

Effect of Leadership Style on Political Participation in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

This paper explains that, pattern of political grouping, pressure groups, social economic as well as business organization, so also the voting pattern in Nigeria portrays the unrelenting quest in search of political leadership by the inhabitant of the country to avail them from such perpetual deteriorating condition, subjected to by the past administrations, that had long sub-due sustainable development in all aspects of human endeavour quintessentially pre-conditioned their unanimous stands out in political participation of the recent time. It further suggested that, there is no doubt that the negative and pernicious role perpetrated by the Nigeria leaders contributed to the rise and fall of political participation, which had further strangulate social political line cut-across the diverse unit of the country. Political party, the platform by which electorates expressed their political loyalty and solidarity in favour of a particular political associate or person determined at the level of ideology, Kinship (in Nigerian) or ethnic diversity (as the case may be) plays a plethora of roles which include acting as symbol that provides for candidates to contest election in other to form (acceptable) governments. In other words, and by the virtue of this pivotal function ascribed to political party, it serves as undesirable link (in the contemporary democracy) between the people and the government .The paper hence concluded that, attitude of political actors in the recent occurring situation and the dynamic social political participation had obviously vindicated the perpetual act of greed and selfishness among principal political leaders/actors as they change from one party to another. Therefore, the paper demonstrated that the hope and aspiration of the electorates remains both on reliable judicial precedents and electoral college.

INTRODUCTION

Political Leadership, more than any other interested research specializations in the field of politics has been formally researched and discussed upon at various lengths, both in Nigeria and World at large. This is an indication that political leadership holds a strong fascination for everybody at work place and the society at large. . Therefore, “leadership rule” may be regarded as an off shoot of leadership style that predetermined leadership act. In other world, “leadership rule” could be regarded as a body of ruling class; whereas the way of such administration is regarded as the style in which a “Body of Rulers” exhibited. The word “class” aforementioned defined to include the decision and plans on distribution, production, market and moral relations of other component existence which takes the form of the organization of ‘parties’ or political groups for collective action, on the basis of class affiliation or religion affiliation, they organize themselves to gain privileged access to means of production and to appropriate market opportunities and state scarce resources. In effect, leaders are unable to guarantee food and social security for inhabitant which include led to drastic reduction in political participation in the polity. The image of political leadership and its style of administration among other factors serve as a determinant for any meaningful development and could inversely become a devastating effect. Leadership style by many scholars is regarded as the propelling factor for endearing meaningful development in the society. Since the leader symbolize and portrays the image that forms the ideas of his society, Karl Max philosopher hence postulated that the “idea of ruling class is the idea of the State”. The manner and approach of providing direction, implementing plans, and motivating people had made us suggested that leadership is both an art and a science of its society. “A Military officer, Major General James Oluleye has also suggested in his book “Military Leadership in Nigeria 1966 – 1979 that “ the leader must possess more intelligence and able personality, task motivation and performance and social consequences “ than the followers”

Oluleye as cited from the trio editors; OladapoFafowora, TundeAdeniran and Olatunji ‘Dare, Nigeria; in search of leadership also cited in Akande (1999) that a person may attain the position of leadership in one of several ways. There is self- imposition, this could be by staging coup plot among the Military circle, there is also a lot of civilian tactical coup. plot among party membership. The experience of the Nigeria at independent and recent membership registration and dis-membership as the Nigerian politicians are defecting from one political party to one another (political parties) is no doubt that the action have subjected the dominant ruling party to nearly opposition party a situation whereby the formal opposition party is at present controlling 172 members house of represent as against 168 Peoples Democratic Party (P.D.P) marked the occurrence circumstance. The act of self imposition as Stated by Oluleye which is devoid of constitutionality is synonymous to the military incursion in politics. A group of people according to Oluleye many forcefully impose a leader on the generality of people, this is common among the civilian rapacious power hunger in the Nigeria politics. Self imposition as the trio suggested may not be a true and worthy leaders since such leader lacks legitimate popular mandate of the electorate. The demonstration of leadership qualities over a long period of time during the struggle for self

independent of Nigeria and African countries in the 60s and some sectional internal struggle among the ethnic – political classes are identified as the true nature of charismatic leaders. Hence, many African leaders as cited examples from the trio editors are like Julius Nyerere of Tanzania; Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi; Seretse Khama of Botswana; Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe; Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Nelson Mandela of the South Africa. These Sage elders of African countries have demonstrated immensely to their communities, the spirit of nationalism and hitherto such attitude had generated not only mass political participatory support to their political affiliation in their different countries but equally classified them as heroes even momentous is sanctified at their demise. Notwithstanding the life and death of Nelson Mandela is celebrated throughout the world.

