

Money Politics And Crisis Of Leadership In Nigeria: A Critical Evaluation of Experiences in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

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ABSTRACT

This paper holistically examined the influence and effect of monetizing politics on the responsibilities of leadership and obligations of governance in Nigeria's fourth republic. The background to this study summarily captured through literatures relevant to this research work, the extent to which gross display of money politics, with its attendant widespread experiences of leadership crisis had dampened the thrills and excitements by Nigerians that heralded the birth of the democratic fourth republic. This study by implication, presented money politics as the independent variable which causes changes and effects on leadership performance in Nigeria's fourth republic, hence, financial inducements always influenced virtually all aspects of institutional mechanisms and processes for leadership selection and governing activities. The Failed State theory on which this study is anchored corroborated the position of this paper which stresses that due to the incessant leadership crisis arising from the monetization of politics, the Nigerian State has lost the capacity for effective governance. This, according to the paper has had grave implication in poor service delivery. More so, the era of money politics in Nigeria's fourth republic has plunged the polity in recurring episodes of leadership crisis, defined in terms of legal, media and civil face offs. These, according to this study are distractions to leaders from tackling the real task of governance. This study identified three dimensions of money politics in Nigeria's fourth republic to include: financial corruption/poor accountability syndrome of public office holders, politics of godfatherism and high cost of election funding and financing. This study obtained materials solely through secondary source of data and adopted content analysis method. This paper recommended an all encompassing institutional and cultural re-evaluation as very potent remedies to the incessant incidences of leadership crisis in Nigeria, arising from money politics.

Keywords: Accountability, Administration, Chastity, Corruption, Godfatherism, Governance, Leadership, Ideology and Idiosyncrasy

INTRODUCTION

An overwhelming portion of the maladies, woes and banes of Nigerian politics finds a vivid expression in the otherwise perceived culture of financially induced system of politics. Over the years, credible mechanisms required in the leadership selection processes have severally been compromised by pecuniary stimulations. In effect, there has been a growing spate of ineffective, irresponsible and irresponsive cycle of leadership produced. By extension, such institutional anomaly has consistently proved to birth poor leadership performances, in relation to quality service delivery to the citizenry. Hence, such situation typically demonstrates the inability of leaders to justify the essence of the official responsibilities contractually given to them by the people. Academics such as (Ovwasa, 2013, Davies, 2005 & Ojo, 2006) all concur with the position expressed above, as they collectively affirm that the Nigerian State is trapped in a web of recycling leadership failures, owing to the constraint, posed by money politics in choosing a well-deserving crop of leadership.

The enthronement of a civilian administration in 1999 was welcomed with grave excitements, suffused with bounties of expectations. The thrills, purportedly expressed by the Nigerian electorate were necessitated by the impressions, entertained by the people. Such thoughts encompassed the strong conviction of the citizens that the establishment of a civil rule, entailed a sheer departure from a military administration, characterized by insensitivity and despotic tendencies to a democratic dispensation which expectedly should promote leadership-people confraternity, inclusiveness, reliability and responsiveness. However, Owasa (2013) observes that in Nigerian politics, there exists, 'a disparity between democracy as a concept and its practice'. This situation, according to him owes largely to the flooding of the public space with a bunch of incompetents whose avoidance is consistently hampered by financial influences. In lending credence to the position, established by Owasa, Nwosu (1996) holds that in Nigeria, money politics remains a dysfunctional factor that compromises the relevance of democratic institutions. He specifically remarks that the political party, the platform upon which individuals aspire to various political positions has its activities manipulated by monetized method of politicking. His submission emphatically decries the complementary synergy between money and position aspiration in political party's selection processes in Nigeria. In his separate contribution, Bara (2007) avers that the influence of money in the screening, determination and selection of candidates in Nigerian political parties, discountenances other aspects of moral credentials which a candidate, aspiring to hold any political/public office should possess. Hence, Alabi (2008) stresses that the natural principles of integrity, chastity, nobility and uprightness have been alternated with pecuniary persuasion, in the administration of politics in Nigeria.

Consequent upon the above realities, the ability for effective leadership becomes constrained to a very large extent. Aiyede (2006) asserts that in Nigeria, the outrageous expenses borne by political office-aspiring politicians represent financial investments. By implication, the overriding interest of the average politician in Nigeria, in the event they clinch any political position is always to make gainful returns on their investments. As a result, the need for quality and selfless services to the people becomes underplayed.

