

**THE IMPACT OF AFRICA PERSONALITY ON DEMOCRATIC TENET IN
AFRICA: PRESIDENT GOODLUCK JONATHAN, 2011-2015**

BY

**AZUBUIKE OBA
ART1701330**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN,
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**A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this work was carried out by **AZUBUIKE OBA** in the Department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, Benin City under my supervision.

MR. VICTOR AIGUOBARUEGHIAN
Project Supervisor

DR. FRANK IKPONMWOSA
Ag. Head of Department

Date

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to God for his financial and moral support throughout my stay in the university.

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I give all glory to Jehovah God, the source and giver of knowledge who spared my life throughout the course of this work.

I express my profound gratitude to my project supervisor, Mr. Victor Aigubarueghian who has contributed immensely to the success of this work by giving prompt attention, incessant encouragement, very constructive criticism, advice and suggestions each time the work was brought for corrections.

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Special thanks to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Oba for their support, patience and encouragement throughout my stay in the university. Special thanks to my sibling for the encouragement in making this work a success. Special thanks to my friends and course mates for their support. I love you all.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Africa personality and Leadership has been a major challenge to governance in the continent and this has brought crises coupled with policy inconsistency and summersault is no doubt serious problems confronting Nigeria and Africa.¹ In the case of Nigeria, several policies, political and constitutional reforms and conferences have been put in place by previous regimes in order to address the question of leadership, development and good governance in Nigeria.² It is against this backdrop this study seek to examine the influence of Africa personality on democracy with reference to President Goodluck Jonathan administration.

The phrase “African Personality” has become rather common in the social and political utterances of many contemporary African leaders and intellectuals. Whatever meaning can rightly be regarded as its ardent prompter and spokesman.³ Indeed, just before the first Conference of Independent African States held in Accra, in April 1958, Nkrumah had this say:

For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now what I have called African Personality international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa’s own sons.⁴

Since this great proclamation of the phrase by Nkrumah, other African thinkers have made use of the same concept with somewhat different meanings and interpretations.

Quaison-Sackey, for instance, thinks of the African Personality” in terms of cultural expression of what is common to all peoples whose home is on the continent of Africa. Ki-Zerbo defines it in terms of the “goal of all the efforts and the sacrifices of African nationalist, many of whose blood was spilled and who died for the development of this personality.”⁵

Personality is one significant source of individual differences in the way individuals interact with their environments and it affects numerous life outcomes, among which, one might suspect, is political behavior.⁶ In fact, considerable attention was devoted to the influence of personality on politics in early political science research. In recent time, the personality of President Goodluck Jonathan emerged in political limelight after the 2015 presidential elections when he was defeated and congratulation the opponent who won the election before it was formerly announce by the Independent National Election Commission.⁷ This study sends a message to the readers and those ignorant of what President Goodluck Jonathan stood for, his background, his principles, his ideologies and his personality and how he became a major player in promoting the consolidation of democracy.⁸

Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine the Nigerian personality in President Goodluck Jonathan and his impact of democracy in Africa. While the specific objectives of the study are:

- i. To scrutinize the concept of Africa personality in history.

- ii. To examine the biography of President Goodluck Jonathan.
- iii. To examine the antecedence of Democracy in Nigeria and the rise of President Goodluck Jonathan.
- iv. To examine the philosophical and political thought of President Goodluck Jonathan.
- v. To examine the personality President Goodluck Jonathan and how he became the major actor in championing Africa democracy and his impact in Nigeria democratic system.

Scope of Study

The contributions of President Goodluck Jonathan in the development of democracy in Nigeria, specific area to be examined include his role in the reform of the election in Nigeria, his democratic speeches that promote peace during the 2015 presidential election. The study covers the biography and life time of President Goodluck Jonathan in the Nigerian personality in history,

Methodology

The credibility and authenticity of any research depends on the methods employed: the process of gathering, processing and analyzing data. The study has relied on data from both primary and secondary sources.

Primary Sources: The primary sources include Government gazette from the National Library Benin and INEC office, archival newspapers.

Secondary Sources: The secondary sources include books journals, articles and newspapers, unpublished work and online sources. The oral interviews conducted were semi structured and unstructured. Tools like tape recorder, pen and paper, and camera were used to collect information from those that were interviewed after which it was transcribed for more intense analysis.

Literature Review

There is not much academic work on the impact of Africa personality on contemporary Africa society especially as it's relate to President Goodluck Jonathan leadership style. There are however, certain literatures that deal on the antecedence of Africa personality on Africa development and the concept of leadership in Nigeria and Africa at large. To start with is Vusi Gumede in his work titled "Leadership for Africa's Development: Revisiting Indigenous African Leadership and Setting the Agenda for Political Leadership,"⁹ examine the case for African (traditional/indigenous) leadership and examines how political leadership in particular with the view of ensuring that Africa reclaims its lost glory and recovers its stolen legacy (to paraphrase George James). The author argues that African leadership should be infused with thought leadership, thought liberation, and critical consciousness. He further maintain that Africa should pursues its own socioeconomic development approach instead of what appears to be inappropriate policies that are being implemented in most if not all African countries.¹⁰

In the article "Leadership in Africa: Re-Thinking Development,"¹¹ written by V.A. Iwowo, takes a critical look at the existing debate on leadership development in Africa. In

this, the author examines two separate existing knowledge frameworks and considers the implications of each of these for praxis in context. He focuses on means of navigating between these thought formations in a much more circumspect and critical manner that leaders can learn from. He further highlights the important relationship between context, mainstream theory and indigenous knowledge. The author critical analyses that engaging carefully with indigeneity in an experimental hybrid space may enable creative adaptation and appropriation through contextualisation, leading to more reflexive organisational practice. He subsequently proposes a conceptual model for constructive engagement with leadership development in practice.¹²

Chikerema Arthur, et al. in their work titled “Good Governance, Democracy and Leadership styles in Africa,”¹³ review and analyze the type and styles of political leadership in Africa and their effort to promote democracy and good governance. The authors elucidate how leaders play a pivotal role in political agenda setting, the distribution of resources and political actions. The contemporary state in Africa is a remnant of a colonially imposed system. At the time of independence, elites attempted to transform this but only succeeded in entrenching their interests.¹⁴ The authors therefore seeks to unpackage why African countries are no better than they were under colonial rule.

Samba Diop in his work “African Elites and their Post-colonial Legacy: Cultural, Political and Economic Discontent—by Way of Literature,”¹⁵ discusses the way in which the issues of post-colonial modernism in the context of neoliberal capitalism has impacted on the traditional cultures and economic life of Africa’s new classes. These

include the bureaucratic and professional classes and the materially less fortunate members of the other post-colonial classes. In this regard the author examines specifically, the way in which cultural traditions and modernity exist in an uneasy symbiosis under the powerful influences of contemporary political economy.¹⁶

Jo-Ansie van Wyk, “Political Leaders in Africa: Presidents, Patrons or Profiteers?,”¹⁷ The author review and analyse the multiple layers of formal and informal political leadership in Africa. He identify how leaders play a pivotal role in political agenda setting, the distribution of resources and political actions. The contemporary state in Africa is a remnant of a colonially imposed system. At the time of independence, elites attempted to transform this but only succeeded in entrenching their interests. The author also addresses new indications of transactional and transformational leadership on the continent as illustrated by the African Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).¹⁸

Frank Gyimah Sackey in his article “Impact of African Leaders’ Characteristics and Regime Transitions on Economic Growth in Africa: A Dynamic Model Approach,”¹⁹ The author surveyed the extent to which leaders’ characteristics and regime transitions impact on economic growth. The author observed that democratic leaders were able to attract foreign direct investment and impact on economic growth positively. With regard to regime transitions, we observed that business cycle existed, and it reduced the rate of growth in democratic governance in election periods as compared to autocratic

governance. Overall, our results show that there is a limit to which an ageing leader can stay in office.²⁰

Chiedozie Okechukwu Okafor's article titled "*Personality and Politics in Nigeria: A Psychological Exploration of the Agentic Theory of Political Participation*,"²¹ The author observes that every Nigerian citizen is a follower in one or more capacities. He contends that the obvious political impasse experienced by Nigerians is predicated upon a faulty political orientation characterised by a sense of self-detachment to the undemocratic activities performed in favor of recalcitrant power brokers. The author also suggests that a sense of political accountability, responsibility and public confidence will only return when the political office holders genuinely uphold integrity, transparency and the value for individual differences, and when the bulk of the electorates, on the other hand, acquire meaningful political education and sincerely demonstrate that power belongs to the people.²²

Faith Osasumwen Oviasogie article titled "*Personality, Foreign Policy and National Transformation: An Assessment of the Olusegun Obasanjo's Administration (1999-2007)*,"²³ the author shows that Obasanjo's personality and leadership traits launched Nigeria from isolationism to diplomatic influence and relevance in world affairs. The author further submits that Nigeria earned a positive international image, the removal of the pariah status as well as economic re-invigoration. He later recommends amongst others, the need for both current and future leaders of Nigeria to exhibit outstanding personality and leadership in the face of festering socio-political as well as economic

challenges. By such unusual display of effective leadership, Nigeria will regain its position in effectively contributing to global development and also record success in her national transformation agenda.²⁴