In Nigeria, political participation was curtailed shortly after independence as a result of the advent of military in politics. . Because of this long regime of military dictatorship, it had contributed to the predicament of an apparently failed democracy and a total failing political participation. However, it must be recalled that not only protracted and events filled period of military despotism lasts for 35 years, but other representatives governance which should enhance participatory in democratic decision had imbibed attitude of “rap and go” corrupt practices as Enweremede (2008) suggested had in “no small measures” relegated many aspect of social value, reduction in health and educational quality, negligent on agricultural sector ,lack of water supply, poor road construction/ maintenance , epileptic power supply, environmental degradation and unemployment prevailed as a result. Incessantly (but in a regrettable version) as this unbridled attitude persists, it had equally characterized the nature and attitude of most of the newly created States (of 1990s) in Nigeria since these States are product of the military junta that lasted for 35 years. After the election of 1999 to 2007 had gone, the aborted third term ambition of the than incumbent president Olusegun Obasanjo led to the dwindling anticipation of electorate on what is likely to be their hope in the future Nigeria political event. Thanks to the election of Yar’adua and Jonathan administration of 2007 that kept the mind of electorate at rest for a while. Our greatest skepticism on another civilian governance election in 2015 with the in-ordinate intension of the large population (North parley - South West and East) that power must shift to North at the expense of the South/South bringing forth a lot of contradictions and mistrust in the country’s political participation of the present time, had raised the hope of inhabitancy for better political leadership. Therefore, this research, takes a drastic look at the situation in which leadership style in Nigeria effected social political development of the country and its multiplier effect on the Nigeria political participation and also to focus on the effect of leadership style by digging to the Nigeria epoch dimension of 1960s to the contemporary situation.

STUDIES ON LEADERSHIP

Many researchers, as a result had identified series of styles of leadership peculiar to socio-norms and value that leaders themselves acquainted at such. In this relation, leadership is believed to be innate, in – borne and yet it’s learned; it is inherent and therefore is processed and must be developed because in the wards of Aregbesola, Governor of Osun State, through “mission”, “vision” and “passion” a desired aspiration is achievable. A true and sincere leader is regarded as the hope of our inspiration which ultimately determines the success and /or failure of our larger society. Analysts of leadership style, Borgading in 1928 defined leadership as “the creating and setting forth of exceptional behavioural patterns in such a way that other people respond. Scholars define leadership in a number of different ways because of its dynamism in character and complexity in nature; and of it multidimensional concept, in the ever changing circumstances in the world politics. Bennis (1989:1) also believes that leadership is not easy to define, to him therefore; leadership, like beauty, is something that one recognizes while it is seen. Hence, the Oxford English Dictionary (1933) traced the appearance of the word “Leader” in English Language to as far back as 1300. However, the perspective of change in the appearance of society as occasioned by different kind of circumstances in human social political development contributes to ever changing of the concept “Leaders”. The situational approach as is being called is otherwise known as *Zeitgeist* a German Language meaning “spirit of the time”. Leader is viewed as a product of the times and the situation. There are different stages in which the concept of leader had under-gone subsequent changes with the condition and status of society.

At this point, since leaders could be remembered for the legacy of good and bad deeds, **periodism** is hence identified in many literatures has a remarkable event in the study of leadership. The first stage of research making on “leadership” marked the period of Aristotolian comparative study of about 150 different constitutions and leaders. Another stage was marked by the stage of Industrial Revolution and the influence of many European countries activities as they against the reign of despotic kings by various kind of scholastic write-up on political influence, and control of the Bristish parliament (Bass, 1981:7 cited from Olufemi 2012), the great write – up of Montenseque influenced the British parliament as it resolved a long dispute between the

king and the parliament. This gave birth to the celebrated theory of separation of power. The first and the Second World War 1919 and 1940s respectively vindicated the famous Hitler as an important area of study on leadership which marked the third stage. The world political event of 1806 and the European/ African influence also marked another stage that could be seen in the process of African colonization. The emergence of New African leader was viewed in the process of decolonization of Africa countries. The activity of the nationalist's which involved "consultation", "deliberation" and "confrontation" with colonial masters making them the great father of African Politics.

It is these aforementioned events and the circumstances of the period that quintessentially called for different ways of defining and classification of the word 'Leadership'. However, it had become a point of emphasis for scholars relating human management resources with the concept of leadership given the level of differences and similarities in the behavioural and the capacity of such leaders to deliver public goods. In effect, leadership is defined as a process by which one person designates "what is to be done" and influences the efforts of others (followers) in order to accomplish specific purposes. This definition lacks the merit of personal initiation of leader which could not be substantiated to judge the nature of a leader. Scholars have agreed that leaders can be regarded as agents of change; Myles Munroe (2005), stated that by reciprocating nature of God, as we were creators of His image; persons whose act effect other people more than other people's acts affect them. A successful leader learns by self-assessment on failure and achievement visualizing by plan to subvert future failure, coach, and counsel and monitoring other people. The act of competency, according to Boyatzis (1982), is a term that describes the trait that leads to success on a job or at a task. Boyatzis (1982) further stated that such competencies can be described by the knowledge skills and abilities. In his contribution to this, Olufemi (2012) had affirmed on the assumption that, reflection on one self (critical assessment), new knowledge acquisition and gathering of experiences are the major ingredients of leadership development. These studies placed more emphasis on the trait of leadership and self-assessment on the performance of activities or task; but have not identified variables or processes that move leadership to the great position.

