

GOVERNANCE, CITIZENSHIP AND THE NIGERIAN STATE

**OBA DR. SIKIRU KAYODE ADETONA PROFESSORIAL CHAIR SECOND
DISTINGUISHED GOVERNANCE LECTURE**

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THE LECTURER

Toyin Falola, Ph.D., is the Jacob and Frances Sanger Mossiker Chair in the Humanities and University Distinguished Teaching Professor at the University of Texas at Austin, and most recently the Kluge Chair of the Countries and Culture of the South, the Library of Congress in Washington DC. He is a celebrated author, editor, writer, poet, academic leader, organizer, teacher, Pan-Africanist, and a visionary of extraordinary grace, talent and accomplishments. An author and editor of over one hundred and sixty books on Africa and the African Diaspora, he has been invited to speak in all continents, and in over sixty countries, and widely proclaimed as Africa's preeminent historian and one of the major intellectuals of our time. Many of his books have received awards, defined various fields, and inspired the writings of various critical works. He manages six distinguished scholarly monograph series, and serves on the board of over twenty journals.

A global icon in African Studies, Toyin Falola has received twelve honorary doctorates: Doctor of Humane Letters from Lincoln University, Doctor of Humanities from Monmouth University, Doctor of Humane Letters from City University of New York, Staten Island, D. Litt. from Lead City University, D. Litt. Adekunle Ajasin University, D. ED. from Tai Solarin University of Education (Nigeria), D. Litt. from the University of Jos, D. Litt. from Redeemer's University, D. Litt. from Olabisi Onabanjo University, D. Litt. from Caleb University, D. Litt. from McPherson University, D. Litt. from Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta, and D. Litt. from Babcock University.

His lifetime career awards include the Nigerian Diaspora Academic Prize, the Cheikh Anta Diop Award, the Amistad Award, and the SIRAS Award for Outstanding Contribution to African Studies, Africana Studies Distinguished Global Scholar Lifetime Achievement Award, Fellow of the Nigerian Academy of Letters, Fellow of the Historical Society of Nigeria, and The Distinguished Africanist Award.

An annual international conference has been named after him, TOFAC (Toyin Falola Annual Conference on Africa and the African Diaspora) which meets every July in a major African university. The Association of Third World Studies has named its annual best book award after him as the Toyin Falola Prize for the best book on Africa. His memoir, *A Mouth Sweeter Than Salt*, captures his childhood, while another memoir, *Counting the Tiger's Teeth*, covers his years as a teenager.

For his contributions to the study of Africa, his students and colleagues have presented him with a set of five *Festschriften*, two edited by Adebayo Oyejide, *The Transformation of Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola* and *The Foundations of Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*, one by Akin Ogundiran, *Precolonial Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*, and yet another by Nana Amposah, *Beyond the Boundaries: Toyin Falola and the Art of Genre-Bending*. *Toyin Falola: The Man, Mask and Muse* presents bio-critical studies of his works in over a thousand pages.

Two full-length books by Abdul Bangura examine his contributions to pedagogy: *Toyin Falola and African Epistemologies*; and *Falolaism: The Epistemologies and Methodologies of Africana Knowledge*.

Professor Falola has received various awards and honors in various parts of the world. At the University of Texas at Austin, he received the Jean Holloway Award for Teaching Excellence, The Texas Exes Teaching Award, the Chancellor's Council Outstanding Teaching Award, Outstanding Graduate Teaching Award, and the Career Research Excellence Award. His life time career awards are over two dozens, including three Yoruba chieftaincy titles, most notably the *Bobapitan* of Ibadanland.

He served as the Chair of the ASA Herskovits Prize for the best book on Africa, the chair of the Martin Klein Book prize for the best book on African history (American Historical Association), and committee member of the Joel Gregory Prize for the Canadian Association of African Studies. He once served as the Vice President of the International Scientific Committee, UNESCO Slave Route Project, President of the African Studies Association and President of the Nigerian Studies Association. He is the current President of the Consortium of Pan-African University Press.

THE LECTURE

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I must start by congratulating those with the vision that set up this endowment and the University where it is hosted. It is an achievement that will become an enduring legacy. This great University will continue to benefit by having endowed chair holders among its faculty. Endowed professorships have cost implications as the university has to look for donors to fund them. You are already blessed with the Oba (Dr.) Sikiru Adetona Chair of Governance. The Oba (Dr.) Sikiru Adetona's name appears in the signature line of Professor Ayo Olukotun on the back page of the *Punch* newspaper every Friday. The advantages are many: for the university that gets notice and fame each time the endowed professor publishes any piece or gives public lectures; and for the recipient, the professor, who enjoys the endowment. The professor with the endowment is at once a *primus inter pares* among senior fellow professors who have mediatory power, but he is also an autocephalous figure, one who is expected to have greater talents, superior intellectual strength, elegance of presentation, and lucidity of language. His seniority confers respect on campus. As the endowed professor generates knowledge of far-reaching significance, he or she attains the status of the patriarch or matriarch of knowledge. The position can come with humility, although intellectual arrogance is also not far removed for some endowment holders.

I also want to congratulate Professor Ayo Olukotun, the first holder of the Oba (Dr.) Sikiru Adetona Chair of Governance. In this role, he has developed a robust research agenda on grassroots politics in Nigeria; he has given three annual lectures on the anniversary of the chair and the donor's birthday; and he continues to maintain a consistent and prolific weekly Friday column in *Punch*, one of the country's leading newspapers. So thoroughly committed is he to this Friday column that I have twice invited him to the

University of Texas at Austin to give a Keynote Address at the annual Africa conference, and he just could not find the time to do it without a temporary vacation of the column.

This lecture takes off from Professor Olukotun's interest in governance and the issues around governance. In one instance, he said

Nigeria presents itself to the world in fascinating contrasts and as a study in unrealized expectations and beckoning greatness frustrated by adversity and self-inflicted wounds.¹

Professor Ayo Olukotun has undoubtedly established himself as a formidable voice to be reckoned with in his unflinching reflections and refractions of the nation's sociopolitical and cultural realities. In a calm yet invasive manner, he highlights the abnormalities, the so-called "adversity and self-inflicted wounds," plaguing our society against a standard dim fit of a progressive one, which ours aspires to become. He confers upon himself the selfless duty to carefully examine the "fascinating contrasts" that bedevils our society, his musings are charged with commonplace and contemporary realities with no overt interest on a particular issue but on every issue that borders across the development of the nation, from the deplorable state of the healthcare system, political inefficiency, economic issues to the increasingly degrading standard of education and level of security in the country.

In whatsoever issue he dabbles in, he doesn't show sentiment, he says it as it is; hence, his musings are apt with no evasive turn at daring truths: first, he identifies an issue, a societal menace; he analyses it, and then he proffers feasible and intellect-driven solutions. And when he has been accused of excessive analysis of issues other than

¹ Ayo Olukotun, "PDP's Self Destructive Quarrels and Growing Irrelevance," *Punch*, Sep 1, 2016.

straightforward attacks, he opines that he leaves his “postulations open for the purpose of empirical testing, in order to confirm, modify, or refute them,”² which further proves him as an objective-minded writer.

In his musings where he painstakingly reflects the menace plundering our society, he never fails to express his concern for the general welfare of the masses and of the society itself, those who bear the brunt of weak and inefficient governance the affairs of the nation has unfortunately been committed to continuously; in his words, the increasingly “declining quality of lives” as experienced in the nation is “occasioned by erratic and poor service delivery in virtually every department of social and economic endeavours.”³ He has written on politics and governance. He once said:

Leadership, that vital ingredient that drives nations and people to achievement beyond their dreams, has been Nigeria’s soft underbelly for decades. Over recycled, jaded politicians bereft of new ideas, exhausted army generals feigning democratic credentials and skilful manipulators of compromised electoral processes, straddle a disappearing unlucky nation.⁴

His untiring voice never ceases to chastise the menace of politics and governance, which are the most comprehensive way of ensuring the development of the nation. Highlighting the ineptitude of the aspiring political leaders, he comments that “Even the most lucid of them are spending time telling us how evil their opponents are, instead of setting out a map

² Ayo Olukotun, “Is excellence Possible in Nigeria? A Postscript,” *Punch*, July 6, 2017. See also, Ayo Olukotun, “A Farewell to Civil Political Discourse?” *Punch*, April 28, 2016.

³ Ayo Olukotun, “What will Nigeria Look Like in 2023?”, Jan. 31, 2019.

⁴ Ayo Olukotun, “Buhari and the Second Term Controversy,” *Punch*, Nov 23, 2017.

of the Promised Land to which they will presumably lead us if they win the election.”⁵ Of the many follies he charges at in Nigerian politics, the lack of fundamental ideological standings in our political system is most foregrounded in his writings.

On the inefficacy of the political system operated in the country, he expresses the need for a “clear governance ideas that will jumpstart sustainable development and reset the political arena”⁶ and not the political competitions among numerous parties “whose names one does not remember...barren of party identity and policy discussion,”⁷ even when the jostle for power is just between two political parties which are devoid of significance and replete with the same set of political members who hop between the parties based on self-gratifying reasons. The lack of these substantial ideologies in the formation of political parties and their policy is accountable for the deplorable system of governance and development in the country—“a linkage between the repetitive maladies the nation experience, and the nature of our politics, which is almost totally bereft of policy debate.”⁸

The restructuring of the nation’s political community would create the necessary channel to “transfer some of the edifying indigenous cultural values into the national political realm”⁹ to develop the nation based on existing pan-African political ideologies

⁵ Ayo Olukotun, “National Degree Exams for Undergraduates?”, Jan. 24, 2019.