Chukwuemeka Ojione Ojieh, article titled “Extraneous Considerations to the Personality Variables in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Evidence from Nigeria,”²⁵ posits that the more general approach to assessing personality variables in foreign policy decision-making is to ascribe the motivation of decision makers to their personality traits. By so-doing, certain variables external to the human elements but which act as boosters through which the personality elements influence foreign policy decision-making, are often ignored. Through a historical analysis of idiosyncratic effects on Nigerian leaders’ foreign policies, this article establishes that even though personality elements perform well as explanatory variables in foreign policy analysis, they do not solely explain the variance in decision outcomes. They require other factors to activate their expression as foreign policy determinants.²⁶

Mary Gloria C. Njoku’s book titled *Leadership Strategies for Nigeria*,²⁷ the author narrated the state of Nigerian leadership, there has a clear indication that the nation is in distress and therefore needs a leader who would be able to get the best out of Nigerian followers and lead the nation to stability. He identify that leader must be trustworthy, emotionally intelligent, firm, willing to suffer for the nation, focused on breaking down ethnic divide, and inspiring hope in the people. The leader must be capable of taking in varied information and solving complex problems effectively and

efficiently.²⁸ The author adopts the concept of leadership as one that involves a social influence process, a leader/leaders and followers.

Bartholomew C. Emecheta conference paper titled *Personality Characteristics and Employee Affective Commitment: Nigeria Experience*;²⁹ the author investigates the relationship between personality characteristics and organisational Affective Commitment of Bank employees in Nigeria. He also revealed that a positive and significance relationship exist between the five facets of personality characteristics and Affective commitment. These outcomes show that managers have the responsibility of devising ways to understand and effectively manage personality traits of their employees as each of these facets have potentials to be low or high that yields different results to the organisation.³⁰

S. K. Balogun's article titled *Leadership Strength, Personality Traits and Political Mishaps in Nigeria: A Call for Behavioural Change*,³¹ The author examines the current crises perpetrated by "herdsmen" in the Northern part of Nigeria with emphasis on the role that leadership strength, personality trait and specific sociological factors play at resolving political mishaps and ensuring political stability. Nigeria, a nation with great prospect and natural resources as at its independence has experienced varying degree and level of political insurgencies noteworthy is the Niger Delta agitation, Boko Haram insurgency and the prevailing herdsmen killing and annihilation in the North Central. The author therefore a call for behavioral change and modification in leadership style taking

cognizance of unique personal characteristics of those in leadership with the ultimate goal of ensuring safety and stability in Nigeria.³²

Emmanuel Oladipo Ojo's article titled "Leadership Crisis and Political Instability in Nigeria, 1964-1966: The Personalities, the Parties and the Policies,"³³ the author narrated from 1964-1966, how Nigerian history went through turbulent and politically explosive time. He further emphasis how the federal elections of 1964, which, for all intents and purposes, was an electoral battle between the Nigerian National Alliance and the United Progressive Grand Alliance, subjected the Nigerian democratic process to unprecedented stress. The electoral battle between the alliances produced a political stalemate which, for the first time since the 1914 amalgamation, left the country without a legally constituted central government for about two days. Although, the deadlock was eventually resolved through a wretched compromise which did not address the fundamental causes of the crisis; the relief was transient. The article scrutinizes the personalities, the political parties as well as the policies that created unprecedented political instability and crisis in Nigeria between 1964 and 1966.³⁴

In as much as we agree, that these contributions and views have their own merits towards understanding the tenets of liberal democracy and its practice under Goodluck Jonathan's Administration, but we must also agree that they have not been able to give a total study of the positive impact of Goodluck leadership on the promotion and development of democratic culture in Nigeria. All the books, and articles reviewed have been able to cover only some parts of my research. Therefore, this proves to a reasonable

extent that a proper study has not been carried out on the issues Goodluck Jonathan leadership style on the culture of democracy in Nigeria. This research seeks to fill that vacuum that has been created for a long while by various scholars.

CHAPTERS OUTLINE

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BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

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EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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THE IMPACT OF GOODLUCK JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC CULTURE IN NIGERIA

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

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CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

This chapter examines the concept of democracy, the nature and structure of democracy in Nigeria, this chapter will also highlight the various stage and activities of democracy in Nigeria. From 1960 till to 2011.

Democracy is the most popular concept in the world today. Democracy has been seen as a prerequisite for whatsoever assistance the developed countries and the international community would want to give to the third world countries whether loans etc. This has led to the process of democratic experiment in Nigeria.¹This chapter examines democracy and democratic experiment using the Nigerian experience as a reference point. It also analyzes the challenges facing democracy and the process of democratic experiment in Nigeria, with historical analysis of First – Fourth Republic (1960-date). However, it was discovered that ethnicity has been a major challenge to the Nigerian democracy and democratic experiment right from Nigeria's First Republic 1960's.²

The late Fela Anikulapo Kuti, the great Nigerian musician, who was the voice of the people, exposing the ills of African politics especially Nigerian democracy, saw democracy as “the demonstration of craziness”. By democracy, he meant that African democracy especially Nigeria's is the demonstration of craziness, because its practice and enormous challenges faced in African political system especially in Nigeria is synonymous with craziness.² The fate of democracy in Africa especially the Nigeria

experience is one plagued with ethnicity, corruption, mismanagement of public funds, electoral fraud and malpractices, fragrant disregard for the rule of law, constitutionalism, and fundamental human right being perpetuated by political office holders especially in Nigeria in the early 1960's and 1980's, which are still the case in this current democratic era (1999-date) are clear examples.³

The Origin of Democracy

The origin and tenets of democracy can be traced to the ancient Greek city- state of Athens. Appadorai, asserts that “when the Athenians called their constitution a democracy, ‘they meant literally what the word itself expressed- that the people itself undertook the work of government’”. The Greek city state of Athens practiced direct democracy where the adult citizen undertook the work of government and governed themselves directly. Today, direct democracy is obsolete, due to the enormous size and population of a country. What is obtainable presently in different countries is indirect or what is referred to as modern or representative democracy. A system of government whereby the people exercise the governing power through their elected representative periodically elected by themselves. This means that elections are periodically held in a state to elect those who will govern the state on their behalf.⁴

However, according to Anifowose and Enemu, “the word, ‘democracy’ derives from two Greek words, ‘demos’ which means the ‘people’ and ‘kratein’ which means ‘rule of or by’”. They further asserted that “the term democracy, therefore literally means ‘rule by the people’”.⁵

Democracy and Its Evolution in Nigeria.

First Republic (1960-1966)

Democracy and the process of democratic experiment is one that arouse pity and that has cost Nigerians pains especially in the first republic (1960-1966). With an emerging civil war 1967-1970 this taught Nigerians a bitter lesson after the failed attempt of democratic experiment. When Nigeria was set to gain independence, in 1959 all hopes were high for a new Nigeria, citizens commented on the type of government Nigeria desired.⁶The general elections were held into the federal house of assembly and the three regional assemblies. Nigeria finally gained independence from her ex- colonial master, Britain on 1st October, 1960, democracy was put to test. Democratic experiment failed in the first republic when the country was introduced with a west minister model of parliamentary democracy, like the type in Britain, where there were two political leaders (the head of government who in charge of the day- to- day running of the government on one hand and the head of state who performs ceremonial functions on the other hand) like that of Britain were Queen Elizabeth II is the head of state and David Cameron, on the other hand is the prime minister. This institution was used to preserved monarchy which was converted to constitutional monarchy in the seventeenth century medieval era.⁷

After the 1959 general elections, the NPC and NCNC formed an alliance, in other to form the government at the centre, and Sir Tafawa Balewa became the first prime minister (i.e the head of government) and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe became the Governor General (i.e ceremonial head). Furthermore, immediately after independence in 1960

when the Nigeria's 'Green, White, Green' flag was hoisted in the air and the sound of gun salutes, barely a month, the state of the country was threatened as things began to go worst. As the country's political system was plagued with tribalism and ethnicity which threatened the future of Nigerian democracy and led to a brutal ethnic cleanings and civil war in 1967- 1970 which claimed lives and properties worth millions were destroyed, leaving the country battle wrecked.⁸

There was also high level of corruption and mismanagement of public funds by public office holders which was left unchecked, with the case of police brutality of citizens, saw the clamour for change in Nigeria's political process which was plagued with indiscipline and no respect for moral values.⁹ The hopes of a new Nigeria diminished as the citizenry were disillusioned with the Northern oligarchy and the NPCNCNC alliance; political leaders were able to manipulate the various institutions such as the police force, armed forces etc. to suit their political interests. Opposition parties to the government of the day were not tolerated by the ruling NPCNCNC government as they were being manhandled by security personnel.¹⁰