Jossey Bass (2001) identifies six stages in the processes and training of leader in any organization. This inter managerial training starts from managing self to managing others; managing others to managing managers managing; managers to functional managers, Functional Manager to Business Manager, Business Manager; to Group Manager, Group Manager; to Enterprise Manager. This "bottom up" training process made us to understand the learning stages of leader from the scratch with close examination of the attitude, behavior, motivations and the individual personal initiative towards a given task. This theory explicitly shown that most of the previous leaders in Nigeria and, because of lack of focus, and ineffective implementation of policies aforementioned indices happened to emerge as leaders. In essence, there is no rigorous training for those leaders in the past. In other words, Aibieyi S. and Oghator (2007) had emphasized that leaders should possess innovating and initiating, creative adaptive and agile characteristics. Therefore, leaders must have vision and appeal to others while they should base their integrity on absolute reality, on facts and careful estimate of the forces at play.

Carvel (1975) identified different method of leadership styles that could be achieved through coercive benevolent and manipulative autocracy. The beauty of these methods suggested that leaders make decisions and such decisions are effectively communicated downward trend to the followers. A participative or democratic method style involves the leader that including one or more employees in the decision making process in determining what to do and how to do it. The leader seeks all shades of opinion but maintains the final decision making authority. Using this style is not a sign of weakness, rather it is a sign of strength that followership respects. The leader not only acts as co-coordinator or moderator of administrative actives but also participates in the operations by leading.

Rachman and Kescon (1985) in their studies on leadership styles have identified three broad categories of leadership style as thus, the Autocratic Method, Democratic or participative style and Laissez-faire Style. The United State Army Hand book, 1973 inter changeably named it as Authoritarian or Autocratic, Participative or Democratic; Delegative or Free Reign. Autocratic Method is straight – forward manners that gives directive and orders to follow. In the preferential usage of the Autocratic Method, leader may or may not consult others. This makes it to be effective especially when quick decision is needed since the leader has the power to give order at will. In this sense, some people tend to perceive of this style as a vehicle for yelling, using demeaning language, and leading by threats and abusing their legitimate power. Otherwise, this is not the authoritarian style usage but "bossing people around" DoClark (2013). Such usage of power has no place in a leader's repertoire. In another perspectives, democratic or participative style of leader encourages a free flow of opinion while it is obvious that leader has the final decision, other followers make their suggestions or views known for possible

consideration. The leader has the skill to moderate and direct others. A situation when followers are able to analyze the situation beyond the crises point and determine what needs to be done and how to do it. This is done with certain level of delegated authority in democratic setting also known as representative democracy.

THEORIES ON LEADERSHIP

The beginning of the critical assessment of leadership theories has important historical significance with reference to a school of thought as it referred to Iowa leadership studies. These series of pioneering leadership studies conditioned in the late 1930s were credited to Ronald Lippitt and Ralph K. White under the general direction of Kurt Lewin at the University of Iowa; has had a lasting reference on the theory of leadership. These theories are in two different categories. There is a traditional and the modern theories of leadership. A general overview of these theories provides better understanding of leadership complexity.

The traditional perspectives connotes several stages of development in human social value; thus it has some other related theories as; Trait Theories, Group and exchange, Contingency, Cognitive resource and path-goal leadership theory (NC Graw2002:). This traditional theory of leaderships believes that leaders were born. It is by the virtue of birth that one becomes leaders; this is concurrent with another theory of leadership called "great person". This suggest that people are born differently, especially with certain traits that distinct them to emerge out of any situation. Fielders' contingency theory predicts that leadership styles must match the situation for a leader to perform effectively. This is important because of the expectancy concepts of motivation that are important for a leader. Group and exchange theories of leadership emphasis that leader must be productive in providing more benefits and or rewards than burdens; or higher benefit cost advantage for the followers. This situation is expected to yield positive change between the leaders and his subordinates to enable the group goals be actualized. The pioneering theorist, Chester Barnard, applied these categories of analysis to managers and subordinates in an organizational setting. The advantage, derived in this theory is that more benefits are accrue-able to the group or other members. A cognitive resource theory is another perspective, that centres on intelligence and knowledge acquired by a leader and the level as at which such a knowledge is explored to benefit the large followers. With regards to this, much is expected of leaders than what leaders themselves can cope with. Additionally, a path – Goal leadership theory is used by scholars to analyze the impact of leadership on performance, Martin Evans and Robert Horse in their modern version of approach to this theory asserted that, it is an approach used to explain the impact that leadership behaviour has on subordinate motivation, satisfaction, and performance.

The second aspect of the theories of leadership is referred to as modern. In the circumstance, only the most prominent among the theories are attributed to charismatic leadership theories. Many ideological motions have been attributed to it because of its supremacy exclamation attached to the theory. The extremism of this theory is to the affiliation of some of the attributes as the follower's exhibit extreme loyalty to and confidence in the leader so emulated, hence, charismatic leaders tend to be portrayed as wonderful heroes. Kanungo had predicted that certain situation such as crisis that requires dramatic change promotes emergence of charismatic leadership. This theory of leadership could be used to analyze the emergence of leadership in Nigeria and Africa at large. However, the un-accountable event of metropolitan bourgeoisie that subjected African into about 400 years of slavery and 100 years of colonization as referred to in book titled "How Europe under developed Africa" written by Walter Rodle, such frantic struggle by the conscious of the indigenous of African had portrayed people like Zeku Tura, Manza-kanka Musa, Mobutu Zezezeko of Zaire, King Kosoko of Lagos, NnamdiAzikwe, ObafemiAwolowo, KwameNkruma of Ghana, HertertMacauley and Nelson Mandela of South Africa and many more as the charismatic leaders in Africa.

