabilities to undertake electoral funding. Hence aspirants and political parties seek support and financial assistance from those individuals usually with the requisite financial resources to undertake sponsorships. Obviously, sponsorship and the role of money in Nigeria politics can be said to be the impetus for the rise of political godfatherism (Emiri, 2004). In most cases, the master/servant like relationship seems to be enjoyed by the godfathers who desire to sustain it all cost. The phenomena could be seen as a practice which entails the sustenance of a kind of social and political relationships that exist between the subordinate and the superior for the propagation and fulfillment of certain roles, desires and interactions which binds both together or in which both have equal stake but with the superior determining what the subordinate gets in the process. In the realm of politics, godfatherism portrays a power-based relationship (Williams, 2004).

Some political godfathers saw sponsorship of political candidates as a source of upward social and economic mobility. Such politicians go around, like a typical businessman, looking for materials (not necessarily marketable) to invest their money in. The clients are usually people who are interested in winning elections by all means but who do not have the grassroots support, the money, or the violent dispositions for winning elections. In such a situation the godfather assures the candidate of easy availability of this possible assistance in exchange for some personal benefits for the godfather after election. Many of these godfathers keep their promises of making the candidates win their elections. This could be

any form of electoral malpractice, but is hardly through any honest political activities. Chris Uba, the best-known political godfather under the present dispensations in Nigeria, is a good example of this kind of godfather. He nominated and ensured the victory of governor Ngige of Anambra State during the 2003 elections (Isaac, 2005). Recently, some politicians are of the view that being a successful political godfather is a sure ticket to future ambition for a bigger political post to be contested for. These rich godfathers who are willing to provide what it takes for either rich or poor clients to win elections. He is willing to provide poor candidates with money and logistical support to win elections and he is ready to contribute to the campaign funds of rich candidates as well as provide him with logistical support. Dr. Sola Saraki of Kwara State has played this kind of role in the past. He supported several poor people to win elections in Kwara State. Bola Ahmed Tinubu and others are living examples.

Aftermaths of Godfatherism on Democratic Consolidation, Socio-Economic Development and Peace Building

The term godfatherism has been affecting the political system and party arena since the country returned to a democratic status and has a negative reflection on the society. The problems arising from godfatherism are myriad and it is one of the greatest glitches facing the Nigerian political system. The problem is such that the god-son oftentimes is a stooge of the godfather as the latter is likely to dictate the tune of governance for his godson. If a proper and right candidate is not elected to represent the citizens, such a society will lack the dividends of democracy and the morale to vote, because most of the candidates who represent them are imposed by some elite in society. The unfortunate problems of confidence in our political system offer an opportunity for advocates of new ideas through re-structuring which has been foot-dragging. The barriers to true democratic participation in the political process are serious, landscaping and deeply ingrained. To the extent that our system of political democracy “works” in most instances it works, only for a very small group of the citizenry the godfathers. The activities associated with godfatherism in Nigeria have brought and resulted in a wide range variety of inherent problems, having serious negative impacts on our elections, politics, administration and our nascent democracy (Ikejiani, 2006).

The emergence of godfatherism in Nigeria fourth republic (1999-2015) posed a great threat to democratic dividends and to the socio-economic development and stability of good governance. Perhaps, one of the most disturbing and damaging influence of godfatherism in Nigeria’s fourth republic was canvassing for a truly free, fair and credible electoral process in which the electorates by right are expected to freely elect who govern them and represent their interests. Indeed, the privilege of electing people of their choice to govern them was denied given the situations in which godfathers foisted candidates of their preference on the generality of the people (Osakede & Ijimakinwa, 2016) When public office would not be

accountable to the people, who at any rate did not count in their elections into public office, invariably, the loyalty of such public office would be titled towards their godfathers and this in itself negates one of the critical attributes of governance and democracy which is responsive and transparent government. This scenario is also inimical to good governance and political stability which are predicated on the rule of law, due process, accountability and transparency in the management of public affairs. The emergence of godfatherism has also robbed the citizens of the privilege of enjoying the dividends of democratic governance in the sense that government has become reluctant to initiate and implement policies that would advance the wellbeing of the generality of the citizens.

This was a result of the fact that godfatherism in Nigeria was basically predatory in nature. The primary motive of venturing into politics was born out of the need to acquire wealth (money) from the coffers of government to which their godsons held sways. Therefore, the financial resource accruable to the state from the federation account which was meant for the improvement of living standards of the citizens was paramount interest to them. In case godson's refuses to settle their godfathers as agreed, hell would be likely let loose. This is a regrettable situation in Nigeria. (Chukwuma, 2008). Certainly, the politics of godfatherism have entered every sector of the nation and have affected the political structure of the country as it has a negative impact on the socio-economic and political development of the nation by concentrating power in the hands of the few elites at the expense of the masses (electorates). This has affected the socio-economic and political development of the nation, and by extension led to inter-party and intra-party defections, decamping and conflicts among the party members (Rasak, Oye & Ake, 2017).