⁶ Ayo Olukotun, “Ambode: A Postscript.” Oct 11, 2018.

⁷ Ayo Olukotun, “2019: Harvest of Aspirants, Shortage of Policy Ideas,” *Punch*, Sep 6, 2018.

⁸ Ayo Olukotun, “2019: Harvest of Aspirants, Shortage of Policy Ideas,” *Punch*, Sep 6, 2018.

⁹ Ayo Olukotun, “Falola and Olubadan’s 90th Birthday Lecture,” *Punch*, Aug 23, 2018.

and true democratic policies. Further, on the need for an enhanced political system with clear ideological policies, his comment on the coalition of political parties¹⁰ at different election periods in the country for the sole objective of un-sitting a ruling party/leader highlights the inherent weakness in the ideological foundation of these political parties that merely jostle for the acquisition of political power, and not the development of the nation, in his words: “Evidently, there was ideologically speaking no platform, no minimal threshold of agreed principles which bound the loose coalition,”¹¹ and which stirs the same reason for the continuous decamping from a political party to another.

The political system, as it is, “has boxed itself into a corner of false choices in which there is little to choose among a riot of jaded political aspirants and expired office holders,”¹² which leaves him with the doubt and impression that the just concluded elections “will provide noticeable departures from the saga of under achievement and low score governance.”¹³ It is on this note that he suggests the need for the constitution to be amended to allow independent candidatures vie for political posts outside the premises of political parties and the need to look into other minor political parties was also highlighted

¹⁰ Ayo Olukotun, “Much Ado about the Coalition of Opposition Parties,” *Punch*, July 12, 2018.

¹¹ Ayo Olukotun, “APC and Tinubu’s Uphill Assignment,” *Punch*, Feb 15, 2018.

¹² Ayo Olukotun, “Will 2019 Reverse the Crisis of Underperformance?,” *Punch*, May 31, 2018.

¹³ Ayo Olukotun, “Will 2019 Reverse the Crisis of Underperformance?,” *Punch*, May 31, 2018.

to break the yoke of governance by the incompetent dominant political parties as well to widen the choices from which the people can elect.

In line with the reformation of “not too young to run” in the Nigerian political climate, the columnist offers his view as to how the young can get themselves in the political affairs of the nation, not by aiming for the highest posts as was witnessed in the last presidential election but by tolling the line of Justin Trudeau and Emmanuel Macron who leveraged on their father’s political affluence and as an apprentice of Trudeau respectively “Fundamentally, the prospects of youths making landmark political change are functions of factors such as their intellectual capital, as this relate to ideological conviction, moral stamina, preparation for office, and the power of institutions to act as checks on their tendencies for impetuous interventions.”¹⁴ His point being, if there would be a comprehensive reformation of the Nigerian political system, it ought to start from the grassroots and there is the need for leadership experience in steering the affairs of the nation, which can only be acquired as a sort of apprenticeship “at the feet of the established, even if they end up overthrowing all they stood for.”¹⁵

Let me build on Professor Olukotun’s foundation.

PART B

GOVERNANCE: ONE WORD, MULTIPLE MEANINGS

¹⁴ Ayo Olukotun, “Macron and Nigerian Youths’ Leadership Bid,” *Punch*, May 11, 2017.

¹⁵ Ayo Olukotun, “Macron and Nigerian Youths’ Leadership Bid,” *Punch*, May 11, 2017.

Like all terms, there are complications and disagreements on their definitions, the application of those definitions, and the points in history when they attain currencies. In broad definitional terms, the dictionaries break “governance” into varied component units: as a method or system of government or management; as authority; as control; and as the government in relation to control, exercise of authority and resource distribution. “Governance” becomes segmented into various branches of a tree: power, political practice, patronage, influence, policy execution, domination, law, administration, rule, control, etc. When those branches are combined, yet another meaning emerges around values and behavior, as defining “governance” to examine the actions of an organization or the “manners” of how a state is governed. In this values and behavior analysis, we can talk of a corrupt system of governance, for example. Because values and manners are key, issues around reforms and revolution are germane, as in talking about governance reforms or revolutionary governance. Those who apply the business model to politics look at a set of related issues: objectives of an organization, the policies in place to make things work; and the monitoring of those policies in terms of implementation. Then there is a management, called “governing boards” in some instances—how that board is constituted, and how those on the board share power. In corporate governance, a lot of attention is paid to the balance sheet to ensure the generation of profit.

In its current usage and applicability, “governance” is used by the World Bank and international agencies to refer to management of resources, the policing of debtor nations, the reconciliation of governmental activities with resource allocation in political systems that were struggling to become democratic. The Bretton Wood institutions began to use “governance” in the 1990s, and it spread thereafter as an entrenched vocabulary in the

policy and social sciences world. It is then fractured into sub-fields: public, non-profit, private, global, national, corporate, etc. Each is again fragmented into issues of regulations, project management, security, infrastructures, and so on. Today, with the widespread use of the Internet, companies and nations have also created the field of Internet and Technology governance. What all this means is that any major component of lives and ways of doing things can have a governance created around it, as with products and supply chains. So many are the branches that it is now possible to create academic departments around governance and award degrees at all levels.

I want to use “governance” specifically in relation to the public and conjoin it with politics, authority, and accountability. In this conjoining will be the issue of normativity: is there justice, is governance fair? In a developing country like Nigeria, the evaluation of the state as having “good governance” cannot be avoided. And the notion of “good governance” cannot be disconnected from that of sustainable development and the overall welfare of the citizens. The assumptions guiding this lecture are, therefore, as follows:

1. Governance and politics cannot be separated into two distinctive concepts as some analysts have attempted. I see the separation as a theoretical fallacy and an error of judgment. In Nigeria and elsewhere, both governance and politics are tied to how power is obtained and then used to allocate resources; how those in power create decisions which are then enforced by executive and judicial branches; how the policy of the state is informed by those who govern.
2. In evaluating politics, it cannot be divorced from evaluating governance. The distinction between politicians and the bureaucratic class should not be exaggerated, as the bureaucratic class does not necessarily operate independently of the political.

3. Ethnicity drives both politics and governance, a dangerous feature that puts stumbling blocks on democracy and development. It allows for incompetence and undermines merit.
4. With oil revenues being over-deterministic in the management of the country, the governance of the oil sector and the national politics itself cannot be separated. The contract governance of the oil sector is shaped by wielders of power.
5. The private sector in Nigeria relies very much on the state and also on oil revenues. Although it is credited as being more efficient than the public sector, the “language” governing both can be similar; and the norms governing them, derived from religion and ethnicity, can be similar as well.
6. The elite behavior in the private and public are similar: money is to be made as fast as possible and used to support aristocratic life styles.
7. Norms of governance, in its corrupt format, have been consistent since the country obtained its independence in 1960. Reforms on papers are deformed in practice.
8. Branches of governance have emerged over time, what we call Ministries, headed by Commissioners in the State and Minister at the federal level. However, the norms governing them are similar and very much tied to the alliance between activities and private pockets. The impacts of those ministries are very difficult to evaluate, while it is clear many who work within them are clever in converting regulations to opportunities for personal enrichment.
9. The citizens do not see the leaders as committed to them: they have power but not genuine service, humility and sincerity. The face of power is the face of arrogance,

- norms supportive of tyranny and greed. To the citizens, where is the selflessness, the dedication, the humanitarianism?
10. Activists and NGOs do not always have credibility because of the rotten ones among them who convert activism and NGOs to opportunities. When genuine activists come up, many people ridicule them, saying that they are not in it for change but to “chop”.
 11. Religious bodies do not champion the cause of the poor or practice liberation theologies. It is not clear when they hear the voice of God or their own voices or even Satanic voices. The objectives of feeding politics with religion is not always well defined, as religious leaders may seek access to those in power to obtain resources, exemptions from paying custom duties or obtaining oil blocs.
 12. Kings and chiefs look for their own self interests. The maintenance of their palaces and prestige call for a clever strategy of tapping into the wealth of others or resources from local and state governments. Seeing politicians living in grandeur, some kings feel short-changed.
 13. At the moment, Nigeria practices a democratic government, based on citizens voting for those to govern them. Those votes are not always an accurate reflection of those who win elections. The assumption in democracy is that politics will deliver public goods. Where public goods have not been delivered, we have to interrogate the normativity of governance, and we may conclude that things are not working or governance is unfair. The people are not deceived, as they expect politicians to break their promises.

14. The rule of law is not always respected, more so during the long period of military regimes. Those in power can change or interpret the laws in their favor or they can bribe the judges to deliver the judgement they seek.
15. There is a disconnect between governance and morality. Power, once acquired, is not to advance the public good, but to elevate the fortunes of power holders. The state is not necessarily seen as the instrument of development.
16. As part of an international system since its colonial foundation, Nigeria is a junior power in global governance. External influences on its activities are many, most notably on the generation of revenues linked to external markets. Its voice in the international arena may not always be strong as the countries of the North exercise dominance.