More so, with the crisis that rocked the Action Group (AG) namely the Awolowo-Akintola crisis in 1963, with the pass of a vote of no confidence on the chief S. L. Akintola's government by the western regional assembly members who were loyal to Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

The federal government intervened in the crisis by supporting one party in the conflict, making the crisis to take new dimensions. The politics then, was the politics of

regionalism where whosoever capture the larger regions wins the highest number of seats in the legislature so as to form the government at the centre. So this means that whosoever controls the parliament controls the government.¹¹

The 1914 amalgamation by Sir Lord Lugard was an incomplete one, as the merging of the Northern and the Southern protectorates and the colony of Lagos, was not implemented to the later. It was only a theoretical arrangement and not in practice. The worst evil committed by the British administration in Nigeria was the tripartite policy in 1946 by dividing the two existing regions into three regions making the Northern parts the biggest part, that way one region can hold the two other regions to ransom. Instead of making it four regions by dividing the North part into two parts, given way for one of the important principle of federalism, which is equality of states, instead they made it three regions.¹² “Critics maintained that if a nation as large and heterogeneous as Nigeria was to survive and prosper, its citizens must feel themselves as part of the larger community with a stake in the preservation of national unity and stability”. Nigerians then blamed the ugly situation on parliamentary system of government in its practice of democracy and democratic experiment. They however put their blames on the structure of the first republic, that it was not conducive to national unity.¹³

Second Republic (1979- 1983):

The road to a second republic witnessed pitfalls. Politicians and political office holder did not learn from the events that bedevilled the first republic 1960-1966.

The Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo military regimes who seceded Gowon military administration promised to hand over power to civilian rule 1st October, 1979. After the brutal assassination of General Murtala Mohammed, General Obasanjo, the second-in-chief, who later became head of state, kept of this promise.¹⁴

The transition programme as earlier announced by Murtala Mohammed, that on 1st October, 1979, the military will hand over power to civilians was yet another attempt of the process of democratic experiment. A five stage transition programme which include;

- i. Appointment of a constitution drafting committee in October 1975, to work on the preliminary draft.
- ii. The creation of new states and establishment of the newly created states by April, completion of the first draft of the constitution by September 1976.
- iii. The election into a constituent assembly in October in 1977.
- iv. Ratification of the draft constitution by the constituent assembly by October 1978 and lifting of the 1966 Ban on political activities.
- v. States and federal elections by October 1979.¹⁵

The 1979 Nigerian constitution however adopted the presidential system of government, modelled after that of the United States of America (USA), whereby there is the separation of powers among three arms of government (i.e Executive, Legislature and Judiciary). Alhaji Shehu Shagari became the first civilian executive president in 1979.¹⁶

The Nigerian democracy during the second republic witnessed four years of political wrangling, failures of zoning system, corruption, mismanagement and embezzlements of public funds, flagrant disregard for the rule of law, fundamental human right and constitutionalism and also north – South confrontation. The second republic also collapse in 1983, due to the above problems witnessed by the country after return to civilian rule.¹⁷

Third Republic (1992-1993)

The third republic was not an exception. There was the controversy of which ethnic group should capture political power. The federal military government of President Ibrahim B. Babaginda, created two political parties in 1992 namely NRC and SDP for the purpose of contesting political office, but the military was cut in a praetorian trap. Due to the election crisis then, with the presidential election dispute and the unwillingness of the military to leave office led to the collapse of the third republic in 1993.¹⁸

Fourth Republic (1999-date)

Towards the return of Nigeria to democracy in 1999, expectations were high and the country was look at as a power bloc in the African continent. In 1999, saw the transition from military rule to civilian rule. The general elections came by in 1999, voters turn out in mass to vote for their preferred candidate but, the electoral success was upturn in favour of the Nigerian political elite, installing Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as the president and commander in chief of the Armed forces.¹⁹ During Obasanjo's administration 1999-2007, the Nigerian democracy was bedeviled with the challenges of

corruption, embezzlement of public funds, project abandonment, disregard for court order and the rule of law, violation and abuse of fundamental human right, electoral fraud and rigging, and the Niger Delta crisis. Oromarephake opined that the result is lack of accountability and good governance, project abandonment, infrastructures decay, ostentatious living of leaders, social inequality and continued underdeveloped democracy”. The 2007 presidential election witnessed the emergence of Alhaji Umaru Musa Ya’radua as the president of Nigeria after the administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. The Ya’radua/ Jonathan administration introduce the Niger Delta amnesty programme which has considerably solve the problem of the Niger Delta militancy and brought peace to the troubled region.²⁰

With the death of late President Umaru Musa Ya’radua in May 2010, witnessed the swearing in of his vice president, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan. President Jonathan later contested the 2011 presidential election and won on the platform of the PDP. In recent times, Nigeria’s democracy and the process of democratic experiment has enormous challenges. The country’s democracy is been plagued with massive corruption, mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds, undue interference by the executive arm of government in the affairs of the other arms of government, human right abuses, flagrant disrespect for the rule of law and constitutionalism and very recently the Boko Haram insurgency. With the 2015 presidential election around the corner, expectations are high as to the credibility of the process and there has been a clamour by the main opposition party, the APC for change of political leadership of Nigeria in 2015.²¹

Challenges of Democracy in Nigeria

The quest for democracy and good governance has been a major pre-occupation of the Nigerian state since her independence in 1960. This aspiration has remained elusive due to many challenges, which have continued to undermine the democratization process in the country. These challenges include failure of leadership; corruption; Boko Haram insurgency; insincerity of purpose; lack of political will; lack of proper vision by the political leadership; lack of accountability in governance; amongst others.²²

Failure of Leadership: Since Nigeria's political independence in 1960, the country has not had the opportunity of being governed by a willing and ready leader but those that can at best be described as "accidental leaders". These are leaders whom the mantle of leadership fell on them by default not minding their capacity, experience and in most cases, they were neither prepared nor expectant of such huge responsibility. This has been one of the reasons for the country's failures resulting from visionless policies. Thus, the 2015 election offers Nigerians a good opportunity to vote wisely for a leader who out of personal conviction and preparedness is offering his or herself to serve rather than someone who will get there before beginning to plan. This underscores the fact that most of our developmental challenges are rooted in lack of sound, visionary and result-oriented leadership.²³The issue of leadership accounts for the problem of Nigeria since independence more than all other speculative and assumed problems often adduced by scholars. Most Nigerian leaders have shown lack of commitment for true nationhood and allowed personal ambitions and ethnic, regional as well as religious persuasions to

override national considerations. As Chimee noted, the three major strands that account for leadership failure in Nigeria are lack of ideology; ethnicity; and corruption.²⁴

In all the activities of the country's political elites in leadership positions, the three variables played considerable role. Nigeria, today, runs a democratic system of government that is expected to promote democratic values of public accountability; transparency; good conscience; fiscal discipline; due process; amongst others. However, there is lack of credible leadership to enforce these characteristics of democracy and good governance.²⁵ This is the tragedy of the Nigerian nation, which explains its crawling posture at 55 years of political independence. Corruption: Another serious challenge to democracy and good governance in Nigeria is the entrenched corruption in all facets of national life. According to Joseph (2001) cited in Osimiri, corruption has resulted in catastrophic governance in Nigeria. In view of the deleterious effect of endemic corruption on governance, various governments in the country have embarked on anti-corruption campaigns. For instance, the Obasanjo administration established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) to champion the war against corruption. As Osimiri noted, the Commission gained such level of notoriety in the country that it is often said that the fear of EFCC is the beginning of wisdom.²⁶

Thus, an over view of democracy and good governance in Nigeria with regards to transparency, inclusiveness, and the fight against corruption tend to paint a faint picture of some improvement but the records have much to be desired. While the EFCC, especially, under the Obasanjo administration received much commendation from within

and outside Nigeria, it has been selective in focus and alleged to have been occasionally used as an instrument of silencing political opponents.²⁷

Electoral System: It has been pointed out that in the political arena, even though elections are gradually becoming part of the political culture in Nigeria, they are typically manipulated and hijacked by “money bags” and incumbents, who deploy all state’s apparatus of power and resources to ensure their re-election. Thus, elections in Nigeria are largely nothing but a charade to perpetuate the reign of the perfidious. Free and fair elections confer legitimacy on the electoral process. The wide spread electoral malpractices, which often characterize elections in Nigeria are inimical to the consolidation of democracy and good governance. In 2011, the outcome of the general elections in Nigeria was followed by the eruption of violence and wanton destruction of lives and property for alleged election fraud. If people are to have faith in democracy, the most cardinal point is that they must be assured that their votes count in determining who will govern; and in getting rid of a government that has failed them.²⁸

Rise of Insurgency: Boko Haram has become a disaster of un-imaginable proportion. The terrorist activities of the group has retarded socio-economic and political development of the country, especially in the north eastern region, hence it poses a major challenge to democracy and good governance. Since insurgency is inimical to democracy and good governance, the only way to remedy the situation is to fight it to a stand-still. Thus, mustering the political will to pursue a full frontal attack on Boko Haram is no longer an option, it is the most desirable course of action. Many Nigerians are unable to

come to terms with, why a so-called Africa's best army has been unable to bring to an end this horrendous situation. However, the military approach must be backed by a political solution, which will address the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment of northern Nigeria.²⁹

Impunity: This is a threat to democracy, which is not measured by the existence of democratic structures but by the promotion of rule of law. Thus, in Nigeria's quest for democracy and good governance, the impunity clause must be expunged from the constitution, in order to domesticate the equality of every Nigerian before the law. These challenges are antithetical to the achievement of democratic culture and good governance. They are no doubt, immense and daunting but not insurmountable, once there is the political will to resolve and overcome them for the enthronement of democracy and good governance in the country.³⁰

Conclusion

The chapter has examined the historical background of the concept of democracy and the nature of democracy tenet in Nigeria, the challenges and prospects. The chapter observed that while the country is not oblivious of the crucial importance of democracy and good governance in fast tracking its development and progress, there are challenges, which tend to undermine their actualization. The chapter has therefore, identify these challenges in order to enhance the prospects of deepening democracy and good governance in the country; stressing that the time to act is now. Thus, the subsequent

chapter will examine the practical achievement of a practical regime in Nigeria that have promote democracy in every facet of the Nigeria state.