Another far reaching effects of political father which in turn would punctuate democratic growth and stability, is the complete erosion of the normative elements of democracy of which trusts is a sine-qua-non attribute between the government and the governed. In a polity where prescribed rules guiding the electoral process are frequently disobeyed with impunity as a result of the activities of political godfathers, the basis of citizen's trust in government would be compromised. If the situation is not decisively addressed with the urgency it deserves, the resultant effect is that trust as a vital social capital is lost, and when there is no trust between the government and the governed, interaction would only take place on the basis of mutual suspicion and this does not augur well for the healthy development of democratic governance. A typical godfather in Nigerian politics basically seeks to manipulate state officials and institutions for his own interests. Conflicts occur only when their clients refuse to be manipulated. This kind of situation does not augur well for the development and growth of any democratic process. Democracy has to do with the protection of the interests of all and should not only focus on the narrow interests of the privileged in the society.

The matter becomes more serious when the intention of these powerful godfathers is to exploit the state. Political godfatherism promotes mediocrity among the ruling class in a democratic system. True democracy comes from the grassroots and not from the top; it evolves from effective participation of the citizenry in the political process. In a democracy, the governed do not only come out to exercise their voting rights, they also have the right to be voted for. Political godfathers use their influence to block the participation of others in Nigerian politics. They are political gatekeepers: they dictate who participates in politics and under what conditions. This kind of situation promotes mediocrity and financial corruption as 'the incumbent godson is at pains to satisfy the whims and caprices of the godfather among other competing demands on the scarce resources of the government, the interest of the larger number is savagely undermined. Any godson who fails to cooperate with the godfather is subjected to all forms of humiliations and political violence, as discussed above (Isaac 2005). Commenting on the inherent problems associated with political godfatherism in Nigeria, Oviasuyi write;

Godfatherism has led to placing people in various governmental positions whom themselves do not have the required leadership qualities to bring about good governance and development, and as a result, the godfather sits at home dictating the pace of development and influencing decisions of government on who gets what, when and how.(Oviasuyi 2009).

Electoral malpractices in Nigeria's body politics are associated with political godfatherism. This stem from the assurance godfathers give to their godsons on winning elections when reaching agreements with them. The seriousness of the problem here is better appreciated when the fact is faced that there are many godfathers contesting for recognition at every election. The godfather assures the godson of electoral success and the later uses his political power after winning the election to advance the social, economic and political influence of his mentor. This explains why elections in Nigeria are usually a contest of power between godfathers. They come out with all the tricks that could help in ensuring their candidates victory. The tricks include multiple voting, exchanging official ballot boxes with unofficial ones already filled with voting papers, stealing electoral boxes, chasing voters away from constituencies where their candidates are likely to have few votes, killing and wounding political opponents, etc. Such activities help to produce counter-violence during elections. This partly explains why most elections in Nigeria are violent. This is a serious stumbling block to peace building in country (Bash, 2003). Godfatherism is responsible for distorting the effective functioning of political parties and democracy. It has aided the fall of so many candidates who would have been great leaders in their different states.

The idea that an aspiring candidate's popularity, acceptability and public goodwill can never take him to victory until he is anointed and backed by a politically influential godfather is a fatal blow to the concept of good governance. It has many negative effects on the leadership system of the nation. This menace of political godfatherism is one key internal factor that hampers the advancement of democratization process. It obstructs credible electoral process which eventually produces puppets who add no value to the nation's socio-economic productivity. The phenomenon of godfatherism in Nigerian political history is responsible for youth delinquency in the country. In the process of trying to settle political scores with his godson, innocent youths are being used by the godfather to perpetrate all kinds of evil. Such youths sometimes lose their lives in the process. Politics of godfatherism accounts for the corruption and violence which have characterized many elections in Nigeria. On the day of the election for instance, the politician who owes his candidacy to such a godfather can count on his ability to deploy enormous wealth in a bid to corrupt electoral officers and the electorates and where they fail, violence will be deployed to bring about the desired result. The godfathers of a particular state usually task their godsons on the kind of people to appoint in their cabinet even when the persons may not be up to the task in terms of experience or ability to deliver. However, if godson reacts to the directive of his godfather negatively, it leads to political violence, unlawful impeachment and all kinds of political corruption and battle (Offor & Eze, 2019).