Also in the recent time, political crisis engendered by the annualled June 12 presidential election in 1993 led to the emergence of new political leaders in South Western Nigeria. Some of these leaders like Late LamdiAdedibu, Abraham Adesanya, AdekunleAjasin, Chief Bola Ige, LamidiAdesina, Chief BisiAkande, Chief Sunday Afolabi, Asiwaju Senator Hammed Tinubu. Chief Frank Kokori, and many more, struggle immensely in the actualization of June 12, election in 1993. During this period of struggle for the actualization of the cancelled of result presidential June 12 election of Late KasimawoOlawaleAbiola, there had been divided interests. Some leaders felt the dictates of the rulers should be adhered to, hence, they were rejected by the community's popular interest, while those leaders that stood firmly by the community's interest emerged as popular politicians today in the South West of the country. With this level of loyalty, the consequence of their action resulted in victimization by the side of the then rulers.

Inversely, our analysis is pointing to the fact that, those leaders who gained the support of their people could be regarded as gaining the "attributional phenomenon" associated with charismatic theory; and the belief

held hereby premeditated on the variance of value in leadership style is varies in accordance with the situation or the circumstances of the period in question. This theory of charismatic leaders had been attributed to a component of the broader-based transformational leadership. The essence of charismatic characteristics of leaders is to stand up to the expectations, and the challenges of dramatic changes in the society, otherwise, such a credibility of charismatic leader is withdraw able in the effect of incapability to lead the congregation through the successful transformation regarded to be necessary for the new changes or circumstances.

The ability of a leader to bring into the awareness(the overt and covert) with antecedent cues and contingent consequences that regulate the leaders and subordinate's performance behaviour became the centre – point, needed for analysis by the theory of social cognitive approach. This as it has added to the value of charismatic theory, the theory of cognitive posed certain variables that have been identified as capable of enhancing co-operation between the leader and the followers. This, includes resources interdependence, goal concurrence and mutual trust and understanding. This act of cooperation at the level of leader and follower is defined as the interactions among actors aiming at solving public problems by working together rather than by working separately. Thus periodizm as stated overleaf also took a remarkable circumstance in the emergence of African and the Nigerian leaders in such that, supportive, cooperation and understanding between the leaders and the subordinate foster meaningful development,(decolonization of Africa). Since the support is received, follower volunteer their cooperation understanding and declare their unflinching support towards the actualization of a goal declared by the society. Certain notion/ideas are formed thereafter to emulate such a patriotic leader.

NIGERIA IN QUEST FOR LEADERSHIP

The Nigerian in quest for leadership is unconnected with the historical antecedents of various electoral activities before and after independent .This, going down to the memory lane of our electoral results of the previous elections in Nigeria; the election of 1959, 1964 1979, 1983, 1993 (June 12), 1999 and 2003, 2007 and the 2011, the dynamics of such outcomes and the unequivocal responses of the political participants (the electorate) as it had not principally centered on a particular political party and ethnic political affiliation simply suggesting that Nigeria in continuously searching for political leadership still remains the fundamental problems confronting the clime. Thus, a research model is needed to clarify and explain further the relationship and the co-ordinate attitude between the political leadership and followership to effectively capture how a political leadership could achieve sustainable development in Nigeria. Many researchers had theorized on political and social problems in Nigeria notable are Adigun Agbaje (1997) Osagie (1998) DepoIrale (1997). Isumanah (2004) and the trio of Fafowora, Adeniran and Dare (1993), LadipoAdamolakun (1985).

Drawing from the perception of the trio Fafowora (1993), they argued that the major problem that inhabitants of Nigeria society are facing centered principally on both the style of leadership and followership; Accordingly, this had resulted to enormous political, economic and social instability problems, bribery and corruption also prevailed. The assumption here is that whether those enormous problems resulted from the problem of leadership or followership. Our regard to this is in the society is that, one person leads, while others follow, and rhetorically, can there be a leader without followers and vice versa. These problems among others have prompted researchers of this view demonstrated on many intellectual discussions, seminal and paper presentations by those that shared similar or divergent opinion on leadership and followership. There are three major ways of analyzing the problem as conceptualized by the trio (1993 : 26) that our major problem revolved round the poor and or bad leadership; that our problem has been that of poor and or bad followership and that our problem has not been either of those two but a combination of both.