Therefore, this study attempts to undertake a critical assessment of the negative roles that financial inducements have played in defining political leadership in Nigeria. The core objective of this study is to deeply examine the extent to which money politics have contributed to leadership failures/crisis in Nigeria from 1999 to the contemporary era.

CONCEPTUAL EXPLANATION

According to Owasa (2013, p.2), "Money politics can be defined as the phenomenon in the Nigeria electoral process whereby contenders for elective positions used money or money is used on their behalf as an inducement to sway their support, which is not based on persuading the electorate to vote according to their wish and conviction, but on the force of money that has changed hands."

In his definition of the concept, Aspinall (2019) sees 'money politics' as a general term which connotes other aspects of inducements, including offering of material gifts and vote- buying. Accordingly, he submits that:

A second category of election-induced gift is those that are handed out to larger public campaign events, such as public rallies and village parties. Also, provision of food, drinks and transport money, all sponsored by candidates of elective positions, constitute portions of money politics. The third category entails the provision of individual cash payments, or goods, to voters in the immediate lead up to the election (p.8).

Again, in a divergent but concurring opinion on the subject of money politics, Ezirim (2010) tenders that the concept, 'money politics', in practical terms, denotes a reflection of the interplay between the dubious tendencies of public servants in government-owned ministries and agencies, manifest in their demand for bribe from politicians and the latter's disposition to oblige. Hence, Ebegbulem (2009) corroborates Ezirim's position as he maintains that money politics in Nigeria is rooted in the systemic habitation of corruption and other forms of sharp practices.

In addition to the definitions stated above, Nkamah (2010) tenders that:

Money Politics in Nigeria suggests a dysfunctional disposition of corruptly minded and morally-perverted politicians who literally buy their way to political offices. By having access to affluence and other forms of privileged circumstances, they circumvent the rigorous but legitimate criteria for aspiration to political positions. Also, money politics perpetuates, even after these dubiously-inclined politicians have paid their ways to political offices. With the aid of a strong financial base, (this time,

acquired from public treasury), they try to sustain their ill-acquired political legitimacy and relevance (p.58).

On the other hand, leadership crisis typically entails a whole range of administrative challenges, encountered by leadership, in the management of organizational affairs. These challenges tend to contend with the psychological and emotional wellness of leaders to perform optimally (Urim, 2009). However, for the benefit of this study, the definition of leadership crisis should derive from perspectives that concur with the ideological narrative of this study. This study primarily focuses on the circumstances that generate leadership failures, with regard to what obtains in the Nigerian governance system. In the circumstance, Crisis of Leadership in Nigeria is demonstrated in the inability of government functionaries to focus, specifically, on tackling the rigorous but statutorily obligatory tasks of governance. In its stead, government functionaries, on assumption of political offices are confronted with priority challenges, as they pertain to administering governance. They tend to be faced with the dilemma of making a choice between addressing the fundamental issues, bothering on the essence of the political offices they occupy and compensating the forces that aided the realization of their political aspiration (Agbor, 2011). By implication, Agbor in his analysis, suggests that political office holders in Nigeria are most times compelled by the incidents, leading to their securing political positions, to consider repayment and replenishment of the financial sources through which they grabbed political offices, above delivering on the obligations of governance.

In addition to the point raised above, Amuwo (2005) stresses that leadership crisis in Nigeria is equally reflected in the poor accountability syndrome that is domiciled in the Nigerian public/civil service sector. By this, Amuwo explains that all forms of bureaucratic inefficiency and ineffectiveness constitute leadership crisis.

Drawing from the contributions by the various authors, the researcher submits that money politics is a trend which summarily involves the indiscriminate importation of pecuniary incentives into the political/public terrain to assume a deterministic, domineering and influential stance, which drives all political processes, actions and inactions. Money Politics also by extension, determines the pattern and quality of input and contributions from the external environment.

Crisis of Leadership entails a compendium of conflicts, leading to administrative blunders which leaders are confronted with in the course of presiding over official responsibilities. Defining strictly from the perspective of the public arena, it denotes poor, irresponsible and unproductive leadership performances, resulting from bequeathing on a bunch of incompetents and morally-degenerate individuals, State Powers, functions and Political positions.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

This study, for the purpose of suitability is anchored on the 'Failed State Theory'. A failed State typifies a politically organized society where the various structures, institutions and organs that make up the society are administratively ineffectual and incapacitated, with regard to providing basic social services to the people. As a consequence, the leadership of such society(s) loses the capacity to assert its authority and control over the citizenry (Stewart, 2007& Rotberg, 2004).