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CHAPTER THREE

GOODLUCK JONATHAN LEADERSHIP STYLE AND THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRATIC TENET

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to examine President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan leadership style and the promotion of democracy in Nigeria. The birth of the present democratic government in Nigeria on May 29, 1999 was welcome with high hopes and expectations and the belief that a new dawn had eventually arrived.¹ Such expectations were informed by the fact that, democracy is reputed to be the best form of government, which offers better opportunities and challenges especially in this patently globalised world. No wonder, President Nkrumah urged his countrymen to seek first the independence of Ghana and all the good things of life would be delivered at their doors. Similarly, with the emergence of General Abdulsalaam, as the last head of State, came the introduction of democracy.²

The 1999 post-military government was led by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (former Military Head of State, 1976-1979). He served for eight years, comprising two, four-year terms and was in 2007 succeeded by Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, who unfortunately died in office, on 5 May 2010. Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was the Vice President in the Yar'Adua dispensation. ³Jonathan therefore completed the tenure of late President Yar'Adua and at the end of this period in 2011, stood for election in his own right, won the election and became President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He subsequently

campaigns for re-election in 2015 but was defeated by Muhammadu Buhari (Military Head of State, 1983-1985). This has made Jonathan the first sitting president to be defeated in a Nigerian election.⁴ Thus, this makes him the first democratic president in Nigeria.

Brief Biography of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan

Dr. Jonathan was born on 20 November, 1957 into a Christian family at the rural and sleepy riverine community of Otueke in Ogbia Local Government Area of the then Rivers State. He was enrolled into St. Stephen's Primary School, (now State School Otueke) at the age of six. He later moved to St. Michael's Primary School, Olosirii, where he completed his primary education in 1968.⁵ Jonathan's paternal grandmother nick-named him Zik; in reference to the exploits and influence of the late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, first President of Nigeria. Two years after his First School Leaving Certificate, he gained admission into Mater Dei High School, Imiringi. He graduated from the school in 1975 and two years later, he was admitted as one of the pioneer students of Zoology at the new University of Port Harcourt (UNIPORT) and graduated with a Bachelor of Science (B.Sc) Degree, Second Class Upper Division in 1981. After five years of interlude from further studies, Jonathan pursued his post-graduate programme, whereupon in 1985, he received a Masters Degree (M.Sc) in Hydrobiology and Fisheries Biology at the same University of Port Harcourt and a Ph.D in Zoology, still from the same institution in 1995.⁶

Jonathan entered politics in 1998 and subsequently became Deputy Governor of Nigeria's Bayelsa state. Prior to this period, he had worked as an education inspector, lecturer, and environmental-protection officer. Above all, Mr. Joseph Ilagha, from President Jonathan's home state of Bayelsa is quoted in Ezeamalu as having described Jonathan as simple, unassuming and humble to a fault.⁷ Ilagha added that none of Jonathan's friends, colleagues and associates ever expected him to jump into the rough waters of Nigerian politics. But that was exactly what he did. Essentially, Ilagha's assessment of the worldview of Jonathan is in synch with his own account of how he (Jonathan) became a politician. Speaking at a civic reception in his honour (in Bayelsa state) when he vacated the office of president, Jonathan recalled how his political journey started; when the former Bayelsa State governor, Diepreye Alamiyeseigha, invited him to join his campaign team. He said he joined the campaign team, not because he was interested in any elective office.⁸

According to Jonathan, what drove him into joining Alamiyeseigha's team was that those of them from very small communities always had problems and sometimes had to go to government for solution. He then reasoned that probably, if he worked with Alamiyeseigha and he won the election, Jonathan would then know some of the people in government in the event of such occurrences that necessitate government's intervention. He subsequently became deputy governor in that dispensation and later reached the pinnacle of political positions in the Nigerian state as president.⁹ However, let us begin to relate the Jonathan tendencies to core governance issues. And so, we

review in particular his mode of settling on Attahiru Jega, as Chairman of Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Obi consequently highlighted that Attahiru Jega, Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), came highly recommended. President Goodluck Jonathan whose job it was to appoint him never met him before. And never spoke with him. He appointed him based on what he had heard and read about him. Only a Jonathan can take such a risk. Others would have appointed their friends or those recommended to them by their very close friends and/or allies, especially if they would be part of that election process. But that is Jonathan. Clean heart. Confident and at times, too trusting. Jonathan refused to take interest in who occupies what post in INEC. So, aside from Jega, a (core) Northerner, both the INEC Secretary, and Director of Operations were also (core) Northerners.¹⁰

Politics in Nigeria has largely remained a north vs. south contest. Thus, Obi prophetically insinuates here that if Jonathan had been politically sagacious enough to choose those officials from his southern section of Nigeria, at least the chairman, Jega; his electoral fortunes in the subsequent 2015 elections could have been different. Obi's comment was actually made when the 2011 elections were abruptly rescheduled by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) under Jega and his northern brethren.¹¹

A Scorecard of the Jonathan Administration

The Good

The Jonathan administration's scorecard is actually an amalgam of the good and invariably certain grave deformities. On the side of the good attributes and good contributions, under the Jonathan administration in Nigeria, political assassinations were evidently not part of the culture of national politics.

In comparative terms, under the Obasanjo administration, there were a number of such crimes, suspected to be usually politically motivated. Ogburn gives a germane recap of such murder-cases. A further outcome of this positive political development is that freedom of expression which is integral to strong democratic practices was full-blown in the country, under President Jonathan. As a matter of fact, in August 2012, Jonathan described himself as the most criticized president in the world and prophetically added that before leaving office; he would have become the most praised president. And indeed, Jonathan left office as a very popular man, not in any case, because of his stellar performance in office but by the fact of his conceding defeat as a sitting president in Nigeria - the first time in the history of this West African state that such an electoral incident would be recorded.¹²

This attitude of Jonathan (to public office) was indisputably uncommon among African leaders, who usually refused to vacate presidential positions when defeated in elections. They stay put to engender cataclysms in their own countries. Consequently, electoral violence remains a common unfortunate feature of the electoral struggle in

Africa. During Jonathan's presidency however, he repeatedly declared that his presidential ambition and indeed the political ambition of any other politician in the country, was not worth the blood of any Nigerian. Jonathan did not only preach this political philosophy but by freely accepting defeat at the 2015 presidential election and quietly leaving office, he dutifully practiced what he preached.¹³

Furthermore and indisputably, democracy is immensely contingent on the continuing independence of the electoral umpire. And as matter of fact, African leaders are not famous for permitting such independence for their states' electoral referees. And so, a democracy legacy of the Jonathan administration is also in the area of the president's evident noninterference, in the affairs of Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Earlier in this study, reference was made to the suggestion of Obi that in comparative terms, the overt independence status accorded to the electoral umpire by Jonathan smacked of naiveté.¹⁴This apparent political unwariness has incidentally also become a matter of positive input to the democratization processes in the Nigerian state. Hence, according to Siollun asserts that "previous Nigerian presidents were too cynical to expose themselves to the unpredictable risk of a fair election. The election victories of PDP presidents during the past 16 years have been partially "assisted" by electoral malpractice. That changed when Jonathan nominated Professor Attahiru Jega as the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in 2010. Jega vowed to reform Nigeria's electoral process to ensure free and fair elections. The former university lecturer exuded calm authority and integrity. He painstakingly

prepared for the task over the past four years by studying the rigging methods used in previous elections, implementing an elaborate system of voter registration, training thousands of electoral staff and introducing biometric readers to identify voters by reading their thumbprint. Jonathan created the environment for the emergence of these changes and gave Jega the freedom and authority to conduct reforms that led to a credible election. But by giving Jega a free hand to play fair, he allowed Jega to craft the weapons that were used to oust him from power.¹⁵