Stemming further on their analysis, scholars and experts on political behaviour have devoted much time to seeking insights into different theories of leadership style in relation to human behaviour and their individual social cultural background. Arriving at this point, analysts suggested that, the beliefs of political leaders shaped their behavior and their relation with other people, their decision on what is good and what is bad. And to achieve such unequivocal desire, leaders knows how possible tomaliable and manipulate other political system, therefore, subjected many institutions of government to their dictates. By so doing, the beliefs of political leaders are not only product but essential component of all political system. These beliefs that pointed to the nature of reality,essentially which including the meaning and historical dimension as in relation to individual persons in the society, explain the way leaders distributed power, authority, and wealth in political life. Personal interest had been attributed amount those overriding factors that influence the chosen of Nigerian leader(their predecessors).This was rampant in the era of military and in the contemporary Autocratic-democracy. A military administrator who step-aside was reported in one of the Nigeria's monthly magazines stated that he preferred his former military boss to become the next Nigeria president purposely as he put it "He

saved my career(in military) 30 years ago”. The election was conducted (with free from fair) and such ex-military boss became the Head of State as earlier predicted. Such attempt of superimposition as many observers of Nigeria political history assumed, was among the reasons which led us to the 30 months civil war. This is an indication that many occurring political events in Nigeria have several reserved presupposition.

Interesting in the Nigeria theater of politics that AlhajiSheuShagari who led Northern Islamic Delegate for the inclusion of Sharia Penacol automatically became the Nigeria First Executive President in 1979. The antecedent of June 12 presidential election, crisis and the demonstration of larger civil society against the military administration concede the presidency to the South West in which president Obasanjo became the second Nigeria Executive President. The zoning arrangement as one may predicts, that the brutality act of military administration on the nine Ogoni in 1993 followed by the endless crisis of Niger Delta coupled with the walk out decision of one South South Elder, Edwind Clark led delegation on the demand for derivation resources allocation base on option 50:50 in Obasanjo Sovereign National Conference had contributed to decision on how the present president GoodLuck Jonathan was chosen as the Vice President for the Late President Yar’adua. The death of Yar’Adua fortunately and constitutionally conceded presidential seat to the South South. Deriving the advantage of presidential incumbency and parties (P.D.P) supreme larger popularity, president Jonathan contested and won the election massively from the South South ,West and East. The present national crisis that seems to be calling for the shifting of presidential seat from South South to the Northern Nigeria is one among the reasons for the alliance of major opposition parties: C.P.C, ACN, ANPP, APGA and A.D, that formed A..P.C. Against this , two major crises could be regarded as a possible obstacle for the Nigeria’s ruling party to triumph in the future election, if care is not taken. The lingering and persisted intra and inter parties crises in conjunction with the Boko Haram national crises .These two crises had nearly consumed the P.D.P. This could be seen in the way most of his representatives at both Houses of Representatives and Senates including the former and serving Governors are defecting to the opposition party. There is no doubt that, the act of defectors had relegated the dominant ruling party in Nigeria and inversely upgraded the opposition party that is moving at par with the ruling party.

The questions raised by the viewers of Nigeria political history at this juncture as a result of the above analyzed political behaviour is that why don’t we have “ **power sharing formula**” that will devoid incessant political crisis. And why should the selection of our political leaders always involve ethnic or religious consideration. Perhaps Akande(2014) suggested that “the fiscal power sharing mechanisms which should guarantee the smooth and orderly running of government is frequently changing at the will and caprices of Federal Government discretion..Badmos (2014:7) ‘ Ethnicity, Religion and Resource conflicts’ invariably buttressed this point that politically the analysis holds that, “oil revenues reduce the accountability of State elite and dispose them towards strategies of distribution rather than capital formation”. This attitude and seemingly acknowledgement of might is right especially at the side of the ruling class had psychologically affected other less privileged citizen which have negative impart on stability and sustainability of physical development that could lead to the progress of social economic well being of citizenry . It is important to note that after the colonialism, the Nigerian experience of Military rule favoured one major ethnic group against others .And since the resource allocation had in one’ formula or the other favored’ this ethnic group, as it contributed immensely to the progress of their lively hood made them to strongly agitates for the shifting of power . In another perspectives, other ethnic group that were less privileged as a result of the pauperizing effect that arises from unequal political opportunity which also lead to social-economic inequalities(of others) ,had called for the emergence of the so called “connection” in the society, that made popular struggle for’ national cake’ and sectional political participation ‘a conflict deriving indices’.This is an indication that allocation of the country’s scare resource(highly centralized) that had being in the possession and dictate of the sectional rapacious governing class (who had long been referring the national resource only to their ethnics birth right)demands enduring functional democratic process.

From the above, we realize that, should the Nigeria political leaders regards presidential seat as “**fortune of circumstance**” effective management of the scarce resource could hence be counted as second consideration, because there is no functional substantial rule that guarantees the returning of his ethnic relation to the governance seat. With this (presupposition) in mind of potential leaders, we could not but expect various kinds of ungovernable attitude like, mis-appropriation of public funds which include led to greed at the period of election, an attempt to perpetuate the incumbency on the throne of governance, thereby political corruption emerged and beginning to reciprocate itself at various level of public and private affairs. Supporter of this view, Badmos (2014) as he asserted that, such “unguarded attitude of politician is capable of creating political and economic conditions that increases the risk of violent conflict” since such attitude had created immense jobless youths that are gullible and can be easily manipulated because of their social-economic predicament to effect

evil deed. More especially, at this time when we are closer to the election period. Such mobilization as it is against political participation contributes to drastic retardation in socio mobilization which causes hindrance to the execution of many meaningful developmental projects. The incessant occurring political upsurge of Boko Haram had not only deter the progress of the country at all faces of social development but had equally portrayed the nation in bad image in the comity of Nations.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND ITS ETHNIC – COLOURATION