Call (2008) affirms that the inability of State leadership to assert its authority and constitutionally-enabling control on the people gradually metamorphoses into subsequent epochs of social dissensions, demonstrated in forms of overall public outcry, inter/intra ethnic restiveness and civil violence. In a separate contribution, Olivier (2013) attributes the circumstances leading to State failure to the outright negative tendencies of State Functionaries which are conspicuously manifest in poor service delivery and on the whole failure of leaders to justify the essence of the mandate, given to them by the people. Hence, some of the indicators of lack of responsiveness and insensitivity of leaders to the citizenry include:

- i. Personalization of resources and means of resources of State.
- ii. Deliberate impoverishment of the people, as a means of acquiring stupendous wealth.
- iii. Avaricious accumulation of private riches from the coffers of public wealth, at the expense of general interest.
- iv. Conscious act of frustrating evenness and fairness in the distribution of the 'common wealth of the public'.

- v. Huge financial compensations and bribe to dissenting groups, loyalists and sycophants, with State-owned fund.
- vi. Unhealthy and defective tendency to financially compromise the policies, activities and decisions of the various institutions and agencies of government.

In a corroborative contribution to the position stated above, Taylor (2013) posits that some of the pointers of a failing State include:

- i. Rising trend of unemployment among youths and employable workforce.
- ii. Biting era of poverty, hunger and lack and their consequences, expressed in the appearances of widespread frustration and depression in the society.
- iii. Grave incidences of social malaise and crime.
- iv. Unchecked means of accessing tremendous wealth by members of the political class and their cronies, in the midst of ravaging economic depression, witnessed by members of the public.
- v. Covert or maneuvered display of lack of political will on the part of the political class to address the situations highlighted in numbers, 1-4.

THE RELEVANCE OF THE FAILED STATE THEORY TO THIS STUDY

The failed state theory has a strong bearing on this study, especially as it contains a wide-range depiction of Nigeria's political system's peculiarity. The failed state theory, in various dimensions, characterizes the manner with which the import of money into politics has weakened and eroded the relevance of quality leadership in Nigeria. The theory explicitly describes the morally decadent propensity of leaders as it relates to governance.

In a nation state where money politics defines the socio-political composition of the polity, there is bound to be a thriving practice of inequality in wealth distribution. This is because, while there exists, a conscious but inordinate act of concentrating the bulk of the State's resources on the political class, the larger population of the society is left with a diminutive fraction of the common wealth to go round. The attendant consequence is that the leadership class loses touch with the intricacies of quality administration of the State and the demands of good governance. This situation is vividly descriptive of a failed State. Hence, it is undeniably evident in the Nigerian situation.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DEMONSTRATION OF MONEY POLITICS VIS-À-VIS LEADERSHIP PERFORMANCES IN NIGERIA SINCE THE INCEPTION OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC IN 1999

The indiscriminate and unwarranted glorification of the overriding essentiality of money in the Nigerian system of politicking has particularly stigmatized the entire polity since the country democratized in 1999. In the views of a surging population of observers, it has become a brand name which distinguishes Nigeria from other Nation States where politics is almost strictly run on established scruples and constitutional standards. This is in so far as the pattern of money politics in Nigeria has infiltrated governing processes in the country. There seems to be, a concurring method of adaptation of the rhythms, played in the political arena to the overall governing mechanisms and vice versa.

An official statement credited to a former Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo reinforces the widespread impression, circulating the public space about the extent to which the influence of money has replaced the choice of the electorate in the course of electioneering processes. Thus:

With so much resources being deployed to capture elective offices, it is not difficult to see the correlation between politics and the potential for high level corruption. The greatest losers are the ordinary people, those voters whose faith and investment in the system are hijacked and subverted because money, not their will is made the determining factor in elections. Can we not move from politics of money materialism to politics of ideas, issues and development? (Obasanjo, 2005).

Consequently, such defective democratic development has continued to emphasize the emergence of unpopular crop of leadership who get enmeshed in an unending chain of leadership crisis on

assumption of office as political leaders. The indications are often a demonstration of ill administrative performances that are overwhelmingly detrimental to the masses.

i. A brief Assessment of Corrupt Indulgences of Political/Public Office Holders In Relation to Leadership Accountability/Stewardship:

In the year 2002, it was reported that the House of Representatives, under the leadership of Ghali Umar Na'abba initiated impeachment moves against the then Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo. The rationale behind the impeachment plans, according to the leadership of the House was premised on the perceived shortcomings in the leadership style of Obasanjo. However, it was revealed that the House leadership was outwitted in their plot by the presidency-the latter which doled out 2 million naira each to the members of the House as a buy off strategy (Adesola, 2006).