There is a long history to practices and normativity. This story must be told.

PART TWO

GOVERNANCE: LINEAGES AND GENEALOGIES OF AN IDEA AND PRACTICE

In my own elastic definition, governance, as practice and theory, has been with us since the origins of civilization. It has no beginning and no end. Even in the space habited by two people, norms and rules must operate to guide what they do and the limits of their freedom. A hostel room of four students must have rules, just as a family of husband, wife and two children are guided by expectations and roles. As the number increases to form

villages, cities, states, nations, continents, so too would the rules and regulations expand to define rights and responsibilities, create sanctions, insist on the incentives, promote order, prevent anarchy, chaos and violence. In our ancient societies and nationalities, we created rules to govern families, villages, towns, markets and people. In precolonial state formations, power and governance were arranged in networks of relationships and control with the king at the apex. Elaborate institutions and laws were formulated in all states as the Oyo Empire, with norms, attitudes and words. Political processes were derived from conventions, established practices, division of power, and even sometimes the whims and caprices of kings, princes, and their allies. The king saw to the enforcement of laws, regulations of markets and trade routes, and principles on crime and punishment.

The first segment of the title of this lecture is not my creation: I lifted it from Psalm 72. Written many centuries ago, Psalm 72: 1-4, 12-14 created what can be regarded as one of the earliest documents on the relationship between the ruler and his subjects in an intensely monarchical manner form:

Give the king your justice, O God,

And your righteousness to a king's son

May he judge your people with righteousness, and your poor with justice.

May the mountains yield prosperity for the people, and the hills, in righteousness.

May he defend the cause of the poor of the people, give deliverance to the needy, and crush the oppressor.

For he delivers the needy when they call, the poor and those who have no helper.

He has pity on the weak and the needy, and saves the lives of the needy.

From oppression and violence he redeems their life; and precious is their blood in his sight.

These are words that talk about the responsibilities of leadership which warned the kings and leaders not to misuse their power. These golden words are careful to talk about leadership rights and responsibilities that protect communities, the needy, the weak, and the powerless. The words are clear that good governance includes the components of fairness, justice, and compassion. Righteousness is raised to the level of integrity and morality, a crucial necessity upon which many other things rest. The king must “crush the oppressor”, protects the helpless, saves the lives of those without the means to survive. Centuries after that Psalm was written, the same leadership vision became the bedrock of the foundation of Christianity, as Luke: 16-21 speaks about the anointment of Jesus Christ “to bring good news to the poor”, release the captives, bestow favor and “let the oppressed go free.” All these words are religio-political statements that capture the compassion expected of a ruler and missing in Nigerian rulers. At the same time, the words allude to the existence of an overarching authority—God in the Bible, and Rousseau’s General Will mentioned below, a higher authority that checks the ruler, values the citizen/subject as precious, and subtly threatens retribution for the ruler who ignores his responsibility to his people.

Lest you think that I am engaged in a sermon, be reminded that what you call religious ideas laid the foundation of secular governance. Over the centuries, passing through various phases of governance and philosophies, religious ideas became refined and coded in non-religious regulations, stated in national constitutions, and repeated as dogmas in various phases of political evolution, up until the current age of democracy. I think many scholars forget the intellectual lineage of democracy and some nations constantly try to reinterpret a deeply religious-ethos-based constitution into modern secularist terms, and so

you have a system where the most important legal-constitutional developments in the last century are not the constitution per se, but Court's rulings on its [modern] interpretation and application—often far from the original underlying [religious] values of the constitution itself. Time does not permit a longer elaboration to run through the philosophy of governance over the ages, but I can do a quick timeline of milestones.

There was the age of religion, when it dominated governance principles and politics. I cited one above, drawn from the Bible. Those biblical principles were worked into governance and the assessment of leadership. Notice in the Bible the various conflicts and curses, the problems of leadership betrayal, and attempts to reform society. The cross and crucifixion, presented as in the case of Jesus Christ, became the symbols and metaphors of suffering and overcoming how society was managed.

By the Middle Ages, various ideas of what it meant to be a “Christian society” were worked out by notable philosophers, among whom were John of Salisbury, St. Thomas Aquinas, Dante Alighieri, Ramón Lull, and Bishop Otto of Freising. Let me start with John of Salisbury (c. 1115-80), the Secretary to Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote, in 1159, the *Policraticus*, translated as *The Statesman's Book*.¹⁶ This became the first treatise on governance and political philosophy that held dominance for a long time. John of Salisbury emphasized respect for the rules of law, saying that the prince, as powerful as he was, must not be above the law. Indeed, he preached resistance to a prince who, in ignoring the laws, became an outlaw:

¹⁶ John of Salisbury, *The Statesman's Book*, trans. By John Dickinson (Alfred A. Knopf, 1927). Relevant pages from the 1927 edition are on 3, 33-34, 243-4, and 258.

For myself, I am satisfied and persuaded that loyal shoulders should uphold the power of the ruler; and not only do I submit to his power patiently, but with pleasure, so long as it is exercised in subjection to God and follows His ordinances. But on the other hand if it resists and opposes the divine commandments, and wishes to make me share in its war against God; then with unrestrained voice I answer back that God must be preferred before any man on earth. Therefore inferiors should cleave and cohere to their superiors, and all the limbs should be in subjection to the head; but always and only on condition that religion is kept inviolate.¹⁷

The prince and God were thus linked in a political system. To James of Salisbury, if the honest link was broken by the prince who disobeyed the laws of God, citizens can rebel. St. Thomas Aquinas, writing around 1260, supplied a treatise, *De Regimine Principum*, where he offered advice to rulers.¹⁸ Aquinas stressed human virtues, which means that governance must be governed by a set of moral codes. He also emphasized reason, that decisions have to be based on rational justifications. Both the kings and their citizens, he warned, must not break the codes of a “divine government”: “to lead the thing governed in a suitable way towards its proper end.” All these ideas were tied to the monarchy, and how governance would be pleasing to God and people.

¹⁷ Ibid., 258.

¹⁸ Translated as the *Governance of Rulers* by G. B. Phelan (Toronto: Medieval Studies of Toronto, Inc., 1949).

Centuries later in the 18th century came the age of “Enlightenment”, producing such great philosophers as Adam Smith, Giambattista Vico, Voltaire, and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Enlightenment intellectuals built on previous ideas from the medieval and Renaissance, but they began to question religious and theological ideas. Ideas from science became important as well. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), in the “social contract and the general will”¹⁹ attacking the individualism advanced by John Locke, generated a new set of philosophical ideas that contributed to laying down the foundation of democracy and partly instigating the French Revolution. This lecture cannot do justice to Rousseau, but simply itemize key points. He doubted the legitimacy of the rule of administration in relation to people, and questioned the use of violence to obtain consent:

Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they.

Rather than using the force and excesses of the monarchy, he suggested a social compact:

Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole. At once in place of the individual personality of each contracting party, this act of association creates a moral and collective body, composed of as many members as the assembly contains voters, and receiving from this act its unity, its common identity, its life, and its will. This public person, so

¹⁹ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses* trans by G. D. H. Cole. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1950).

formed by the union of all other persons, formerly took the name of *city*, and now takes that of *Republic* or *body politic*; it is called by its members *State* when passive, *Sovereign* when active, and *Power* when compared with others like itself. Those who are associated in it take collectively the name of *people*, and severally are called *citizens*, as sharing the sovereign power, and *subjects*, as being under the laws of the State.²⁰

Movements to democratic forces emerged and took shape in many places. The rethinking process was endless, in relation to politics, power, governance, institutions, and they continue to this day. In the nineteenth century, ideas of Engels and Marx introduced far-reaching changes to the relationship between classes. By the twentieth century, communism and later on fascism were thrown into the world with a set of parameters that redefined the boundaries of relationship between the state and its people. Vladimir Lenin, arguing that revolutionary theory must lay the basis of revolutionary movement, requested not democracy as formulated by other philosophers but the dictatorship of the proletariat to displace the “bourgeois state”:

The dictatorship of the proletariat—i.e., the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of crushing the oppressors—cannot produce merely an expansion of democracy. *Together* with an immense expansion of democracy which *for the first time* becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich folk, the dictatorship of the proletariat

²⁰ Ibid.

produces a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force; it is clear that where there is suppression there is also violence, there is no liberty, no democracy.²¹

By the time of Lenin, the ideas of governance had been pretty well established in the West, from philosophical ideas dating back to Plato and his idea of steering. Plato's interpretation of governance as "steering" remains perhaps the most dominant in the usage of the term today. In England by the 15th century, they were already talking about how the realm was governed. When Charles Plummer published *The Governance of England* in 1885, it was based on a translation of a 15th century document. Constitutional History had emerged by the nineteenth century, talking about various aspects of governance. Ideas and practices of democracy continued to be debated and refined.

I could have used our own indigenous history of state building and governance to create the genealogies from the Stone Age to the 1885 Scramble of Africa, at a time when empires such as the Zulu, Ibadan, and the Sokoto Caliphate had been created. I did not do so because the institutions we inherited and now use derive not from our own organic creations but from the Western ones in terms of formal politics and bureaucratic aspects of governance, hence the need for me to reference above the genealogy of those Western institutions as they developed in those societies.