Enough documentations had captured the activities of British imperialism, Irele (1997) as they were able to penetrate various economic and political empires of their artificially created “Nation State” called Nigeria through the umbrella efforts of metropolitan bourgeoisies covered – up on Christian Missionaries that operated in the area in earlier 18th centuries. This period eventually marked the industrial revolutionary period in which the colonial masters needed the supply of cheap raw-material and out post market for their manufactured goods. Although, the social political structure on ground also was in concord with the colonial intentional demystification of diverse units since the Fulani in the North is potentially dominating the indigenous Hausa that earlier resided in the area. So also, the Yoruba in the South West have their epoch monarchical absolutism on ground. The area that was not centrally governed at that period was Eastern part of the country. It is against this background that the colonial master operates dual – administration, indirect administration in both North and Western part of the country while direct administration was adopted in the East. This situation therefore, fueled the British adoption of “**Divide and Rule**” system at that period. This explained why the Nigeria political independent of 1960 was devoid of economic independent up till 1964. It is at this level of European perpetual exploitation that created series of controversial and contradiction in the first Republic. This explains how the first face of Nigerian foreignrelation policy entirely favoured their former colonial master. This statement is further confirmed(during a workshop for leaders of ethnic minorities in the North) just as the United State, based civil society organization Gatestone Institute, New York has called on Britain to apologise to Nigeria because “the problem and tension in Northern Nigeria are direct results of left overs by the British colonial government.

Judging by the activities of colonialists that intensified ethnicity, ethnic – regional cleavages were predicated on economic exploitation and as a result, the regional political base was encouraged in other to regionalize the economic base so as to continue to enjoying the economic surplus value accrue to the country at large. This suggests while Nigeria was encouraged on the production of raw material. (the Nigerians produce cocoa, coffee but the European enjoys it) The educated elite that wanted decolonization to be effective brought about nationalist activities. Against this struggle, a host of constitutions, ranging from Richardian, MacPherson, Independence constitution were drawn in favour of colonial economic interest at that time. In 1923 with the formation of Nigerian Democratic Party (NDP) starting the beginning of political participation in Nigeria. The twice helper in the crusade of political participation were other nationalist movements at the level of social group are, the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), People’s Union (PU) and the National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns (N.C.N.C).

It is unrelenting quest for National Independent that made the Nigerian nationalists turned to politician and formed political parties at a point when there was need to canvass and educate the masses (Nigeria citizen) to grant their support and solidarity in their demands for the attainment of independence. In this regard, three major political parties emerged on the basis of three most dominant ethnic groups of the country. Bearing it in mind that Recharidian constitution of 1946 had paved way for regional independent **abinitio**. In the sense that the region had enjoyed the regional based government since 1957 to December 31, 1965 when the first Nigeria coup disvergined its democratic dispensation that was inherited from the colonial master. It must be recalled that, as a result of Federal intervention (by the coalition of National People’s Congress NPC and the National Council of Nigeria) at the “Regional base politics” of the early 60s in other to castrate the regional wield based part,y Action Group AG and also the rejected and the accepted of population census result of 1962 and that of 1964 coupled with electoral corruption of the same period (predetermined electoral result), the dis-respect to the rule of law and impunity had been widely agreed by students of Nigeria Political history to be the major causes of the first coup which lasted for 30 month that causes about 5 million lives and estimated lost of millions of properties since then, the period marked the beginning of possession of proliferation of big and light ammunition till date in Nigeria.

DYNAMICS IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The present situation in Nigeria has not shown any distinct departure from the period of the First, Second and aborted Third Republic of 1993. There was a stable political condition and security of life and property before January and July 1966 that marked the incursion of military in to Nigeria politics. Before the Nigeria independent of 1960, the political arrangement favoured competitive politics both at the Federal and Regional level.

As a result of political participation that favoured competitive politics based on party platform and superiority might especially at the side of Federal Alliance that granted unequivocal support to marginalize other political leaders from various ethnic cleavages contributed to “break – away faction of most of the major political parties of the first Nigeria Republic. The situation continued until the constitution of the second Republic which replaced Republican System of government to Presidentialism with such principle of constitutional supremacy. This system bred new faction of god fatherism to whom the electorate surrendered and gave solidarity. The innovations which encouraged cross cutting party formation (1979 and 1999 constitution) provide incentives for party formation on national character in sharing party and political offices. The introduction of two party system (in the aborted Third Republic, 1993) which seems to have closed the ethnic solidarity in political participation had subverted to inter – and intra- party solvocation. This hypothesized indices, might probably account for the unexpected ethnic big- tent parties, Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republic Convention (NRC) respectively in the un-celebrated Third Republic. The outlook of the present ruling party that symbolized NPN (1979-83) had for long time succeeded in its magnanimous incorporation of all diverse ethnic and regional constituencies that make – up Nigeria entity. In 1999, the two political parties of Alliance for Democracy AD and All Progressive party led by Chief OluFalae demonstrated a cross- cutting ethnic voting pattern because of national sympathy for June 12 election that presumed to have favoured his geo-political zone, Chief Obasanjo who won the election got minimum support of the votes majority from the Norths in 27 out of 36 States of the Federation. In his second term, the ruling Party P.D.P had increased on its electoral minimum of 25% by 5 additional States therefore making it a total of 32 out of 36 States in Nigeria. The derivatives advantage of this outcome of the election result in 1999 as it was demonstrated earlier by the annulled election of June 12 1993 is that, **the age-long desire of Nigeria to have a leader that reflect their ethnic or sectional Kinship had changed** and also it made the intensification of the Nigeria political actors (both the leaders and the followers) to have a leader who is expected by his action to be committed enough to pursue national interest rather than caring about his ethnic origin.