In a similar development, Kolawole (2014) informs that in the year 2006, there was a monetary inducement of 50 million naira each to members of the two Houses in the National Assembly to vote in favour of Obasanjo's third term agenda. Specifically, Emeruwa (2018) posits that the then senate president, Adolfus Wabara was wooed with 250 million naira to consent to the third term agenda plot. In the year 2003, it was alleged that the Obasanjo Administration compensated its political allies with contracts that were worth over N80 billion for the hosting of the 8th All African Games in that same year. The report claims that those contracts were awarded without recourse to due process and accountability. It further claimed that such a project was ill-timed, given the economic reality at the time (Orngu, 2006). Comparably, a famous social critic, David West questioned the justification given for the fund raise for the establishment of the Obasanjo presidential library project at a time when the country's economy was prostrate. Again, he raised concerns about the moral basis on which the Nigeria Ports Authority- an establishment under probe should donate a whooping sum of 1million pound sterling for the project (David West, 2005).

During the administration of the former Nigerian President, Goodluck Jonathan, the former National Security Adviser to Jonathan, Sambo Dasuki allegedly received the sum of \$2.1 billion (N10 billion) to purchase ammunitions for the fight against insurgency. However, it was alleged that Dasuki embezzled the money and re-directed the purpose for which the fund was procured. The huge fund was allegedly plundered and greater chunk of the money was ploughed back to aid the re-election bid of former President Goodluck Jonathan (Agbugah, 2015).

In this current dispensation, specifically in 2017, a former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Babachir Lawal was implicated in a corruption scandal. The said scandal involved the embezzlement of over N200 million. The fund was allocated through the Presidential Initiative on the North East (PINE). However, while the proposed project suffered neglect, it was alleged that the former SGF misused the fund by awarding the contracts for the execution of the project to his 'self-owned companies and cronies (Soniyi, 2018).

ii. The Issue of Godfatherism:

The problem of godfatherism in Nigeria politics has historically maintained a monstrous and impregnable posture in the nation's public space. Godfathers have always been known to acquire, control and sustain the socio-economic and political structures of the society. They originally belong to the stupendously wealthy class of the society. Hence, by virtue of their access to material comfort, they mostly influence the determination of who gets what in politics. Despite the fact that this class of people might most times, not be involved in career politics, largely on account of reasons that are shrouded in ulterior intentions, they indirectly control State power and resources. They achieve this by grooming loyalists and financially empower them to contest for political positions. Subsequently, when the godsons clinch political positions, the godfathers, through the former manipulate political leadership and recover, in bounties of gains, the financial investments deployed to secure State power. According to Abdullahi (2013), the politics of godfatherism in Nigeria's fourth republic indicates a sheer departure from the pattern that played out in the first republic. During the era of the first republic, the godfathers groomed loyalists, mostly successors who would sustain the legacies of good governance and impacting-leadership tendencies, created by the former. However, in this fourth republic era, godfathers foist on the electorate, their godsons who would secure political positions and literally represent the parochial and greed-motivated interests of the former. The birth of the fourth republic in 1999 witnessed an era of a prolonged but fierce political contention between godfatherism and godsonship in Anambra State. Chinwoke Mbadinuju, the then Governor of Anambra State was

caught in a misty waters of dilemma as he was under constraint to financially compensate several quarters that aided his victory at the polls, at the expense of administering effective social services to the people. Specifically, he was mandated to pay an ‘unofficial’ monthly N10 million to a foremost godfather in that State, Chris Uba. Crisis engulfed Mbadinuju’s Administration when he could not exhaustively satisfy the pressing demands of the godfathers, while governance suffered setback. Workers salaries were not paid, while infrastructural development in the State experienced a monumental neglect. Consequently, that development cost him his second term bid in office. Following this, Chris Ngige who succeeded Mbadinuju was compelled to sign documents, showing evidence that he had inherited a backlog of monetary royalties paid to the old faction of godfathers. Also, he allegedly signed an undertaking, purporting that he would serve as Anambra State Governor for a single term. Chris Ngige allegedly infringed on the said agreements he entered into with the major power brokers in the State and the stage was set for the intensification of leadership crisis in that region. The then incumbent Governor (Ngige) was abducted, with his aggrieved godfather, Chris Uba turning the State into an ungovernable entity (Adoyo, 2014, Abdullahi, 2013).