²¹ Vladimir Lenin, *State and Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1932, 73.

By the time the British created their colony called Nigeria, ideas and practices of governance had been with us for many centuries. The British took established ideas, along with the objectives of conquest, domination and exploitation, and imposed them on their subjects. What we inherited by 1914 when the British had defined their Nigeria territory included the following:

1. Autocracy: Governance was not by democracy but by a select few accountable to their masters in London; and
2. Exploitation: The role of government was to transfer resources from Nigeria to Europe

In the first half of the twentieth century, ideas on socialism gained grounds. Lenin was cited above, and the practical manifestations were seen in the Soviet Union, China and later on Cuba, although with different emphasis. A new educated Africans were able to draw ideas from democracy, capitalism and socialism, thereby inserting Nigeria into different sources of governance. The rise of fascism in Italy and Germany in the 1930s and 1940 led to conversations on the role of the state, and the further legitimization of democratic governance. In the Doctrine of Fascism written in 1932, Mussolini dismissed both democracy and socialism and transferred basically all power to the state. To Mussolini, “The man of Fascism is an individual who is nation and fatherland.” The individual, he argued, must coincide with the State:

Fascism reaffirms the State as the true reality of the individual. And if liberty is to be the attribute of the real man, and not of that abstract puppet envisaged by individualistic Liberalism, Fascism is for liberty. And for the only liberty which

can be a real thing, the liberty of the State and of the individual within the State. Therefore, for the Fascist, everything is in the State, and nothing human or spiritual exists, much less has value, outside the State. In this sense Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State, the synthesis and unity of all values, interprets, develops and gives strength to the whole life of the people.²²

This totalitarianism of the State led, in countries and places that saw themselves as democracies, to a determination to destroy Fascism which, since then, has acquired a negative connotation. The pioneer Nigerian elite rejected it, although elements of it later appeared in military dictatorships.

Over the years, both in theory and practice, governance, in turn, had become part of a mandate to deliver security, supply human needs, and, today, ensures modernity.

PART C

THE NIGERIAN SITUATION: THE DANGER OF CORRUPTION

After the former Nigerian president, General Sani Abacha, died in 1998, the United States Senate reported that his wife was found at a Lagos airport with 38 suitcases filled with money and that their son was found with \$100 million United States dollars in cash.²³

²² Benito Mussoline, “The Doctrine of Fascism” in *Italian Encyclopedia*, 1932.

This money was clearly squandered by Abacha and his family, and some Nigerian citizens still say to one another that, if United States currency appears in mysterious places, it is simply the remnants of Abacha's stolen loot.²⁴

This story is just one of many disturbing (and yet strangely alluring) examples of the corruption found in Nigeria. Surely, it should be no surprise to anyone that corruption has infested Nigeria for decades. This corruption has contributed to the poverty of the public – so much so, in fact, that as of June 2018, the World Poverty Clock reported that Nigeria is the most poverty-ridden country in the world with an estimated 86.9 million people in poverty. This means that among Nigeria's 180-million-person population, about 48.2% of Nigerians were in poverty last year. This figure has even far surpassed India, which has a population that is seven times greater than Nigeria's and was estimated to have 71.5 million people in poverty in June 2018.²⁵

This constant corruption has had profoundly negative effects on the Nigerian people, for poverty has generally increased since 1980. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, the percentage of the Nigerian population that classified as "extremely poor" were as follows: 6.2% (1980), 12.1% (1985), 13.9% (1992), 29.3% (1996), 22.0% (2004), and 38.7% (2010).²⁶ Furthermore, the National Bureau of Statistics in 2012 found that,

²³ FATF, "Laundering the Proceeds of Corruption," available at www.fatf-gafi.org, 25, cited in Anna Markovska and Nya Adams, "Political Corruption and Money Laundering: Lessons from Nigeria," *Journal of Money Laundering Control* 18, no. 2 (2015): 170.

²⁴ Markovska and Adams, "Political Corruption and Money Laundering," 171.

²⁵ Yomi Kazeem, "Nigeria has Become the Poverty Capital of the World," *Quartz Africa*, June 25, 2018, <https://qz.com/africa/1313380/nigerias-has-the-highest-rate-of-extreme-poverty-globally/>.

while poverty in Nigeria does vary by demographic and region, poverty is more likely to affect Nigerian mothers, youth, and children than Nigerian adult men. All of these statistics are particularly striking, given how Nigeria's economy is considered to among the top 10 fastest growing economies in the world.²⁷ In fact, between 2003 and 2013, Nigeria's economy grew between six and seven percent.²⁸ In 2013, Nigeria became the largest economy in Africa and the 26th largest economy in the world with a gross domestic product of USD 509 billion.²⁹ In spite of Nigeria's impressive economy, poverty among the people has resulted in not only an unstable political atmosphere but also in religious extremism, terrorism, inequality, poverty, poor infrastructure, illiteracy, poor health, and poor education.³⁰

Even with the current governmental administration's newly implemented anti-corruption programs, any efforts have proven to be inefficient for the most part. In spite of the fact that the programs have reported a greater number of anti-corruption conviction cases, the sentences are not severe enough. Furthermore, these reported cases are often of

²⁶ National Bureau of Statistics, *The Nigerian Poverty Profile 2010 Report* (Abuja, Nigeria: National Bureau of Statistics, 2012), 12-14, cited in ActionAid, *Corruption and Poverty in Nigeria: A Report* (Garki, Abuja, Nigeria: ActionAid Nigeria, 2015), accessed January 16, 2019, http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/pc_report_content.pdf, 15.

²⁷ National Bureau of Statistics, *The Nigerian Poverty Profile 2010*, 7, cited in ActionAid, *Corruption and Poverty in Nigeria: A Report*, 15.

²⁸ U. David Enweremadu, "Nigeria as an Emerging Economy?: Making Sense of Expectations," *South African Journal of International Affairs* 20, no. 1 (2013): 56-77, cited in ActionAid, *Corruption and Poverty in Nigeria: A Report*, 16.

²⁹ Enweremadu, "Nigeria as an Emerging Economy?", 56-77, cited in ActionAid, *Corruption and Poverty in Nigeria: A Report*, 16.

³⁰ Markovska and Adams, "Political Corruption and Money Laundering," 171.

little consequence to the public at large anyway because any returned assets are minimal.³¹ So what of the larger cases that would have greater consequence to the governmental budget? These cases are left unreported and unsolved, and the people are left in the dark. Government communication with the public is, indeed, remarkably opaque. According to last year's report by Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) – a measurement of the public's beliefs about their country's corrupt actions – Nigerian citizens' perception of the government's corruption has become extremely negative. As of 2017, Nigeria scored a 27 out of 100 for transparency – merely one point away from 2016's score of 26. Moreover, as of 2017, Nigeria ranked as the 32nd most transparent country out of the 52 countries recorded in Africa. In the West African region, Nigeria ranks the 16th most transparent country out of the 17 countries recorded – surpassing only Guinea Bissau.³²

As I have previously stated, governance cannot be understood without considering the welfare – or lack thereof in this case – of the citizens. As we have seen so far and as we will further discover, Nigeria undoubtedly has failed in its governance because it has preferred corruption for personal gain over honorability for the public good. It has also preferred leaving its people ignorant and suffering without true aid – all while its people are painfully aware of such injustices. Nigeria consistently shows corruption that is both out of law and in-law. Out of law corruption refers to the illegal exchange of goods or the

³¹ Oladeinde Olawoyin, "Perception of Corruption Worsens in Nigeria – Transparency International Report," *Premium Times*, February 22, 2018, <https://www.premiumtimes.com/news/top-news/259494-perception-corruption-worsens-nigeria-transparency-international-report.html>.

³² *Ibid.*

mismanagement of public resources in order to advance oneself. In-law corruption refers to serving and increasing state bureaucracies “serving and increasing state monopoly/interests as well as increasing revenue accruing to state proprietors at the expense of the public through increasing the inefficiency of state bureaucracy.”³³ This in-law corruption often manifests itself through excessive government programs that are expensive for the common taxpayer and that are ineffective.³⁴

Both formal and informal governmental processes have led to corruption and social deterioration in Nigeria. The long and painful demise of Nigeria continues with governmental greed – especially when mishandling the land’s abundance of oil.³⁵ In 1956, the foundation of corruption was laid. When oil was first discovered that year in Nigeria, the entire economy and agricultural foundation of Nigeria changed in the decade that followed. This discovery sparked violence and rebellions – including instances of stolen pipelines, kidnapped oil workers for ransom, and bombings.³⁶ Nigerian people quickly learned that oil brought power, and, thus, the Nigerian people were desperate to obtain that power. Ultimately, however, 90 percent of oil revenues (about USD 380 billion) were

³³ William Ewharieme and Jude Cocodia, “Corruption and Environmental Degradation in Nigeria and its Niger Delta,” *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 3, no. 3 (2011): 448-449.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Kazeem, “Nigeria has Become the Poverty Capital of the World.”