In the Nigeria subsequent elections, the 2007 Yar’dua/Jonathan connection and 2011 (Jonathan/ Sambo) that was expected to build-up on the existing foundation by any factor (overt or covert) still manifested in dimensional ethnicity electoral colouration. The principle of zoning as a political phenomenon, its role and significance as it was overwhelmingly pronounced during the Nigeria June 12 political crisis reminds in the penacle of political party without hurting such chances of winning public election. The zoning arrangement as informal means of ethnic accommodation in Nigerian politics since 1979 is otherwise known as power sharing which remained innovative in the political arrangement of that period in question. The arrangement therefore, seeks to distribute balance of opportunity and rotates key governmental and party offices among the nations, diverse ethnic – religious and geo-political constituencies. Because of mismanagement of this opportunity at the level of elite class, critics alleged that arrangement was fraudulently designed as it favoured one major ethnic group against others.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In most cases the attitude of Nigeria leaders, in political participation demonstrated different kinds of electoral reservations. Political participation had become a function of social economic status derivation especially in Nigeria that replicated the position of the people’s daily prayer which says “our Lord/Father gives us our daily breads...” since political participation is interpreted to mean what “one will eat and where one will sleep”. Political participation becomes a statistical analysis of political leaders as they allocate scarce resources on both the advantages and disadvantages to “who get what, when and how”. Therefore, citizen had regarded participation in politics (or elections) only as a fortune to human and social development. Analysts therefore, considered some variables that are connected with allocation of scarce resources, which among many other factors stand in between leadership and followership that was developed on variables at the level of policy implementation which is congruent to cooperation, understanding; and that has exposed the level of compliance by the followers. Policy implementation failure remains one of the hallmarks of public policies which serves as obstacle to development had strangled political participation at various level of government. The inability of

most of our political leaders(policy makers) to effectively formulate clear policy out comes, inadequate governance mechanisms and the failure of implementing agents to adequately capture the essence of such implementation because of limited capacity or authority vested them contributes to the failure of many designed policies for developmental projects. In addition, it is not enough to develop goals and objectives for the advancement of society, rather it is the translation of these goals into concrete programmes and projects that could enhance citizens welfare which hitherto increases citizens levels of political participation.

Associate intricacies towards the actualization and sustainable of meaningful development in Nigeria include unemployment, corruption, favouritism nepotism, prebendalism, impunity and bureaucratic bottle neck. Among these important factors that are essential towards public policy implementations is cooperation; Its impact on the actualization of meaningful development is unquantifiable. Cooperation as one political analyst described it is the interactions among actors aiming at solving public problems by working together rather than by working separately. To facilitate this, variables like resources interdependence, goal congruence and mutual trust should be present. It is by the virtue of this cooperation, development is attainable. It's follows therefore, that the retardation of physical and administrative development in Nigeria arises as a result of the above mentioned social vices which includes lack of cooperation at the level of intra and inter-governmental relation which led to reduction at the level of political participation. This lack of cooperation probably because of different political parties involving both the States and Federal government, with the persistence high level of political rivalry and national crises hence, social-economics and infrastructural development at the units (states and local government) of federation reminds stagnation. **"Federal government"** as Labara Maku the present Nigeria Minister of information (under President GoodLuck Jonathan)defined it when he paid courtesy visit to Osun State last year 2013 said, it is a central of policy making and the subordinate units (local and States) act at the level of policy implementation for meaningful development. However, with this high level of hostile relationship that arises as a result of party superiority,(defectors from P.D.P.to A.P.C), how would the State move forward in carrying out most of their developmental projects? And how would the State execute the Federal government projects(plans and actions)? With this unfolding hostile relationship and apparently federal government inconsistent with the releasing of monthly legitimate State allocation, effective physical development is banned to progress. With the recent political awareness also, such rivalry is bound to boomerang. In the South Western part of the country for instance: in Osun, Oyo, Ekiti, Ogun and Lagos State that are controlling by All Progressives Congress (APC), the level of development and the increasing level of social infrastructural facilities provided in most of these states, as commented by many National dailies, had contributed to the economic well being of citizens.