Senator Iyabo Obasanjo-Bello, a daughter to the former Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo was a beneficiary of the latter’s patronage as the then forefront political godfather of Ogun State. Iyabo Obasanjo-Bello was elected the senator, representing Ogun Central senatorial district in 2007 under the platform of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). She sought for the party’s flag to re-contest in 2011 but was strongly opposed. The spearheads of that opposition based the justification for their actions on the controversies that surrounded her (Iyabo’s) first tenure as senator, representing Ogun Central. In 2008, as a serving senator and also Chairman, Senate’s Committee on Health, Iyabo was involved in a bribery scandal of 300 million naira belonging to the Ministry of Health. Consequently, Senator Iyabo Obasanjo was arrested and detained by the EFCC with several others that were linked to the embezzlement saga. To that effect, concerns were expressed as to the quality of political value the embattled senator still retained after that experience, hence the struggle to deny her the party’s ticket for re-election. It was reported that the judiciary was compromised, both financially and by virtue of Obasanjo’s godfatherism influence to mandate the Independent National Electoral Commission to recognize Iyabo as the authentic party flag bearer, following the conduct of two separate primary elections within the same political party fold (The Nation, April 11, 2011).

Also, Abati (2019) recounts how in 2003, the former Governor of the State, Rasheed Ladoja was compelled by a famous godfather in that State, Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu to share the monthly security vote fund with the latter. Adedibu had claimed that he invested hugely on Ladoja’s governorship position bid, hence, deserved such financial compensation. That request by Adedibu was met with stiff resistance by Ladoja. Also, according to Abdullahi (2013), Adedibu was crossed with Ladoja’s perceived excesses on the grounds that the latter, with disregard to previous agreements still kept the former Oyo State’s Chairman of National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW), Alhaji Lateef Akinsola in prison for 29 months. Aside that, Ladoja’s disgruntled godfather, Adedibu still complained about the former’s impudence in abandoning the human elements that contributed meaningfully to his success at the gubernatorial polls without compensating them with appointments and financial rewards. Consequently, the centre could no longer hold in Oyo State Government as the Governor, Ladoja later got enmeshed in a cluster of leadership crisis that culminated in his eventual impeachment in 2006.

The current political impasse in Edo State is chiefly traceable to the soured relationship between a political godfather, (Oshiomole) and his godson, (Obaseki). Shortly after the latter’s swearing in as the Executive Governor of Edo State, he shut out party leaders from unauthorized visits to the Government House. According to the Governor, public finances were strictly meant for projects and other aspects of socio-economic development of the State and not for sharing. Frustrated by this development, the party leaders and loyalists now flock the residence of the former Governor (Oshiomole) to get the pecuniary compensations they should have been getting from the Government House. Oshiomole in his part feels betrayed by what he described as ‘act of betrayal’ by Obaseki even after he (Oshiomole) went out of his way to make him, (Obaseki) Governor. Oshiomole has roundly accused his successor of refusing to engage his (Oshiomole’s) candidates in political appointments. Consequently, there is a grand plan orchestrated by the APC party leaders to deny the incumbent Governor the part’s ticket for a second term bid, owing to his alleged disloyalty to Oshiomole who is

believed to be the godfather of Edo State politics, within the realm of the ruling party (APC) Bello (2019).

iii. Election Funding/Financing:

Over time, scholars and critics have established a fundamental trace of the negative impact of money politics on leadership performance in Nigeria, to the institutionally enshrined exorbitant system of political campaign funding. While it is widely observed by scholars/critics that the financial cost of aspiring for political positions in Nigeria is high, there is the absence of effective mechanisms to check overstepping of limits by political parties and their candidates. The constitutional permissiveness granted political parties to exclusively determine the cost of purchasing interest and nomination forms by candidates gives rise to the tendency of political parties to charge exorbitantly for the purchase of their forms.

In the buildup to the 2019 general elections, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) pegged both the presidential nomination and expression of interest forms at 12 million naira. For the governorship cadre, it is put at 6 million naira. At the level of the legislature, the party sold to aspiring senatorial candidates, both nomination and expression of interest forms at 4 million naira, while that of House of Representatives was 1.5 million. At the State level, it was placed at 600 thousand naira (Aytogo, 2018). Currently however, it was reported that the party's nomination form for governorship position has been reviewed upwards to 20 million naira. This development was in response to the build up to the forthcoming Kogi and Bayelsa States gubernatorial polls (Yakubu, 2019).