Ousting Jonathan from power however, also meant profound maturation in electoral tendencies in Nigeria. Furthermore, it needs to be highlighted that Jonathan's unprecedented method of handling his ousting from power placed Nigeria's democracy on a very promising political and democratic pillar. Before the completion of collation of results, President Jonathan had called the opposition candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, who was about to emerge victorious, and congratulated him on his yet-to-be-announced election victory.¹⁶ Indeed, according to the President-elect (as at then), Muhammadu Buhari, the telephone call put across to him by President Goodluck Jonathan, congratulating him even before the final result of the presidential election was announced, had changed the course of the nation's political history. Buhari acknowledged that the incumbent president was capable of using the power of incumbency to make things difficult on the outcome of the presidential election, at the expense of the lives of poor Nigerians. But he chose to tow the path of selflessness.¹⁷ Addressing Jonathan at the

handing-over ceremony, preceding the inauguration of the new president, Muhammadu Buhari further declared

For that (by that call), you have earned yourself a place in our history, for stabilizing this system of multi-party democracy and you have earned the respect of not only Nigerians but world leaders. All the leaders that spoke to me and congratulated us for arriving at the point we arrived, mentioned this and I could understand a lot of relief in their voices that Nigeria has made it after all, and this is largely owed to a situation you made possible. If you (Jonathan) had attempted to make things difficult, you could have made things difficult and that would have been at the expense of lives of poor Nigerians, but you chose the part of honour and may God help all of us. Thank you very much your Excellency.¹⁸

Consequently, after the general election, no life was lost on account of President Jonathan's own losses. We further emphasize that what Attah describes as contests for and contests against exclusion in the Nigerian political system, had remained a relapsing issue in the Nigerian polity. And it continued to give cause for anxieties about the continuing survival of the Nigerian state as a united entity. According to Attah, there were high expectations that the election of southern presidents would mitigate the contest for exclusion in Nigeria but events have proved otherwise. For example, he continued; the election of Olusegun Obasanjo from the Yoruba south-west between 1999 and 2007 and that of Goodluck Jonathan from the Ijaw Niger-Delta since 2011 could not stymie the contest for exclusion.¹⁹ Therefore, given the many structural pathologies and violent

conflicts that plagued Nigeria as a multi-ethnic polity, the re-enacting of the Rwanda or Darfur crises should not be allowed to be replicated in Nigeria; hence the quest to accommodate multiple identities should not be trivialized.

The rotation of the Nigerian presidency, from Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the Yoruba south-west, to Dr. Goodluck Jonathan from the Ijaw Niger-Delta (south-south) and the victory of Muhammadu Buhari of North Western Nigeria, must be seen in the context of the accommodation of multiple identities in Nigeria's democracy. Invariably, non-accommodation of multiple identities would have worked against the desire for further democratization (and inclusion) in Nigeria. In Rwanda and Darfur, the combustible issues have been matters of non-accommodation of multiple identities.²⁰ The fears expressed in Attah were accordingly representative of the feelings of the observers of democracy trajectories in Nigeria, particularly as the 2015 presidential election became imminent. However, these intense fears were finally rendered unfounded by Dr Jonathan's handling of the outcome of the elections. This was good for democracy and also amounted on the part of Jonathan to a monumental good governance contribution. And so, the Jonathan example begins to seemingly debunk the notion such as in Yimer that Nigeria, a country which has the largest population in the continent of Africa, has a dearth of genuine leaders.²¹

The Development and Progress of Democracy under Goodluck Jonathan

Administration

In the process of deepening our embryonic democracy, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan since elected as president by a wide margin of votes cutting across the six geo-political zones that make the country, has been encouraging civic involvement and urging Nigerian politicians to give way to a society that rightfully demands that its representatives and institutions are more accountable and transparent than ever before despite rumour peddlers and character assassinations by anti-Jonathan's PDP government.²²

The Edo election in 2011 with its imperfections, witness a progressive politics in the anal political history of Nigeria where PDP candidate, Major General Charles Airhavbere (rtd) lost to a sitting governor, comrade Adams Oshiomhole Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) had president Goodluck Jonathan (PDP) without playing politics of bitterness congratulated governor Oshiomhole (ACN) and the good people of Edo state where this writer comes from to show, that the new PDP under president Goodluck Jonathan/Bamanga Tukur administration is not an anti-people's party as perceived by the oppositions but a democratic party indeed by words and actions.

President Goodluck Jonathan's action was not only commendable by Nigerians both at home and in Diaspora, it also give Nigerians hope that "Democracy" in Nigeria has come to stay no matter the political challenges facing the party in some states like River Governor Amaechi Honourable Wike saga) and the unfounded allegations by the

governor against the first lady of political intrusion in the governance of the state.²³ Goodluck Jonathan's asserts that under his watch:

PDP was all-inclusive party, has respect for democracy and taking the lead to restores people's sense of pride in their local communities, states and at federal levels. To this end, that all political parties in Nigeria need to encourage civic involvement and ensure trust in political parties and democratic process. To consolidate our democratic process, we need to examine ways of enabling all parties to reach out via their manifestoes to their members and voters alike, making political parties in Nigeria more effective at listening and engaging the people which to a degree is lacking in Nigeria political parties.²⁴

List of Democratic Achievement of President Good Luck Jonathan

- Promotion and practice of true democracy by creating an enabling environment where people from diverse backgrounds and with divergent views and opinions can be accommodated. Under the watch of Goodluck Jonathan administration, the APC was registered by INEC as a mega opposition party big enough to challenge the PDP at both state and national levels. This would have been unthinkable some years back.
- Conduct of free and fair elections in the country, including the 2011 poll which was adjudged to be the most credible election of its magnitude that has ever been conducted in the country, though it was not without its flaws. Unlike in other

administrations, the Goodluck Jonathan administration has given a free hand to the country's electoral umpire, INEC, to perform its statutory duties.

- Elective non-interference with electoral and judicial matters. This is evident in the number of governorship elections that have been won both at the polls and in the court by opposition parties in Anambra, Imo, Osun states, among others.²⁵
- Liberalization of the press and guaranteeing the freedom of speech in a country where the stifling of the press and suppression of the citizens' right to freedom of speech used to be the norm, a legacy of over 30 years of military rule. The existence of vocal anti-government media houses and critics would have culminated in some high-profile assassinations some years back, but today citizens are free to air their views whenever and wherever they like just like any other sane country.
- Opening up of Nigeria to the global business community and becoming Africa's number one destination of foreign investors. In the first six months of 2014, a total of US\$9.70 billion or N1.51 trillion flowed into the national economy as foreign direct investments (FDI).
- Under the Goodluck Jonathan administration, Nigeria rebased its GDP for the first time in over a decade to become the largest economy in Africa, overtaking South Africa and Egypt in the process.
- Proceeds from Nigeria's non-oil exports rose to 2.97 billion by the end of 2013, up from 2.3 billion in 2010.

- Initiation of the YOUWIN program in 2011. The Youth Enterprise with Innovation in Nigeria (YOUWIN) program aims to generate over 100,000 jobs for innovative unemployed youths across the country in the course of three years. It is currently in its third year.
- Nigerians are now a step closer to being fully integrated into the international e-commerce community with the approval and re-inclusion of Nigeria as one of the Paypal-compliant countries after being banned from using the service at the peak of the advanced fee fraud (419 scams). With Paypal, Nigerians can now pay for goods and services online from anywhere in the world.
- Goodluck Jonathan administration was the one behind the revival of the dead automotive industry in Nigeria. Global auto giants like Peugeot, Nissan and Hyundai now either assemble or wholly manufacture small cars, Sport Utility Vehicles, trucks and buses at various locations in Nigeria. In addition to that, Innoson Vehicle Manufacturing Company (IVM), Nigeria's flagship indigenous automaker, has begun the sale of their first made-in-Nigeria cars and SUVs in August 2014.²⁶
- Under the Goodluck Jonathan administration, Nigeria became the first country in West Africa to host the World Economic Forum (WEF) in 2014. It was also the most successful World Economic Forum for Africa (WEFA) in history, boasting of a global reach of 2.1 billion people according to estimates.

- Africa's richest man Aliko Dangote's net worth increased from US\$2.1 billion at the start of Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration to US\$23 billion in 2014, making him Forbes' richest black person in the world and the overall 26th richest in the world. He attributed this mammoth increase in his monetary worth to Goodluck Jonathan administration favourable economic policies.
- Construction and beautification of many federal roads in the country, including the Lagos-Benin expressway, Abuja-Lokoja expressway, Enugu-Abakiliki expressway, Onitsha-Owerri highway and most parts of the Enugu-Port Harcourt expressway. Also, construction of the second Niger Bridge between Onitsha and Asaba to relieve the pressure on the old Niger Bridge which was completed in December 1965.²⁷
- Revival of the comatose railway system of transportation in the country is happening under the current Goodluck Jonathan administration.
- Remodelling, beautification and standardization of airports across the country. In addition to that, aircraft from Nigeria are now allowed to fly directly to the United States of America instead of going through many stopovers in Amsterdam and some other European cities along/in the route. The Akanu Ibiam Airport in Enugu was upgraded into an international airport, directly connecting the South-East region of the country to the outside world for the first time since independence.
- Establishment of nine federal universities across the country in states which previously had no federal degree awarding institution.