CONCLUSION

The ongoing National Conference for the true Corporative Federalism would rather have being a pathfinder solution to the Nigeria problems, but the selection and the compositionof delegates makes one wonder whether the outcome of the Conference would portray a genuine agenda. The clamour for a National Conference, therefore, stems from the realization that it is about time that the people of this country take control of their own destiny and use the power of democracy to determine their faith. There is no doubt, that an un-interrupted electoral system especially in most of the opposition States will further guarantee the security of Nigeria in the aforementioned elections and the subsequent ones. The foreseen biggest obstacle is " no going area clause" associated with the discussion in the National Conference meaning that, fundamental "national questions still remains unresolved and likely to continue to threatened the National Sovereignty. Considering the level of security in the country, there is need to reiterate that part of what would guarantee the security of life and property in the pre-and post-election is for the Federal government to stay clear in the conduct of most of the States elections in Nigeria. To reduce the level of criminal activities in the country, the Conference needs to address the perpetual unemployment situation in the country and equally define a workable solution to reduce level of corruption. The recent ferocious and unwarranted attacks against suspended Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Governor for exposing alleged \$20 billions theft in the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) is an indication that corruption is endemic in the Nigeria politics and had grossly crippled its economic status and total reductions in the employment level.

Apparently there cannot be good governance without good leaders and the two cannot exist without free and fair election (mandate of the people in electoral democratic process) that would ensure peace and security of life and propriety in the country. Since it is in the atmosphere of peace and security (which is the utmost interest of Nigeria citizen) that social economic well-being of the citizens be improved, it is the suggestion of this paper that all hands must be on deck (i.e each and every one in the country should act as stakeholders) to ensure free and fair elections in the country. It is an attribute of democracy that civil society

watch the activities of government and stand to defend their rights in the election. An uninterrupted Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) should be charged as mediator between the civil society and the institution of government (Law Court). Therefore, INEC has an important assignment to do. INEC should publish its guidelines towards ensuring free and fair election as earlier as possible for every citizen to peruse. And if there could be addition or omission so wishes by any citizen shall be accommodated fold in no future distance.

In the first instance, INEC must be adequately funded and must be freed from the dictate of Federal Government directives.

Therefore, INEC should ;

I forestall electoral fraud at all course by preventing candidates or political parties from bringing people from neighbouring states to participate in the registration exercise to influence the election result.;

Ii ensuring adequate security most especially in polling units/booths having more than 500 voters and equally endeavour to take proper care so that enough voter's cards go round;

Iii and try to put into test the permanent replacement of lost cards, preferably the newly introduced "Permanent Voter's Card" PVC be put into test in the Election of Ekiti and Osun that is coming-up very soon and subsequently annex it to the whole country at large and ensure it goes round;

Iv provide for the continuous voters registration and awareness so that anybody who has become 18 years after the last election in 2011 will be adequately captured in the new registration;

V counts much on information which is very vital during the election exercise and that could easily obstruct electoral process and guide against allowing partisan observers feeding the commission with negative information that is likely to cause electoral rancor, and prepare to guide against observers working for selfish interest that is capable of marred the electoral process with fake information; take note of some people that would come up under the guess gesture of observers but were working to protect the interest of people in government ; set standard criteria to be used in selection of election observers that disgruntle element could be prevented;

Vi make sure that all candidates for elections abide by the rule and regulations, guideline and principle towards the proper conduct of elections; call on every stakeholders to join hand to provide maximum security for the election process because our National security officers alone cannot provide the security, everybody must be involved embark on laudable political awareness to the generality of the Nigerian citizenry regarding the proper conduct of election, let the electorate be rest assured and have confidence on the electoral process.

Transparency must be ensured just as the INEC boss proclaims that "political parties could go and investigate and interrogate on the viability of the exercise the commission had embarked on" as it is preparing for another elections in Nigeria".

Believing that the judicial institution is the last hope of democratic system in the world, we therefore implore the (Nigeria) jurists to see their legitimate assignment as mandate from heaven, since the appointment of Chief judge is meritorious and recently that the institution is financially and administratively independent of other arms of government., one would expect faithfulness and impartiality in discharging their legitimate assignment.. A renowned retired president Court of Appeal Justice Ayo Salami had written his name with golden pen in the Nigeria political history on the highly contradictory political judgment that involved Oyo, Osun Ekiti and Sokoto. So also the press should be co-ordinated by the well organized civil Society, so that the information given regarding the outcome of election may not be infiltrated.

Some Nigeria leaders are of the opinion that since zoning arrangement had being hypothesized in the Fourth Republic of 1999 and that has not uttered the chances of winning election of any political party, and also believed to have took effective shape and deep rooted in the contemporary democracy, its neglect according to them is likely to endanger the unity and solidarity which had positioned the country in enviable integrity

Although ,in democracy, no body teaches the electorate to whom they should cast their vote for, just as Akande (2014) stated that "the medicine of democracy still remain in democracy itself" therefore, this paper is only prescribed for certain characteristics that, a leader must have a number of capabilities – convincing and able to organize people towards the society aspiring of common goal. A leader must be able and strong to correct contradicting occurrence. A leader should know how to be effectively managed and utilized the group's energy for progress in prosperity and development. The thorough sense of legitimate assignment given to the leaders is expected and leaders must be dynamic in their social relations This will help to convince the critics and impose more confidence to the entire generality of Nigeria.

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