For the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC), both the nomination and expression of interest forms for the post of the President is put at 45 million naira while the fees for the purchase of governorship aspiration forms is totaled at 22.5 million naira. For senate, it is 7 million naira, while House of Representatives is 3.85million naira. For the House of Assembly, it is 850 thousand naira (Lawal, 2018).

Lawal further revealed that in 2014 when the APC sold its presidential nomination form for 27.5 million naira, it was reported that President Buhari, who was then a prospective aspirant had to obtain a bank loan to purchase the form. Again, Lawal (2018) reports that in the year 2018, members of a group known as 'Nigerian Consolidation Ambassadors Network,' contributed 45million naira for the purchase of both nomination and expression of interest forms for President Muhammadu Buhari. To this end, Bara (2007) observes that party politics in Nigeria has suddenly turned into a business venture. Hence: 'If occupying elective office requires selling off properties or acquiring loans, some members of the political class will see an elective position as a business and an opportunity to increase their wealth (Lawal, 2018, p.4)'.

Based on the avalanche of information obtained in the course of reviewing relevant literature, critics have revealed that, despite the apparent high cost of obtaining elective positions forms by political parties, the latter resort to creating myriad of illegitimate avenues to raise election campaign funds. In consequence, prospective aspirants into elective political positions are reduced to combatants in a battle arena where the 'weight of money bags' is the yardstick for determining the gladiator that maintains an edge over their rival (Brimah, 2014).

In defiance to the provisions of the law, political parties and their aspiring candidates raise outrageous political campaign funds which always surpass the limits set by extant electoral acts. The Electoral Act of 2010 as amended in section 91 (2) and 91 (9) vividly require that no individual or corporate body is allowed by law to donate more than 1 million naira for the political campaign of any aspiring political office holder. However, in the build up to the 2015 general elections, it was revealed that the two leading political parties, APC and PDP flagrantly breached that aspect of the Electoral Act. It was reported that in a single fund raising dinner organized for the re-election campaign of the then Nigerian President, Goodluck Jonathan, over 22 billion naira was realized, with a single donation scaling up to the tune of 5 billion naira. Also, it was revealed that the Buhari Support Group in January 2015, confessed to have raised over 54 million naira for the political campaign of Buhari for the 2015 presidential election. Also, in preparation for the 2019 general elections, it was reported that the APC mandated its governors to contribute 250 million naira each (Abati, 2019, *The Guardian*, 2015).

Regrettably, the nation's electoral body has either shown brazen tardiness or full institutional incapacity to regulate the financial activities of political parties and their candidates. Hence:

Most Nigerian political parties lack accountability and transparency in their fiscal practices, a report on the finances of the parties by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has shown. For at least three consecutive years, the Commission has prepared damning reports on the state of finances of the existing political parties in the country. Most of the political parties are always found wanting. But in all those years, neither INEC nor the National Assembly, to which the reports are sent, has made a move to sanction the errant parties (Oji, Eme & Nwoba 2014 p.8).

ANALYSIS/DISCUSSION

Ideally, in a responsible democratic climate, impeachment moves/actions are very potent political instruments employed by the legislature to remove from power, any executive administration that is generally perceived to govern against the will and aspiration of the people. Impeachments serve the plausible purpose of getting rid of leaders who renege on their sacrosanct oath of office which cements the social contract entered into with the people. By implication, it guarantees the relevance of the principle of checks and balances. However, in Nigeria, the politics of the fourth republic demonstrates the use of money to douse impeachment moves against constitutionally indicted Heads of the Executive organ.

The deployment of public fund and resources to compensate political allies is inimical to the socio-economic well-being of the members of any politically organized society. Such tendency characterizes the disposition of most political office holders in Nigeria's fourth republic who lavish public funds on loyalists, party members and supporters in the name of awarding faceless and in some cases, economically irrelevant contracts. Regrettably, such parochial and secluded act of channeling state fund to financially empower a relative few is usually demonstrated at an era of obvious national economic meltdown, indicated by widespread poverty rate and hunger. Again, the gifting of such mouth-watering but group-satisfying projects happen at a time when there are other critical aspects of governance, begging for attention. By extension, these developments render the administration of such leaders irresponsible, ineffectual and unpopular.