³⁶ Temitope Oriola, “The Delta Creeks, Women’s Engagement and Nigeria’s Oil Insurgency,” *British Journal of Criminology* 52, no. 3 (2012): 534-555, cited in Markovska and Adams, “Political Corruption and Money Laundering,” 171.

distributed to one percent of Nigerians. Thus, corruption within the government began and continues to be rewarded to this day.³⁷ Since 1956, Nigerian politicians who are given substantial revenues are not willing to hold one another accountable for their illegal or immoral deeds, in spite of the fact that laws have been put in place to control such wrong behavior. Indeed, lawmaking is only the first step in stopping corruption. The second step is for politicians to have “the political will [to] drive the anti-corruption processes.”³⁸ Therefore, in this way, politicians are able to ignore the laws for their own benefit.

The Nigerian government often finds ways to justify its mass appropriation of citizens’ money through false reassurances and tremendous ambiguity. One such false reassurance comes from the security vote: money freely given by citizens, based upon the government’s assurance that the funds will enhance security for the state. Even though the government never actually discloses *how* the money will be used and specifically *how* security will be enforced (hence the tremendous ambiguity), the people still give their money for two reasons: first, because Nigeria’s security has, in fact, been compromised due to its reliance on oil revenues; second, because the people are desperate to restore order.³⁹ The reality is that Nigeria’s oil revenue is given directly to a select few – the elites

³⁷ Wesley Cragg, Uwafiokun Idemudia, and Brownwyn Best, “Confronting Corruption Using Integrity Pacts: The Case of Nigeria,” in *Crime and Corruption in Organisations: Why It Occurs and What to Do About It*, eds. Ronald J. Burke, Edward C. Tomlinson, and Cary L. Cooper (Farnham: Gower Publishing Limited, 2011), 297-323, cited in Markovska and Adams, “Political Corruption and Money Laundering,” 172.

³⁸ Markovska and Adams, “Political Corruption and Money Laundering,” 172.

³⁹ Obiamaka Egbo, Ifeoma Nwakoby, Josaphat Onwumere, and Chibuike Uche, “Security Votes in Nigeria: Disguising Stealing from the Public Purse.” *African Affairs* 111, no. 445 (2012): 597-599, doi: 10.1093/afraf/ads060.

in the government – who will do anything to retain their power. This leaves the rest of the government unaccountable⁴⁰ while many stakeholders feverishly try to accrue power for themselves by creating various militant groups.⁴¹ Nigerians simply have to use their senses to see that security issues are pervasive in their country, and they are always hopeful that somehow improvement is near.

Unfortunately, this form of corruption is unlikely to end any time soon for the very reason I just stated: more security votes entrench the elites deeper and deeper into the high status and wealth that they would never willingly give up.⁴² Furthermore, given the nature of Nigeria's rentier status and unaccountable government, the people cannot easily advocate for themselves. Even the Nigerian president Goodluck Jonathan said: "It would be difficult to form a viable citizenry that could call government to account for its stewardship if the economy depends solely on oil revenue."⁴³ Even worse, the accumulation and exploitation of security votes in Nigeria has drastically grown since 1999, the year of Nigeria's transition to democracy. Therefore, it is not just governance but also politics that have affected this form of corruption. In fact, according to Obiamaka Egbo and colleagues, it is the very existence of the multiparty system in Nigeria that encouraged

⁴⁰ Michael Herb, "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 37, no. 3 (1985): 298, cited in Egbo, Nwakoby, Onwumere, and Uche, "Security Votes in Nigeria," 598.

⁴¹ Egbo, Nwakoby, Onwumere, and Uche, "Security Votes in Nigeria," 599.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 598.

⁴³ ThisDay, "Jonathan: Pay Taxes, Hold Govt Accountable," *ThisDay*, October 11, 2010, <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/jonathan-pay-taxes-hold-govt-accountable/76868/>, quoted in Egbo, Nwakoby, Onwumere, and Uche, "Security Votes in Nigeria," 598.

the abuse of security votes in the first place because there is no militaristic, central command to stop it.⁴⁴

Those in positions of power also find the means to acquire more money than they deserve through bribery of the public. In 2017, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime released a report on the results from a survey administered by Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics to 33,000 Nigerian households.⁴⁵ The survey asked the individuals in the households whether they had been asked to pay a bribe (and if they had complied) between June 2015 and May 2016. The survey found that about a third of the Nigerian adults who had been in contact with public officials in this time period reported instances where they were either asked to pay a bribe or where they agreed to pay a bribe. The survey also found that, on average, Nigerian adults pay a bribe every other month (or six times a year). This amounts to about \$4.6 million a year solicited by public officials – in a country where almost half of the citizens are in poverty. Of the adults who paid bribes, most adults gave to police officers. In fact, almost half of the adults who paid bribes gave to police officers (46.4%). Other adults who paid bribes gave to the following officials (sometimes in addition to police officers): prosecutors (33.0%), judges (31.5%), tax officers (27.3%), customs officers (26.5%), and public utilities officers (22.4%). The survey reported that this money obtained by public officials was used mostly for bureaucratic activities like

⁴⁴ Egbo, Nwakogby, Onwumere, and Uche, "Security Votes in Nigeria," 599.

⁴⁵ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Corruption in Nigeria: Bribery: Public Experience and Response* (Vienna, Austria: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2017), accessed January 16, 2019, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B6jj-ulM0cLrOXFpMDh1Q111bm8/view>.

getting a land ownership license, getting a driver's license, paying for water and electricity, and paying off fines for traffic violations. To make matters worse, the survey suggested that this corruption is not likely to be eradicated any time soon. For the adults who paid bribes, only 3.7% of them reported the incidents to the authorities. This is not because of laziness or obliviousness but rather because of lack of trust; the adults in the survey said that they felt the authorities would not actually take action even if they did choose to report bribes.⁴⁶

The corruption of the Nigerian government contributes to a cycle of poverty among the people, and this cycle in turn has a profoundly deleterious effect on the environment. In fact, the underdeveloped Niger Delta is in great deal because of the shortcomings of crooked government policies and public officials.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, this Nigerian situation follows the trend of other countries that are rich in natural resources. In these areas, it is not uncommon for budgetary benefits to be given to those in positions of power, rather than to those who need them most – like those in poverty. One way to systematically give so much to those in power is by establishing irrelevant, useless “public service” projects. Under the guise of supposedly serving the common good, these projects are really nothing more than chances for those in power to bribe contractors.⁴⁸ This activity, in the eyes of William Ewharieme and Jude Cocodia, is very much aligned with the World Bank's 1997

⁴⁶ Kazeem, ““Nigeria's First Ever Corruption Survey is as Bad as Most People Imagined,” *Quartz Africa*, August 21, 2017, <https://qz.com/africa/1058356/how-bad-is-corruption-in-nigeria/>.

⁴⁷ Ewharieme and Cocodia, “Corruption and Environmental Degradation,” 446.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 447.

definition of corruption: “the illegal diversion of state revenues as well as patronage or nepotism by government officials or theft of state assets.”⁴⁹ In essence, corruption is anything done by public officials for their own advancement rather than for the betterment of the people.⁵⁰

The environment can be understood as the setting or surroundings in which human beings find themselves.⁵¹ It is also a source of well-being and sustenance for human beings; therefore, the development of the environment helps to develop human beings.⁵² Ideally, then, the government should create laws that will protect the environment,⁵³ but this is not the case in the Niger Delta or in greater Nigeria where out of law and in-law corruption abound – especially in-law corruption with the establishment of superfluous, fruitless organizations. Even though Nigeria has state and federal ministries of environment, the government established an addition entity: the Federal Disaster Relief and Protection Agency. This agency was supposedly created to respond to natural disasters, and it received

⁴⁹ The World Bank, *Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1997), 8, quoted in Ewharieme and Cocodia, “Corruption and Environmental Degradation,” 447.

⁵⁰ Ewharieme and Cocodia, “Corruption and Environmental Degradation,” 447.

⁵¹ Ademola Morakinyo Adeyemo, “Environmental Policy Failure in Nigeria and the Tragedy of the Under-Development of the Niger Delta Region,” *Inaugural Lecture Series*, no. 64 (Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press, 2008), 7, cited in Ewharieme and Cocodia, “Corruption and Environmental Degradation,” 447.

⁵² A. O. Salau, “Rivers State,” in *Nigeria: Giant in the Tropics*, vol. 2, eds. R. K. Udo and A. B. Mamman (Lagos: Gabumbo Publishing, 1993), 425, cited in Ewharieme and Cocodia, “Corruption and Environmental Degradation,” 447.

⁵³ Ewharieme and Cocodia, “Corruption and Environmental Degradation,” 447.

much funding. In spite of all this, too, however, the government also created yet another entity – the Ecological Fund – all to no avail. The environment still suffers in Nigeria.⁵⁴

Arguably, one of the most damaging events for the environment in Nigeria occurred in 1987 after 18,000 barrels of chemicals that contained PCB, dioxin, and asbestos fiber were dunked from the Nigerian town of Koko into the Niger Delta.⁵⁵ This occurred after a fraudulent business deal between two Italian men and one Nigerian businessman, Sunday Nana, in which Nana agreed to store the 18,000 barrels for \$100 a month.⁵⁶ As a result of this incident, Koko's grounds were horribly polluted – including the grounds where children played and where food was grown. Furthermore, even when the barrels were shipped back to Italy, the barrels were so decrepit that they leaked and poisoned the water and the aquatic plant life.⁵⁷ But this pollution and corruption in 1987 were only just the beginning of the greater environmental crisis in Nigeria, of course. A 1995 World Bank study found that, in Port Harcourt, most of the pollution in Nigeria came from local businesses (like restaurants and hotels) and maintenance crafts. In addition, the generators that citizens used for electricity released dangerous fumes.⁵⁸ Into the 2010s, the risks from the generators still abound, in spite of the fact that Nigeria's national budget has increased

⁵⁴ Ibid., 449.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 449-450.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 450.