- Computerizing education in the country with the introduction of the computer-based test (CBT) which will be mandatory for all UTME candidates from 2015.
- Introduction of the Almajiri system of education in the academically disadvantaged Northern parts of the country.
- Arresting the outbreak of the deadly and highly contagious Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) in record time, though it unfortunately claimed some lives at the onset. 20. Transformation of the agricultural sector, so that, in the words of Agriculture minister Akinwumi Adesina, "Nigerians will stop thinking of agriculture just as a means of livelihood, but more as a business."²⁸
- Nigeria has reduced its food imports by over 40% as of 2013, moving the country closer to self-sufficiency in agriculture.
- Nigeria is the world's largest producer of cassava with an output of over 45 million metric tonnes in 2014 according to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO).
- Due to favourable economic policies, Internet penetration in Nigeria has now increased from about 45 million in 2011 to 63 million in 2014, overtaking countries such as the United Kingdom and France in the process. What this means is that more people now use the internet in Nigeria than in the UK and France.
- As of the second quarter of 2014, the number of registered active telephone lines in Nigeria stood at 130 million out of a total of over 170 million telephone lines.

- Introduction of the Nigerian electronic identity card (e-ID card), one of the most secure in the world and the largest in Africa. The e-ID card serves as both an international identification module and an electronic payment solution.
- Introduction of the cashless system which aims to encourage the use of e-payment systems in the country and reduce the volume of physical cash in circulation.
- Unbundling of the dysfunctional Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) into about 18 profit-driven successor companies.
- Under the watch of President Goodluck Jonathan administration, Nigeria won the African Cup of Nations for the first time in 19 years in South Africa in February, 2013.²⁹
- Nigeria ended up with 11 gold , 11 silver and 14 bronze medals at the recently concluded 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow, finishing 8th in the overall ranking.
- Women in politics have been given more prominent roles in the current President Goodluck Jonathan administration. A large number of the federal appointees of the Goodluck Jonathan administration are women. They include, but are not limited to, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala; Miriam Aloma Mukhtar, Nigeria's first female Chief Justice; Diezani Alison-Madueke; ex-aviation minister Stella Oduah, Joy Ogwu, Nigeria's representatives at the United Nations; Sarah Jibril; and Viola Onwuliri.³⁰

Conclusion

It should be noted here that democracy not only shapes the country's identity at large, but also determines its place and its future in the world. It is within this framework that this chapter examined Nigeria's democratic tenet under the administration of Jonathan vis-à-vis Nigeria's aspiration of becoming an important global player. Fully aware of the raging controversy over the attainability of the Vision especially from the standpoint of timeframe which is been played down, evidence abound that the regime of Jonathan is making positive effort in the direction of the vision with the instrumentality of foreign policy. The administration is presently taking advantage of the international environment, as is the case with other nations, in enhancing domestic development as it's relate to improvement of the democracy in Nigeria.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF GOODLUCK JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC CULTURE IN NIGERIA

Introduction

Despite widely held concerns about the likelihood of a destabilising outcome, Nigeria successfully conducted its general elections on 28 March and 11 April 2015.¹ Muhammadu Buhari, candidate of the newly emerged national opposition party known as the All Progressives Congress (APC), defeated the incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in the presidential election.² His party also scored huge victories in the gubernatorial elections, as well as those in the National Assembly and the various state Houses of Assembly. A phone call by President Jonathan to his main rival conceding defeat a few hours before the official results of the elections were announced set the 2015 elections apart from previous elections, most of which were characterised by disputes over results. President Jonathan's early acceptance of defeat had a tremendous calming effect on the political atmosphere, which had been tense prior to the elections, thus strengthening the democratic tenet of the Nigeria state. This chapter seeks to examine the score-card of President Goodluck Jonathan to the consolidation and development of democracy and elections process in Nigeria.³

Evaluation of Some Key Sectors of the Transformation Agenda towards the Development of Democracy

The Transformation Agenda is meant to touch every aspect of the socio-economic and political life of the nation; certain key areas were summarized by the National Planning Commission blue print. These include job creation, good governance, agriculture, security, power sector among others.⁴This will examines the performance in some of the sectors.

Job Creation

Policy measures enunciated for job creation and productivity during the Transformation Agenda period among others include creation of 5 million new jobs annually, a youth employment safety net support program such as conditional cash transfer and vocational training, development of industrial clusters, reviewing of university curricula to align with industry job requirements and promotion of apprenticeship/work experience programmes. The progress report of the Transformation Agenda's as presented by the Office of the Special Adviser to the President on Research, Documentation and Strategy revealed that the government inaugurated a committee on database for unemployed Nigeria youth with the aim of having an accurate statistics of unemployed youths for proper employment policies and planning and electronic data base on licensed Private Employment Agency (PEAs). The government was reported to have created 75,640 entrepreneurial skills acquisition for graduates of tertiary institution

and artisans. 139,371 unemployed candidates took part in the skill acquisition, vocational, technical and agricultural trades.⁵

It must be admitted that it is relatively early to come to logical conclusion about the attainment of the goals, however the current unemployment rate according to the Minister of Labour and Productivity is 23.9% which can be said to be worrisome if Nigeria is going to be among the 20th largest economy by year 2020. Compared with that of 2009, the National Bureau of Statistics put unemployment ratio at 19.7%, while it was estimated that those in the age group of 15-24 years were 41.6% and revealed how critical the employment situation is. This shows an increase in the rate of unemployment.⁶This has constituted a serious challenge to the government development efforts and has wide range implication for social stability and the dignity of humans. The lack of accessible fund for a significant proportion of active poor in Nigeria further worsened the tendency for them to be profitably engaged.⁷

Productivity is still very low in Nigeria in spite of review of salaries and allowances in the public sector. It seems as if at every stage of review, more crises were generated than resolved. It is an indication that the poverty alleviation programs, skill acquisition, vocational, technical, agricultural trades have not significantly achieved the stated objectives. This position was further buttressed by the National Assembly investigation of the activities of National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) that revealed that eleven billion Naira out of the sum of forty five billion Naira could not be accounted for (Leadership, 2012). It has been observed that due to power failure, many of

the artisans and other related trades due to constant power failure have turned to Okada riders (motor or tricycle riders) thereby reducing productivity. The position of this paper is that if the reform in the power sector is successfully completed, it has the tendency to create a suitable condition towards employment generation given that all other conditions are constant.⁸

Educational Sector

The Transformation Agenda is expected to promote primary enrolment of all children in school going age irrespective of the income profile of the parents, to provide necessary infrastructures and to increase access and reduce pupil/teacher ratio. It is also to enhance the efficiency, resourcefulness, and competence of teachers and other educational personnel through training, capacity building, and motivation. The progress Report revealed that the government has commissioned Almajiri Education programme in Sokoto, introduced Girls Education Programme in Adamawa, Yobe, Zamfara, Nasarawa, Ebonyi, Ekiti, Delta and Akwaibom state, licensed 9 new private universities and federal universities to increase access to tertiary education.⁹ It sponsored construction and furnishing of 105 blocks of 2, 3 & 4 classrooms, 2 examination halls, 4 community libraries, 4 generator houses, 9 computer centres, 3 boreholes and 15 toilets in 15 states of the federation through the help of MDGs, granted license to 135 innovation and vocational enterprise institutions to encourage technical/vocational education and training.