Furthermore, financially induced leadership crisis in Nigeria's fourth republic is also exhibited in the form of individuals or corporate organizations that are facing corruption charges making attempts at lobbying their way out of their present mess, through direct or covert financial donations to political office holders. Analytically, such can be viewed as a calculated political expediency, employed by the concerned persons or organizations to buy the heart of political office holders so that judicial decisions could be influenced in the former's favour. Ultimately, in the event the political office holders play into the pranks or deliberately fraternize with such financial inducers to accept any sinisterly-motivated pecuniary gift, the tendency for the former to turn down favours, however undeserving, will be very minimal. In essence, political leaders who are embroiled in such circumstances would always lack the will power to ratify the enforcement of disciplinary measures on judicially indicted corrupt persons/organizations, or exert administrative authority where necessary.

The Nigeria's fourth republic has demonstrated a high level of permissiveness of financial influence on leadership performance, analyzing from the perspective of the impact of political godfatherism on the administration of governmental affairs. Abdullahi (2013) notes that the intrusion of political godfathers in the running of the Nigerian State and its diverse regions has overtime frustrated effective governance. In its place, leadership redundancy and unproductiveness have been infused into the system. This is as a result of the admissibility of situations that warrant the sponsorship of persons to vie for political positions by the financial and influential well-offs of the society (political godfathers). The latter, by investing huge financial fortunes on the former's political ambitions, have themselves distractively involved in the administration of the subsequently acquired political positions, with a view to harvesting from their bans of investment.

The unwholesome activities of the godfathers, in their bid to reap from their political investments, through their godsons include:

- i. Accomplices in the manipulation of government policies to serve personal or sectional interest(s).
- ii. Influencing the denigration of the rule of law and due process with a view to protecting some private but constitutionally noxious agenda.

- iii. Covertly influencing the plundering and embezzlement of public fund in order for them to part with stupendous shares.
- iv. Largely controlling the administrative mechanisms and processes for appointment into political/public positions.
- v. Orchestrating the heating up of the polity in the form of financing sponsored street and media protests, and other aspects of civic agitations, with a view to winning some sinister political advantages.

Often times, disagreements ensue when the godsons, at securing elective offices in government, begin to renege on the terms of bargain with their godfathers, prior to contesting for political offices. In most situations, some of these godsons are confronted by the overwhelming nitty-gritty of State administration, hence, the tendency to risk a breach of agreements. On the other hand, some persons, at gaining access to political offices deliberately decide to delink from their godfathers. By assuming a new era of freedom, designated by non-restriction from paying financial royalties to their erstwhile godfathers, these godsons establish a new power bloc and exercise their political mandate without external incursions, interferences and distractions. Either way, crisis would unavoidably set in, as the original 'king makers', with everything at their disposal would challenge the decision of their estranged godsons who are bent on despising the ladder which aided their ascent to the top.

In Nigeria's fourth republic, the systemic entrenchment of a bloated pattern of election funding/financing has over time, compromised the quality and authenticity of electioneering processes and outcomes. The imposition of outrageous fees on prospective candidates by political parties, and using same as a determining factor for securing the party's ticket during primary elections has been chiefly responsible for the eventual election of unpopular and incompetent leaders during the general elections. Suffice it to state here that the somewhat maverick but widely dysfunctional political philosophy which reflects the maxim: 'the more money you have and are ready to spend, the brighter your chances at the polls,' has continued to frustrate the chances for the emergence of credible crop of leaders in Nigeria's political space. In other words, such a situation discourages and limits, to a large extent, the aspirations of characteristically dedicated and trustworthy leaders. It has also given rise to incidences of unending internal political strife, exhibition of dissatisfaction and disaffection by politicians who feel cheated and deprived. The above points were captured by Abati 2019, thus:

In the APC ward congresses and Local Government elections held last week in which there were accusations of vote buying, harassment, violence, parallel congresses and corrupt practices. Defeated opponents have complained about too much money deployed to persons with government connections and abuse of State resources to impose outcomes. This has degenerated into widespread crisis of leadership and the apparent display of incompetence (p.3).

It is therefore convenient to submit that the pattern of party politics in Nigeria's fourth republic subscribes in almost its entirety, to money politics as against a system of party politics that is predicated on sound ideologies.

Besides, the high cost of financing elections in Nigeria's fourth republic often cause politicians who eventually win elections to take as their first and urgent priority, the settlement of financial debts and other compensatory promises incurred prior to, and during elections. This is always a political condition created by political parties. Hence:

Under current Nigerian conditions, however, most political parties lack ideologies, not issue oriented, but are merely zero-issue alliances of notables who are able to control and, often enough, manipulate part structures, candidacies and even the general electoral process itself. Most parties are vehicles in the hands of few 'political entrepreneurs' who invest huge amount of money and expect concurrent rewards on such investments in the form of public works and procurement contracts, prebendal appointment of cronies to public offices and other forms of prebendal activities. The fallout has led to mass electoral/political violence and political destabilization and disempowerment of the generality of the Nigerian electors and the absence of effective system to regulate political finance (Oji, Eme & Nwoba , 2014,p.1).