⁵⁷ American Educational Projects, "Nigeria Waste Imports from Italy," (1994), retrieved from: <http://www1.american.edu/projects/mandala/TEDnigeria.htm>, cited in Eharieme and Cocodia, "Corruption and Environmental Degradation," 451.

⁵⁸ The World Bank, *Helping Countries Combat Corruption*, 46, cited in Eharieme and Cocodia, "Corruption and Environmental Degradation," 452.

to take care of this issue. In 2006, 78 billion naira were allocated to energy improvements, and in 2007, 105 billion naira were allocated to energy improvements. In spite of this, corruption within the government and the power subdivision explain the absence of improvements.⁵⁹

Due to governmental negligence, in the Niger Delta, 20 – 25% of rural communities and 45 – 50% of urban communities have clean water available – at best. In Nigeria in general, 25% of the population has access to clean water. As a result of such contaminated water, diseases are a concerning epidemic in the Niger Delta.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, in the rural Niger Delta, locals feel that they are not empowered enough to manage their own economy. As a result, they move to urban areas and drain their resources. And to take their place in the rural areas are migrants who are necessarily more interested in maximizing their profits than they are in conserving resources and protecting the environment. The newly arrived migrants therefore pressure local markets to mine, urbanize, log, and deliver on dye, leaves, roots, and nuts. All of this, unfortunately, contributes to deforestation processes.⁶¹ To add to this devastation in the Niger Delta, there are natural disasters related to flooding.⁶² This flooding causes sea-water to come into fresh-water supply systems and brings damage to fisheries and agriculture.⁶³

⁵⁹ Eharieme and Cocodia, “Corruption and Environmental Degradation,” 452.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 453.

⁶² Ibid., 456.

⁶³ Ibid., 457.

Outside of the Niger Delta in the rest of Nigeria, 37.5% of forest reserves were destroyed between 1990 and 2005 due to illegal logging and bush burning.⁶⁴ The people undoubtedly have put too much pressure on the environment and are not given restrictions in their environmental activities.⁶⁵ Yet, one cannot entirely blame the people, given how they are in desperate need because of their poverty. Unfortunately, however, this means that a vicious cycle is created in which those in poverty demand more from their environment but in turn are suppressed by their environment. Thus, the people continue in their poverty and cannot escape it.⁶⁶ Indeed, research has shown that all of this damage in the Niger Delta and in Nigeria overall could be prevented if the government simply provided the financial support to build better infrastructure and reduce pollution.⁶⁷ However, even with increased revenue over the years (including a 63% increase between the years 2006 and 2007), the government has not made the efforts necessary to support the Nigerian people.⁶⁸

This lack of oversight in environmental sectors does not merely exist on federal levels. While the Federal Ministry of the Environment (which is responsible for overseeing the management of solid waste) has inspired state governments to establish their own State

⁶⁴ Ibid., 458.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Gail Hochachka, "Small Small – Ecological Governance in Nigeria," *POLIS Project on Ecological Governance*, cited in Eharieme and Cocodia, "Corruption and Environmental Degradation," 458.

⁶⁷ Eharieme and Cocodia, "Corruption and Environmental Degradation," 457.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 456.

Environmental Protection Agencies (SEPAs) to regulate solid waste, municipal governments have not complied.⁶⁹ In addition, if any waste delivery systems do exist in municipal areas, like the Abuja Environmental Protection Board (AEPB), they are “government enterprises” that rely on poor policies, “political expediency,” and a total of lack of transparency.⁷⁰ As a result, waste governance in municipal areas is essentially nonexistent.⁷¹ In Abuja alone, it was estimated that, as of 2011, the Municipal Solid Waste (MSW) produced was 70,000 tons a year. It is also estimated that, by 2025, Abuja’s MSW will double from what it was in 2011.⁷² Due to the fact that the municipal government is not held accountable by any entity, there is no official recycling system in the city,⁷³ and there are no sanitary landfills. Instead of proper recycling methods, the people must either burn or dump their waste; they have no other choice.⁷⁴ Once again, we see patterns of negligence and selfishness within Nigerian governance.

⁶⁹ Chukwunonye Ezeah and Clive L. Roberts, “Waste Governance Agenda in Nigerian Cities: A Comparative Analysis,” *Habitat International* 41 (2014): 121.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁷² Clive L. Roberts, Glynne Watkin, Paul Philips, and Amos Odunfa, “Seasonal Variation and Municipal Solid Waste Composition – Issues for Development of New Waste Management Strategies in Abuja, Nigeria,” *The Journal of Solid Waste Technology and Management* 36, no. 4 (2010): 210-219, cited in Ezeah and Roberts, “Waste Governance Agenda in Nigerian Cities,” 122.

⁷³ Ezeah and Roberts, “Analysis of Barriers and Success Factors Affecting the Adoption of Sustainable Management of Municipal Solid Waste in Nigeria,” *Journal of Environmental Management* 103 (2012): 9-14, cited in Ezeah and Roberts, “Waste Governance Agenda in Nigerian Cities,” 124.

⁷⁴ Ezeah and Roberts, “Waste Governance Agenda in Nigerian Cities,” 124.

Let us now return to the issue of how corruption in governance is not only caused by the government but also by the people (sometimes inadvertently or intentionally, given the system put in place). How, then, do activists and nongovernmental entities specifically contribute to corruption? To answer this question, we can turn to NGOs and their work on the AIDS crisis in Nigeria. NGOs (also known as non-governmental organizations) have increased rapidly in Nigeria since the 1980s, particularly because of the fight against the AIDS across Africa. In fact, according to Daniel Jordan Smith, the AIDS crisis has likely produced the greatest number of NGOs in Nigeria. Between the years 2002 and 2011, the U.S. President’s Emergency Fund for AIDS Relief (also known as PEPFAR) and the Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria gave \$2.25 million to AIDS NGOs in Nigeria. In this same time period, various donors contributed hundreds of millions of dollars to such NGOs.⁷⁵

Certainly, since the 1980s, NGO enthusiasm and contributions have been significant, in great part because they are based upon the assumption that NGOs contribute to the greater good of civil society, especially to democracy.⁷⁶ The World Bank in 1997 also described NGOs as “‘the missing middle’ between citizens and the state.”⁷⁷ Even though an accurate count of the money NGOs have received is nearly impossible, it is undoubted that NGOs have made tens of millions – if not hundreds of millions – of dollars

⁷⁵ Daniel Jordan Smith, “AIDS NGOs and Corruption in Nigeria.” *Health & Place* 18 (2012): 475, doi: 10.1016/j.healthplace.2011.11.002.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 476.

⁷⁷ The World Bank, *World Development Report 1997* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 114, quoted in Smith, “AIDS NGOs and Corruption in Nigeria,” 476.

over the past 10 years.⁷⁸ However, even though Nigerian citizens know that in theory these NGOs are useful sources of help for those in need, Nigerian citizens also know that these NGOs are often fraudulent and rampant with corruption. The people see the fraudulence and corruption of some AIDS NGOs as contributors to the greater inequality that exists in Nigeria – especially when outside, western donors contribute to AIDS NGOs and ensure such inequality.⁷⁹ Consequently, according to Smith:

The NGO response to AIDS sits in between state and society, emblematic for Nigerians of their hopes ... and entrepreneurial efforts ... but also of their deep distrust and suspicion of the institutions ... believed to be responsible for inequality and injustice.⁸⁰

But according to Smith, questionable AIDS NGOs do not just produce inequality; they are also products of inequality and greater social influences among Nigerian citizens. This view has also been advocated by other scholars for many years,⁸¹ even if this view of Nigerian citizens being simultaneously the perpetrators and the victims may be seen as contradictory.⁸² Scholars have noticed that, while Nigerian citizens know that NGO leaders often “accumulate the benefits of corruption,”⁸³ there are some circumstances in which

⁷⁸ Smith, “AIDS NGOs and Corruption in Nigeria,” 477.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 475.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 476.

⁸¹ Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, *Political Corruption: Concepts & Contexts*, 3rd ed. (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002), cited in Smith, “AIDS NGOs and Corruption in Nigeria,” 476.

⁸² Smith, “AIDS NGOs and Corruption in Nigeria,” 475.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 476.

Nigerian citizens tolerate this behavior – thereby indirectly encouraging it. For instance, if an individual distributes the misappropriated money to help others, the act is viewed as acceptable, whereas if an individual hoards the misappropriated money for selfish gain, the act is viewed as unacceptable.⁸⁴

Consequently, “corruption” does not have to be seen exclusively as a negative reality. If an individual contends that misappropriated funds can bolster democracy, “corruption” can be then perceived as a “survival strategy” or “moral imperative.”⁸⁵ It is only if an individual abuses the opportunity to help others when “corruption” is seen as malicious or nefarious.⁸⁶ Smith has offered two Nigerian AIDS NGO directors as examples on how leaders’ corrupt deeds have been perceived as either good or bad, depending on the leader’s choices: Pius Okadigbo and Chidinma Alozie.