Scholarship award was also ‘approved’ as counterparts funding for foreign students, teachers were deployed to public primary schools in 34 states and funds were

made available for teachers' capacity building in all 36 States of the country. It engaged on printing and distribution of minimum standard documents for basic education to all public schools, 4,944,000 library resource materials provided for junior secondary schools across the federation. The undergraduate Basic Minimum Academic Standards (BMAS) was reviewed for universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. 58 billion naira was granted in three phases to universities, polytechnics and colleges of education across the federation to encourage their development as centers of excellence. School curriculum were reviewed in line with national development objectives and entrepreneurship centers were established in tertiary institutions to help in linking education with work and developing the entrepreneurial capacity of graduates, universities (miscellaneous provision) (amendment) act 2012 .¹⁰

Inspite of these moderate commitment, it is sad to note that there is falling standard of education and Nigerian graduates are becoming unemployable. No university in Nigeria is listed among the best five hundred in the world. Nigeria, according to Igbuzor, is ranked 158th of the 159 countries, based on Human Development index survey conducted in 2005. It has been argued that democracy thrives on the productivity of its diverse constituency - a productivity fostered by free, critical, and creative thought on issues of common interest. However, democratic values are nurtured on the fertile ground of basic education – a functional education with the right focus and correct scope. This explains why Lawal. Et al attributed poor planning, political instability, inadequate

funding, non-professionalization of teaching as challenges facing education then and even now.¹¹

Health Sector

The agenda seeks to invest greatly on health so as to reduce the rate of infant and maternal mortality. It is based on this that the health policy is to achieve human capital development goal of the vision 20:2020 strategy which is captured in the National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP). There is no doubt that the federal government committed huge resources to this sector to ensure a drastic improvement in health services delivery. Such manifested in rehabilitation of teaching hospitals, purchase of medical and laboratory equipments, training and retraining programmes for health personnel, and vaccination programmes.¹²

However, one of the noticeable trends is that of lack of proper integration and coordination among the three tiers of government. It is not unusual to find the teaching hospital, general hospital and local government clinic situated within the same vicinity on account of over-politicization in the distribution of social amenities, while other communities might be suffering from lack of health facilities. Indeed, most of the hospitals are consulting clinics as this accounted for the preference of those in government and their accolades to prefer to go to oversea just for the treatment of malaria. On manpower need in the health sector, the Chairman, Nigerian Medical Association in a Radio Lagos Programme on May 28, 2013 lamented man power shortage among the medical Doctors. He noted that Nigeria with a population of 170 million has sixty five

thousand doctors out of which only twenty five thousand are currently serving in Nigeria while the rest had relocated to other nations with better incentives.¹³

Adepoju, observation in Vogel's book "Financing Healthcare in Sub-Saharan Africa" is still relevant as the nation is "groping with illiteracy, endemic malaria, ravaging HIV, astronomic population upsurge indicating the imminent need for improved birth control, poliomyelitis, drug adulterations (fake drugs) and several other proudly related health-related debacles which point to the fact that very soon, if something urgent is not swiftly done, danger looms at all levels.¹⁴

Public Expenditure Management

The agenda is geared to ensure that government will entrench a culture of accountability by beginning to sanction and prosecute officers that breach established financial management rules and regulations. There were emphases on due process and accountability in the public sector as the EFCC and ICPC engaged in arrest and prosecution of those involved in financial crimes. It sought to limiting total recurrent spending and aligning recurrent expenditure with non-oil revenue and devoting a substantial proportion of oil revenue to capital expenditure on the short run. Though efforts have been made to ensure that there is good governance but with Nigeria's present situation on corruption, insecurity, decayed infrastructures and political and civil unrest, achieving the objectives of vision 20:2020 is a source of concern.¹⁵

Corruption has become so endemic that no sector of Nigerian society is free both high and low. The granting of political amnesty or state pardon of recent to political and

financial criminals by President Jonathan is a reflection that the battle against corruption should not be taken serious. The failure to effectively address this challenge, according to Okonjo-Iweala, Soludo and Muhtar, has largely been blamed endemic corruption, and poor governance and accountability as it is sad that the battle is still not won as at 2013 and may not be won in the nearest future because of insincerity among the top echelon.. This position agrees with Akpan () that corruption is most prevalent in nations like Nigeria where there are other forms of institutional inefficiency, such as political instability, bureaucratic red tape and weak legislative and judicial system. This explained why Mark opined that that the EFCC and ICPC have slowed down the war against corruption then while the situation now is worse.¹⁵

Governance

The programmes include political governance, economic governance, corporate governance and effectiveness of institutions. It is to focus on public service, security, the legislature, anticorruption measures and institutions. It also include the judiciary; economic coordination; and support for private investment. The critical policy thrust of governance is to maximize the benefits the citizenry derives from governance through more effective and efficient use of public resources, proper financial management and fiscal prudence. Concerning justice and judiciary, the policy thrusts are to achieve greater independence for the judiciary in terms of funding, to improve efficiency in judicial service delivery, to eliminating all forms of corruption and to improve professionalism in legal practice for better service delivery.¹⁶

The progress report of the agenda's policy on governance revealed various independent observers of the 2011 general election observed a major improvement in democratic governance. However, Nigerian political parties seem to be bereft of ideological commitment as noted Omotola, J.S. as politics of issues was relegated to the background across the various republics. In its place, there was the ascendancy of religious and ethnic identities, godfathering, cash and carry politics, parochial interests, high level of party indiscipline, absence/weakness of party cohesion and internal democracy. It was also observe that personalities were built rather than institution while transition from military to democratic rule does not imply the ascendancy of democracy not to talk of democratic consolidation.¹⁷

On justice and judiciary, a formal document titled 'Strategy for the Implementation of Justice Reforms in Nigeria' was produced. A sensitization workshop on the implementation of the Freedom of Information Act was done. The judicial reforms and the appointment of more Judges to the Supreme Court were aimed at fast dispensation of justice. However, very little achievement have been recorded as allegation of corrupt practices were on increase against the Judges as thirty four judges were currently been investigated. Also, the time frame to seek justice from the court system is discouraging. Lack of political will by government to prosecute the untouchables also serve as an invitation to crime with the hope of escaping punishment.¹⁸

The foreign policy and economic diplomacy agenda seek to ensure that the Nigeria's foreign policy goals and missions are properly focused and well-funded and

also to rationalize missions and appoint honorary consuls to deal with consular issues in areas where Nigeria's interest does not loom large as practiced by other countries. It is also to ensure Nigerians living in the Diasporas are treated with dignity and respect. In addition, the policy is to strengthen the global status of Nigeria in the comity of nations through quality leadership provision in Africa and beyond. Africa still remains the centre-piece of her foreign policy.¹⁹

The report showed a positive commitment to the promotion of democracy and democratic values as part of its foreign policy objectives in Africa. Nigeria spearheaded the peace keeping efforts in Mali, Guinea Conakry, Libya, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea etc. Nigeria was honored in New York in September 2011 with invitation to become a member of the Governing Council of the Community of Democracies, an intergovernmental organization with headquarters in Poland. It has further advanced the policy of good neighborliness, collective regional security and economic integration in Sub-Regional and Regional levels.²⁰

It is sad that the international image of the country is still bad, and Nigerians were not accorded necessary respect in international community as negative information about the nation is conspicuously on display on daily basis. Also, unknown numbers of Nigerians were serving jailterms various in countries all over the world without sufficient intervention by our mission abroad as right observed by Honourable Abike Dabiri, the House Chairman on Nigeria in Diaspora. This explains why the Senate Guardian queried the harassment of Nigerians abroad. There is also the frequent report of unnecessary

delay in the release of grant to the foreign missions that led to persistent lateness in salary payment and their inability to meet financial obligations.²¹

In respect of the public services, reconstruction, construction, rehabilitation and dualization of roads are in progress in some States of the federation, among others, Katsina, Abia, Rivers, Ogun, and Anambra. Government reports further revealed the completion, rehabilitation, reactivation and commissioning of Water Supply Projects in different states of the country. Though it might be wrong to conclude that nothing was done by the government but the effects were yet to meet the aspirations of Nigerians as most of the Federal and State roads were not motorable, the supply of electricity was epileptic while more is still required in respect of water supply.²²

Agriculture and Industry

The Agenda aimed at ensuring sufficient food production to meet the needs of the nation and to enhance generation of National and Social wealth through greater export and import substitution. Likewise, there has been provision of funds to banks to enable the funding of fertilizer procurement, thus helping the Federal Ministry of Agricultural to replace the erstwhile subsidy programme with a new one that targets farmers directly and also the arrangement of alternative financing to the for infrastructure development in the country.

In the manufacturing sector, it seeks to promote private sector investment through the creation of an enabling environment that allows for substantial improvement in efficiency, productivity and profitability.²³ It is however sad that Nigeria, a country

blessed with fertile land, good climate and large population finds it difficult to produce sufficient food to meet the local needs not to talk of exportation. The naked revelation manifested in 2011 when as a result of Boko Haram insurgency, food items and vegetables could not be transported from the North that led to scarcity of the products in the south. To a large extent, one can rightly conclude that the nation is yet to evolve a workable program to enhance food production after the first Republic. This same position is true of manufacturing sector that the epileptic power supply has nearly crumble as well as unfriendly investment climate on account of glaring inconsistency in government policies.²⁴

For the Oil and Gas sector, the policy seeks to promote private sector investment in both upstream and downstream activities of the oil and gas industry, deregulate the industry and promote environmental friendly oil and gas exploration and exploitation methods. It seeks to strengthen capacity building programmes especially in core technical areas, provide funding mechanisms for pre-bidding geosciences and surveys of deep water offshore, to ensure local content development and gas flare-down to reduce pollution and increase revenue and promotion of adequate gas supply for domestic use and power generation. It is an acknowledged fact that the government has so far been able to curb the protracted crises in the Niger-Delta region through the amnesty program and establishment of the Ministry for Niger Delta. Through skill acquisition, many youth have been gainfully engaged. This had helped to increase oil production from Amnesty level of 700,000 bpd to the current 2,500,000 bpd. There has also been reconstruction,

construction and rehabilitation of roads, water Supply and electrification projects in the region and the implementation of environmental management in other to protect the environment and safety of the people in the region.²⁵

Nonetheless, the see fforts do not translate to lasting peace except there is sincerity of purpose in pursuing the agenda to logical conclusion as the sector is still saddle with high-tech corruption as manifested in Otedola/Lawani oil subsidy scandal.