Such situations gravely impinge on effective governance and engulf the administration of the government of the day in a recurring cycle of leadership crisis. The above analyzed points summarily typify politically related developments in Nigeria's fourth republic.

Specific Findings from the Study

- i. There is in existence, a systemic creation, tolerance and sustenance of an almost complete monetization of politics in Nigeria's fourth republic.
- ii. Prospective political office holders in Nigeria's fourth republic see the acquisition of political power as the 'most lucrative' means of livelihood, hence the desperate craving to possess same.
- iii. Political godfathers catch in on the systemic defects which condone money politics to produce loyalists who they would eventually use to achieve their parochial interest of milking the resources of the State.
- iv. Money politics in Nigeria's fourth republic has reduced the polity to an arena of constant power tussle and clashes of interest among political power brokers.
- v. Governance in Nigeria's fourth republic has variously suffered setbacks and also, leadership integrity compromised on the altar of defending a sustained practice of money politics in the system.
- vi. The Electoral body lacks a formidable statutory instrument to effectively regulate the reckless, breathtaking and indiscriminate financial expenses, borne by candidates for elective positions and their political parties.

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

Money Politics, viewed from the perspective of the Nigerian situation has remained a worrisome political narrative in Nigeria's fourth republic. The overvaluation of the role of money as a dominant factor that drives politics and political activities in Nigeria has remained dysfunctional to the overall administration of the Nigerian State. The import of Money Politics into our system was fundamentally motivated by greed, decadent level of morals and core ethical values and systemic failures. These behavioural impairments and other administrative abnormalities are antithetical to growth and development of the socio-economic and political fabrics of the society. Incidentally, the domineering stance of money in the politics of Nigeria's democratic fourth republic has stripped political parties of unique but functional ideologies which should define core objectives and operational purposes, in relation to the manifesto they wish to sell to the electorate. Also, Money Politics in Nigeria, especially in the fourth republic has discountenanced and played down on the importance of idiosyncratic leadership-the latter which places tremendous emphasis on leaders possessing qualities, ideals and principles that make them sensitive and responsive to the expectations of their followers. The negative derivatives from Money Politics in Nigeria have obvious consequences in the rampant leadership crisis and failures, witnessed in most spheres of political governance.

Therefore, this study, following a critical analysis of the various data obtained from relevant literature, proffers the following recommendations:

- i. The political culture of any given politically organized society invariably reflects the normative principles that regulate the conducts and operational ethics that guide the various institutions that make up the entire polity. To this end, it behooves the Nigerian government at all levels and arms, including the civil society organizations to initiate and commence a re-definition of the tenets of our political culture. Such a laudable proposal should be a welcome bill at the National Assembly and should be patriotically but dispassionately deliberated upon, adopted and subsequently signed into law by the executive arm. The outcome should reflect a statutorily-enabling prohibition of the systemic tolerance of money politics.
- ii. An aspect of the re-defined laws should promote a wide spread impression which should presuppose that political positions are not avenues for financial enrichment. By extension, in practical terms, there should be in place, effective systemic blockages to wealth accumulation through politics.
- iii. Political godfatherism has overtime, proved to be venomous to Nigeria's political advancement especially in this fourth republic era. Relevant sections of our electoral laws should be re-activated, and that should discourage forthwith, the activities of godfathers in Nigerian politics.
- iv. Political parties should be strictly and solely funded by the government. Also, political parties must be constitutionally obliged to carry out their functions compulsorily, within the limits of the funds provided by the government. That way, it would minimally reduce lobbying and other forms of financial inducements by prospective candidates into elective positions.

Resultantly, the selection of candidates for elective positions at the party level would then firmly depend on the ability of such aspirants to prove their deservedness of the party's candidacy, in line with their personal idiosyncrasies which should be in agreement with the party's ideology.

- v. The statutory capacity of the national electoral body to regulate election funding, financing and expenditure by political parties and candidates should be strengthened and made to function optimally.

The introduction and subsequent implementation of the above highlighted recommendations would inject a positive turn around in the politics and governance of the Nigerian State.

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