Nigeria today has the worst unemployment problem, deplorable roads, and transportation problem, miserable infrastructures, medical services, educational system and standards, epileptic power outage, the living standard of the average Nigerian does not reflect the oil wealth of the nation. All these are as a result of the activities of godfathers who collaborate with their godsons to siphoned resources met for the overall infrastructural development of the country. Godfatherism in Nigerian politics and administration determines in all elections who competes, who wins, who get nominated to positions or who gets appointments. Godfatherism has also resulted in the turning around of our national priorities to favour their own personal interest and thereby making the National Assembly less representative and less responsive to the yearnings of the citizens. Equally disturbing is the fact that most of our super-imposed leaders do not have the needed abilities to deliver quality leaderships and good governance, thereby resulting to misappropriation of scarce available resources in our nation (Oviasuyi 2009).

Conclusion and Recommendations

From the foregoing discussion on godfatherism in Nigeria, it is crystal clear that, sixty-two years after independence, the problem godfatherism continues to rear its ugly head in Nigerian body politics. There is no gainsaying that a major problem in Nigerian democracy

today is the way and manner the political actors play politics. But a far greater problem is lack of political will of the ruling class to deliver the dividends of democracy as a result of the activities of political godfathers. The paper therefore recommends that a legislation is needed to aid the setting up of a regulatory body, which will be in charge of administration and enforcement of reforms against godfatherism and private money contributions to elections in the country. A stable environment should be established and maintained in order to provide political recruitment, promotion, nomination, election and appointment systems that will provide men and women the same options and opportunities. Since it is the duty of political sociologists and political scientists to proffer explanations to political phenomena, it is the duty of politicians and political leaders to apply the explanations in responding to political issues. It is, therefore, incumbent on Nigerian political leaders to devise mechanism of making political godfatherism much less attractive and discouraging to intending political aspirants from subjecting their political ambitions and fortunes to the dictates of political godfathers.

The social and economic structured position of women, financial dependency or limited financial means should be urgently addressed in order to create a smooth sail for women to effectively participate in electioneering process as many of them may likely fall prey to godfathers. Development has eluded Nigerians for so long, political party reforms and electoral financing have not been tackled head-on, and for any change to be achieved in the fight against godfatherism, these issues must be looked at from the perspective of creating a political system that would truly be fair and equitable in its dispositions. Anti-graft Commissions such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), which are presently instruments of selective justice, should be strengthened legislatively to totally eradicate and prosecute individuals indulging in corrupt practices who through these various corrupt practices enrich themselves, thereby assuming the position of godfathers, because they will now have the resources to do and un-do

References

Afe, B. O. (2018). Political party finance and godfatherism. Retrieved from www.vanguardngr.com. 10/04/2022

Awofisayo O. A, 'Yomi O & Fukpene B (2019) Historical Background of the Nigerian Civil war 1967-1970. *Journal of Arts and Social Sciences, Adeniran Ogunsanya College of Education*.3(1).106-124.

Bash A. Olasupo, (ed.), 2003, *Electoral Violence in Nigeria: Is Stress and Perspectives*, Lagos:

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Chimaroke N (2003), 'The godfather phenomenon in democratic Nigeria: Silicon or real?', *The Source*, 2 June 2003, p.45.

Williams, I. (2004). Citizenship Godfatherism and Democracy: *International Journal of Philosophy*. 1(1): 10 – 28

Chukwuma, O. (2008). Political Godfatherism in Nigeria: Benevolent or Malevolent Factors *International Journal of Social and Policy Issues*. 5(2): 86 – 93

Dibia D, (2003) 'A case for godfatherism', <http://www.thisdayonline.com/archive/2003/08/30/200308330con01.html>

Emiri, O. F. (2004). Godfatherism, ethical slippery slope, *International Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 10.

Falola T (1985), 'From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and Strangers, 1830-1904', *Journal of African History*, 26,

Fawole A. (2001). Godfatherism: Menace to Democracy. *Journal of Policy & Administration*. 10(6): 113 – 128

Ikejiani, C. M. (2006), Defining the Role of Professional and Business Women Stakeholders in Nation Building, Conference organized by South Saharan Social Development Organisation and fit Consult Limited at the Conference Hall of the National Museum, Enugu.

Isaac O. A (2005) Explaining 'godfatherism ' in Nigerian Politics. *African Sociological Review*. 9, (2), 79-105.

Offor, M. A and Eze C. O (2019) Godfatherism and Nigerian Politics: A Study of the Fourth Republic. 1999-2018. *IMTIJOTAS*. Vol. 3 (1): 78-90

Osakede, K.O & Ijimakinwa, S. O (2016) Political Godfatherism and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Empirical Evidence from Oyo State and Kwara State. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (OMAN Chapter)* Vol. 5(8). 1-12

Rasak, B., Oye, A.J. & Ake, M. (2017). God Fatherism and Political Patronage in Nigeria: A Theoretical Overview. *Political Science Review*. Vol. 8(1):77-101.

Regan, E. E. (2004). *The rise of godfathers in Nigeria politics*. Ibadan, spectrum books Limited.