Okadigbo, after working several years for an NGO that helped public health efforts in Abia State, became the head of the Umuahia office for the larger United against AIDS (UAA). After he accrued much more wealth and prestige, he adopted an air of unapologetic, overt braggadocio. It was clear that he used his newfound money to purchase only the very best for himself: the latest and most expensive office printer, the finest clothing, the most lavish furniture, and the rare Internet connection in his office. He certainly did not hesitate to show his material goods to others, either. For all of these reasons, he was characterized by his colleagues as arrogant because he would demand

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 477.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

special privileges that he did not deserve. He would also publicly ridicule and condescend to his staff members whom he always deemed as inferior to himself. Essentially, he had a remarkable, striking sense of self-importance that is key to “naira chiefs” (a term that Nigerians use for those who feel they can buy honors, respect, and a title) according to his colleagues.⁸⁷ His colleagues also referred to him as a poser – someone who visibly is extravagant for the sake of trying to appear more important than he actually is. Because of his behavior, he was terminated from his position. His staff ensured that his wrongdoings would be exposed. However, the crux of the story is this: it was not necessarily that he was stealing money from his NGO or misappropriating his salary that bothered his staff. Instead, it was the way he treated others and spent this misappropriated money so frivolously that bothered his staff. If he had used the misappropriated money to help others, his staff would have accepted the corruption and not sought out his termination.⁸⁸

Alozie, on the other hand, is an example of potential corruption seen as acceptable and even encouraged. Alozie started her own NGO called Naija Cares, which has proven to be an incredibly sturdy organization with plenty of activity and donations. It is difficult to say for certain how (or even if) Alozie took some of the money from her own projects, but she did appear to have funds beyond her own salary. She was able to expand her house and purchase a car (though the car was used). However, unlike Okadigbo, she also used the money to give to others besides herself – and even what she used for herself was far more inconspicuous than what Okadigbo used for himself. Alozie used her extra funds to

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 478.

build a new home for her mother and to care for her four children as a single mother. Because of this behavior, she received little complaint. According to Smith, even though corruption should not necessarily be condoned, Alozie was able to in a sense “get away with it” in the eyes of Nigerians because she would also treat her staff well. Unlike Okadigbo, she did not ridicule or condescend to her staff; she instead acted as a loving patron toward them, just as she acted as a loving family member for those with whom she was related.⁸⁹ All of this is to suggest that corruption will always be allowed in Nigeria not just because of corrupt elites or western donors but also because of the Nigerian people who see that corruption can often be an unfortunate means to a moral end.⁹⁰

And what of foreign aid to Nigeria? How has Nigeria’s use of western funds helped – or hindered – the nation? Indeed, Nigeria, just like other African countries, has received monetary assistance from western nations – especially from the United States.⁹¹ However, ever since Nigeria started to receive money from the United States, it has created a “culture of dependency.”⁹² Through this culture of dependency, Nigeria has relied on the United States to aid them in the fight against poverty – all to no avail. According to Kenneth Kalu from Ryerson University in Toronto, Canada, this aid only stagnates Nigeria because it

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 479.

⁹¹ Angelle B. Kwemo, “Making Africa Great Again: Reducing Aid Dependency,” *Brookings*, April 20, 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2017/04/20/making-africa-great-again-reducing-aid-dependency/>.

⁹² Luminous Jannamike, “Poverty: Foreign Aid Doing Nigeria More Harm than Good – Kalu,” *Vanguard*, August 9, 2018. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/08/poverty-foreign-aid-doing-nigeria-more-harm-than-good-kalu-2/>.

merely provides temporary and material relief, and it does not address the reasons for poverty in Nigeria:

During the past 50 years, Sub-Saharan Africa has received more foreign aid than has any other region of the world. Despite this high level of intervention by foreign donors, poverty has remained endemic in the continent ... [Therefore, if Nigeria is to accept useful aid from abroad, it must] target the root causes of poverty. Any developmental programme that fails to take a critical look at the state and its institutions would only be scratching the surface of Nigeria's developmental challenges.⁹³

On March 6, 2017, President Trump charted his first budget that would cut back spending on non-defense programs and would spend \$54 billion on the military. In doing so, monetary aid to foreign countries (which, to begin with, was composed of only 1% of the United States budget) would drastically decrease. After learning of this report, many were outraged because 20% of the United States' monetary aid was sent to African countries, including Nigeria, and all of this aid would be so heartlessly diminished. However, according to Angelle Kwemo, the chair and founder of Believe In Africa, "this reduction [should] be seen as an opportunity for the continent to rise and for the relationship between the U.S. and Africa to evolve." If foreign aid cannot help Nigeria and get to the core of poverty's problem, Nigeria must reorganize itself from within. Rather than fighting for foreign aid, Nigeria must fight against the corruption that so cripples democracy and the economy.⁹⁴ Kwemo recommends three areas upon which African countries can refocus

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Kwemo, "Making Africa Great Again."

their efforts. These areas, while originally recommended to the African continent at large, can pertain just as specifically to Nigeria.

1. *Creating jobs.* Because the continent is in need of about 74 million jobs that must be established by 2020, “governments need to create policies and implementation plans that will allow for a more competitive private sector that favors business growth, job creation, and the stimulation of ... sound fiscal and monetary policies; good governance, transparency, and a strengthened judiciary; an improved investment climate, and reduced corruption.”⁹⁵ Most importantly, there should be a focus on agriculture, manufacturing industries, and the private sector so that there are more jobs for the youth of Africa – which is the greatest youth populace in the world – and less food deprivation at large. Increasing the quality of education will help achieve these goals.⁹⁶
2. *Integrating regions.* African countries should turn away from western nations, including the United States, and turn instead to each other. When African countries bolster one another and work together through one common initiative, each individual African nation will benefit. Maintaining intra-African trade through the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) will help realize this end, given how intra-African trade helps stimulate the economy, develop infrastructure, and increase productivity. But of course, all of the promises of integration can only be perfectly fulfilled when good governance is also ensured. With integration and good

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

governance, the intra-African trading system will allow for more job creation and less poverty. In turn, African countries will naturally depend less on outside western aid.⁹⁷

3. *Trade and commercial engagement.* Given President Trump’s “America first” initiative, Africa must necessarily search for its own trade and commercial engagement. Africa need not fear the United States. The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) does not threaten American jobs; consequently, Africa is not a major trade competitor for the United States. In reality, the AGOA has stimulated job growth, with 120,000 new jobs in the United States, 350,000 direct new jobs in Africa, and 1 million indirect new jobs in Africa. Furthermore, even with President Trump’s new budget cuts, the reality is that he cannot do without Africa entirely. Africa is an ideal source for natural resource and economic opportunities. Therefore, leaders across Africa must work to communicate with one another in order to create the policies that will increase trade opportunities between the United States and the continent – on the continent’s own terms. Through better trading systems, Africa will be on its way to become a stronger economic force in the world. As former Assistant Secretary for Africa Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield said, “The African continent has made enormous democratic and economic progress in recent years and now holds a growing place on the global stage.” With an emphasis on trade, this trend will continue.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

To summarize: in Kwemo's view, just because United States' aid to Africa is not as great as it once was, this does not mean a death sentence for the continent; nor does it mean that the continent will no longer be in contact with the United States. However, Africa must not sit idly by if it is to take full advantage of this situation. African countries, including Nigeria, "must come to the realization that the continent's prosperity is not primarily in the hands of White House officials";⁹⁹ it is in their own.

CONCLUSION: REFORMING GOVERNANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT

1. Enhancing Political Awareness: There is no basis for good governance when both the political class and the citizens are ignorant of the dynamics of proper governance in the present era, especially within the premises of a multicultural society like ours. Little to no effort has been made by the government to conscientize the people on their roles and duties to active political participation to ensure good governance. From mobilization, participation in election to governance criticism, there is the need not only to create political awareness among the citizens, especially the masses and the illiterates, but also to ensure that this awareness is continuously sustained and yields positive results.

A proper political education conscientize the citizens on the nature of governance in the nation and the challenges therein, especially in their immediate

⁹⁹ Ibid.

environment and how their engagement can facilitate solutions to these perceived political issues. This curbs the unhealthy engagement of the people with politics, especially political violence, and drastically reduces the manipulation of the people for the selfish gain of the political class. Also, this helps to prompt and prepare an average citizen on why/how to effectively manage leadership positions to drive positive development of their society when they intend to or the need arises.

- 2. Reformation of the Educational System:** The relevance of standard and productive education to the attainment of good governance cannot be overstressed. The increasing rate of illiteracy in the nation is of paramount concern as it cripples the overall productivity, political engagement and development of the nation. First, more than ever, there is the need for the government to channel enough energy (in budgetary allocation, policy formulation and establishment, infrastructural provision etc.) into the educational system to revive it from deterioration, and the nation from an impending doom. Second, there is the need to reformulate the national educational curriculum to reflect modern-day realities and attend to immediate challenges that are peculiar to the nation. Third, there is the need to de-westernize our educational system to embrace our indigenous educational system and thereby familiarize it with the people, which makes educational process less cumbersome and more productive. Fourth, more technical colleges need to be instituted to offer more professional skills to the technicians, whose technical skills are even more demanded by the environment and contribution more immediate to the development of the nation. Fifth, the necessary interventions should be made to

make education relatively cheap and affordable for the masses to cut down on the rate of illiteracy and unproductively.

In addition, the educational system should be made flexible enough to accommodate the young, old, rich, poor, medically or physically challenged to have access to proper education with no discrimination whatsoever. The ripple effect of a good educational system on good governance is limitless, from minimizing illiteracy, curbing violence, increasing economic productivity, foster in unity to enhancing civic understanding.

- 3. Reinforcing the Economy:** The myriad of challenges that confronts the nation at the moment are prompted by the economic downturn and lack of resources. Hence, a good economic system is vital to attainment of good governance. There is the need and increasing pressure on the government to strengthen the economic standard of the nation. Largely, there is the need to diversify the nation's source of revenue from the overdependence on crude oil which international market value is continually depreciating. Countless resources should be harnessed and out to good economic boost, from agriculture to mineral resources such as coal, gold, and iron. These natural resources continue to be undeveloped while the people live in extreme poverty due to substandard economy and terrible government policies.

The regulation of imported goods, materials and even services into the country would go a long way in stabilizing the economy by providing competitive edge for internally produced commodities to thrive, as well the creation of jobs. It's

bewildering that we continuously import (even in excess) products that can be manufacture within the nation, and this has been contributed to our unhealthy taste for everything made outside of Nigeria while we characterize ours as inferior. Also, with the rise in youth population, there is the need to productively empower the youths (especially the women) to contribute to the economic development of the nation. Attaining good governance should, perhaps, start with attaining a good economic level.

4. **Social-Welfarism:** The people continually feels alienated from governance and the political leaders as a result of their failure to attend to their basic needs and provide social amenities, especially the disabled, old and youths. There are basically no welfare programs to ensure the wellbeing of the citizens; from poor healthcare system, to lack of electricity, water, good roads, internet connection, accommodation, empowerment, food etc.

There is no hope of good governance in a society that makes no provision of her people, no jobs for the youths, pensioners are denied their rights, and adequate public facilities are not provided. Hence, the feeling of inclusiveness, loyalty, nationalism which are central to good governance can be achieved by attending the essential needs of the people.

5. **Separation of Religion from State:** The interference of religious doctrines on state policies hinders good governance, especially in a multi-religious society as Nigeria. The indifference of the federal government on religious insurgency and violence prompts more religious crises and conflict. The overt affiliation of the

political leaders to certain religions affects their decisions on issues and policies that cut across all religions, and prompts the feeling of alienation from governance among the people. These interventions further create disharmony among the religious groups, as it is impossible to give equal attention to all religions. Hence, the separation of political power from religions help to eliminate religious sentiments on issues that cuts across the welfare of the entire population, including the diverse religions and the unreligious. All-inclusive governance prompts unity, peace and development in the nation.

6. **Enhancing Cultural Heritage and Diversity:** The failure of the political leaders to harness the immense possibilities in our cultural diversity and heritage to foster peace and development is an indication of the lack of good governance. There are numerous cultural heritages in Nigeria that can be converted to resorts and tourist sites for revenue generation and culture preservation. These sites would not only help to project the cultural diversity of the nation to the international audience, but would also help to foster unity among the diverse ethnic groups and create employment opportunities for the local people of such sites. The promotion of cultural diversity helps to create the awareness about the knowledge of other ethnic cultures, which helps to establish similar connection amongst diversity which fosters unity. Cultural development is germane to nation-building and nationalism. Good governance is one that reflects, promote and protect the cultural heritage of the people.

7. **Enhancing Government-People Relations:** This is a step beyond political awareness and engagement; there is the need for the political class and leaders to be in close relationship with the people, especially those at the grassroots level to prompt their inclusiveness and further participation in governance. Foremost, there is the need for the political leaders to be accessible to their people time-to-time both for support and evaluation. A constant engagement with the people enlightens the leaders on the concerns and needs of the people, and living amongst them offers the leaders immediate knowledge of these concerns. This is a vital component of traditional governance. Such accessibility helps the leader to intervene in communal conflicts before they escalate beyond manageable proportion. A constant engagement between the leaders and the people goes a long way in collectively proffering solutions to immediate concerns peculiar to a locality, but where in situations where government representative stays aloof, the people also become disengaged and consequently uninterested in governance activities, even when it very vital to their well-being. For example, the indifference of the political leaders, at the federal level, to the alarming crises of insecurity and unemployment in the country is an indication of bad governance. In worst scenarios, the government engages in trite political discussions while they stay silent on vital governance issues keeping the people in ignorance. The use of social media outlets is effective enough to help the citizens engage their political leaders and government on issues that are germane to their well-being by providing them with adequate information and responses to their agitations. Hence, a good government-people relationship is relevant to achieving good governance.

8. **Ensuring Security:** Safeguarding the lives and properties of the people is the duty of the government to its people. When the people perceive a deteriorating decrease in the standard of their safety, they lose faith, trust and hope in such governance. A vital way a government can establish its credibility is to ensure a maximum level of security is ensured. Curbing political violence, interreligious and ethnic uprising, robbery, kidnap, and terrorism are among the security issues that threaten the peace of the people and stability of the society. Similarly, the porous borders and increasing rate of (cyber) crime among the youths are security issues that are of national and international concern. The training of security officials to be effective to attend to security threats, provision of sophisticated and modern security weapons, the need for the identification, de-federalizing the police force, encouraging community policing, implementing adequate measures to secure the borders are among the steps to be taken to ensure the safety of the life and properties of the people.

9. **Eliminating Corruption and Ensuring an Efficient Management**

System: While the political leaders continue to loot the treasury of the nation, the common citizens are also cashing out on the weak management system of the government, and both reckless dispositions continue to propel the nation towards destruction. To this end, effective management policies should be established to eradicate all manners of corruption among the political leaders and the people, with proper prosecution enforced to sanction offenders, minor issues as late coming to work or negligence of duties will be curbed. Ensuring efficient management across

the borders of government parastatals would increase productivity, eliminate corruption and hasten national development.

Efficient management by the government includes a good maintenance culture of facilities, infrastructures, amenities, services etc. Certain infrastructures and facilities are being deliberately left to damage, even totally neglected to degenerate into the worst level of deterioration so as to allocate huge amounts subsequently for renovation (this accounts for the renovation and countless repetition of certain government projects), and when neglected, such facilities would be eventually converted to private properties. The indifference of the government to this concern has degenerated into the formation of multiple unions, which rids people off their earnings and constrains the intervention of government in activities that are central to the well-being of the people. This weak management system contributes to the overall economic downturn and poor standard of living in the nation. Thus, to achieve effective and productive governance, management policies should be put into place to maintain public facilities and government infrastructures. An effective security network and ensured safety are characteristic of good governance.

10. Ensuring a Credible Justice System: The judiciary used to be the last resort of the masses to seek justice from the suppressing rules, bruises and unfair realities they have been subjected to by the political class. However, since the affairs of the judiciary have been likewise politicized and its autonomy lost, the masses have lost their hope in getting a fair treatment from a judiciary system that should uphold the

constitution and their rights as human and citizens of the nation. Because the judiciary has lost its credibility, the masses take laws into their hands (i.e., jungle justice), crimes and violence increase and the check-and-balance that keeps the peace of the nation stable has been distorted, and democratic principles are being overridden by authoritarianism. To attain good governance, the judiciary system of the government needs to gain back its credibility, to uphold the rights of the people, prosecute criminals and discharge the innocent.

11. The Responsibility of Followership: Excellent leadership that is vital to the coordination of good governance and national development would become inefficient without the availability of active and dedicated followership. Followership is an over underestimated aspect of governance as the bulk of responsibilities are on the shoulders of leaders whose productivity is also dependent on the cooperation of the followers. It should be noted that followership plays the larger role in the success or failure of governance. There are myriads of ways in which the followers are responsible for the development of the society, among which is active political participation discussed above. However, the responsibilities of the followers towards nation-building cut across all areas of life: from being conflict mediators to being their brother's keeper.

First, the followers, which are the people, need to shift from being isolates and bystanders to become participants and activists in the collective development of their society. The position of being a follower requires competence, willingness and zeal to achieve a collective corporate goal. By this, the followership bears the consciousness not to violate laws and regulations guiding the society; official duties

and civic responsibilities, with little or no supervision, becomes an active participation/contribution towards collective development. However, there is also the need for the leadership to reward good efforts of their followers to encourage more active contributions from others. With an active followership, good governance and national development becomes a collective aspiration and not a leadership duty.

While there is no absolute rule or procedure to achieve development nor is development instantaneous with the implementation of the aforementioned, it should be noted that only a diligent and continuous observation of the aforementioned (amongst others) can ensure the development of the nation. A simultaneous reformation of the various facets of governance creates an expansive effect that ensures an equal and rapid development of the society.

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