In power supply, the policy proposed investment in four major areas of power; generation, transmission, distribution and alternative energy. in order to provide adequate and sustainable power; supply for the whole nation. This is to be achieved through a deregulated and competitive electric power sector to attract foreign and local investments. The key issue for the country is the management and use of its petroleum resources. The power sector reform bill was passed in 2005, this repealed the Electricity Act and the National Electricity Power Authority Act, that provided for generation, transition and distribution sectors.²⁶

The Transformation Agenda was largely based on the existing arrangement as it also provided for Renewable Energy Plan. With billions of Naira committed to power reform, it is sad that that there has been no positive improvement in the supply of electricity with the transformation agenda. The climate of Nigeria is suitable for solar energy supply so also abundant water falls, but the opportunities are yet to be converted to positive action to generate electricity supply. The implication of reliance on generator is that the environment is polluted while a family of five was reported on Ogun Radio,

May 30, that a family of five lost their lives on account of suffocation from the generator that was used indoor. Indeed, given that the high level of corruption could be curbed, the nation may not need half the collectively spent on generators to maintain stable electricity.²⁷

Under information and technology, the policy thrusts of the FGN are to develop a national knowledge Based Economy (KBE) 10-year Strategic Plan. It is to focus on sustained human capacity development in ICT, Creation of a favourable and friendly investment and enterprise environment through transparency in tax systems, anti-trust laws/incentives and trade policies. The policy also provided for entrenchment of peace and stability to drive sustainable socioeconomic development in the Niger Delta Region with the aim of reducing the high incidence of poverty, high rate of unemployment and high level of insecurity.²⁸

On transportation it is to evolve a multimodal, integrated and sustainable transport system, with greater emphasis on rail and inland waterways transportation. Not much action could be seen in the area of transportation as most roads in Nigeria are in bad shape thereby becoming death traps. The water way is largely underdeveloped while railway is in comatose and the air travelling has its own share of the prevalent avoidable but poorly managed challenges in Nigeria.

In the area of security, an integrated digital trunking communication network, assorted motor vehicles, Motorola digital handheld radios, helicopter for air surveillance operations and supply, installation and deployment of hi-tech intelligence equipment

have been provided to checkmate security challenges. Also, Counter Terrorism efforts were intensified with Anti-Terrorism Squad established, with bases in 12 locations across the country as well as many operational units.²⁹Of recent, the state of emergency was declared in three Northern State to checkmate the excesses of the Boko Haram sect while efforts were made to reduce persistent armed robbery and kidnapping. However, inspite these measures Popoola and Alao, among others observed that insecurity is on the increase in Nigeria on account of sectarian conflicts while it was rightly or wrongly believed by various ethnic or religious grouping that the only language that catches the attention of government was violence.

Though President Jonathan in NAN mobile news of May 29, 2013 asked his critics to assess the Transformation Agenda based on their individual scorecards, the study in general agrees with Nwabueze it has absolutely nothing to do with, not a word to say about, the transformation of our society from the moral decadence into which it has sunk. No agenda, in the context of Nigeria, is worth being called a Transformation Agenda which does not aim at the moral and ethical transformation of our society.³⁰ Even the coordinating minister of the Transformation Agenda, DR. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala has admitted that shortage of funding arising from the inefficient and corrupt handling of the fuel subsidy regime as well as bureaucratic bottlenecks are serious enough challenges to the realization of the goals. Nkom has for instance likened Nigeria, the “Giant of Africa” to the proverbial decaying fish which usually starts getting rotten from the head (Leadership). Gradually, the rottenness proceeds to the rest of the body (citizens). Hence,

Nigeria is moving from one round of rhetoric to another with concrete evidences in the direction that citizens' welfare is paramount in government consideration.³¹

2015 Election and Goodluck Jonnathan Consolidation to Democracy in Nigeria

The peaceful and positive outcome of the 2015 elections came as a surprise to many, considering the difficult political and security environment in which the elections were conducted. The grave security threat posed by Boko Haram insurgency posed the greatest obstacle to the smooth conduct of the elections. Other issues, such as the competing claims to the presidency by northern and southern politicians, a keenly contested campaign smeared by inflammatory messages, allegations of politically motivated postponement of the elections, and gaps in electoral preparations, caused equally serious concerns.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and other election stakeholders, especially the security agencies, addressed many of the challenges that were anticipated; yet logistical lapses, electoral irregularities, and outbreaks of violence could not be entirely avoided. In a few states, such as Rivers and Akwa-Ibom, losers of the gubernatorial elections contested the results based on allegations of irregularities. However, most election observers maintain that the spread and gravity of irregularities recorded were not sufficient to question the overall credibility of the elections.³²The 2015 elections can be viewed as a positive step towards democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The elections enabled the country to achieve inter-party alternation of the presidency for the first time in its electoral history. Democratic theorists see alternation of power as a

crucial stride in the democratisation process. Although the Nigerian presidency did not change hands before the 2015 elections, there has been significant alternation at other levels of government. The uniqueness of the 2015 alternation, however, is that it occurred at the highest level of authority.³³

The Jonathan Administration's Response to Threat of Insecurity in Nigeria

President Jonathan administrations take certain measures to make Nigeria a more secure place for peace and development to thrive. The government responded by taking several measures which can aptly be described as a “carrots and stick” approach but, which have also generated a lot of debate within the country. Initial government response was predominantly the use of physical force that was later expanded to include a combination of verbal admonitions and warnings; moral persuasion; deployment of troops to flashpoints where the protesters are domiciled; the inauguration of committees and panels to investigate the causes of the threats and proffer necessary solutions and; the passage of a bill in to tackle terrorist activities – an action believed to be in line with international best practices.³⁴

The carrot and stick approach is also a way of dispelling insinuations that the President is weak and not capable of taking decisive and swift actions aimed at solving once and for all the crises emanating from the North–East. To drive home this point a Presidential spokesperson asserted that the president has been doing a lot contrary to insinuations that Mr. President's approach to the security challenges facing the country has been weak. The spokesperson. instead affirmed that the President has inaugurated a

panel to, review, the security situation, investigate what has gone wrong and proffer solution on how the system can be overhauled for maximum efficiency.³⁵ A cursory glance within the polity revealed that the President did not just set up a panel but about three panels and committees to curtail the nation's state of insecurity. In addition, the Senate and Federal House of Representatives to give creditability, authority and legitimacy to the president's security initiatives had also passed a bill (anti-terrorism bill). A brief exploration of some of these initiatives will suffice. President Goodluck Jonathan established a committee on security awareness in March 2011 (also known as the committee on public awareness on security and civil responsibilities). to address insecurity in the country.³⁶ The committee's chairperson was the Secretary General of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA). – Dr. Lateef Adegbite. The terms of reference of the committee are to:

- Advise the president and take action to strengthen crime prevention effort of security agencies;
- Re-appraise existing strategies of raising awareness on potential security threats;
- Draw up strategies and structures at the community level and other tiers of government on how the public can cooperate with security agencies to ensure safety of lives and property;
- Development of school curriculum programs incorporating information, security awareness sessions in all educational institutions across the country.³⁷

The anti-terrorism bill was passed on February 17 by the Nigerian senate and on February 22, 2011, Nigeria's House of Representatives. The bill provides for measures to combat terrorism and related matters. It gives government broad powers to investigate terrorist activities and gives the authority to persecute terrorist suspects in any Federal High Court of Nigeria. The bill has five (5) essential parts covering acts of terrorism and related offenses like terrorism funding and terrorist properties, punctual assistance and extradition, investigation and prosecution. The bill indeed, provides the legal impetus and further capacity to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). and other security agencies to enhance the fight against terrorism, financial crimes and other unwholesome acts, which the nation's laws did not fully capture hitherto.³⁸

The successful passage of the anti-terrorism bill is another major step taken by the President Jonathan to tackle the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria. Although, the bill has been long in coming, it has however been hailed as an effective counter-measure to the heinous crimes of kidnapping, bomb-blasts, suicide bombing and other forms of domestic terrorism. It is also in line with the standards set by the international community in the efforts to end terrorism world.³⁹

Conclusion

The Transformation Agenda progress of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan is a courageous step towards socio-economic and political transformation in Nigerian but the failure to fast tract the process of development has largely been blamed on infrastructural decay, endemic corruption, and poor governance and accountability. The study concludes

that these challenges are not insurmountable given that there is the political will by the political leadership to curb corruption, develop the mechanisms to manage the conflicts and crises that are becoming unmanageable and improve on social infrastructure that could serve as catalyst for industrialization.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This research work examined impact of Goodluck Jonathan administration and the development of democratic culture in Nigeria. It interrogated the chaotic and destabilizing situation in the Goodluck Jonathan administration did not promote democracy in Nigeria. To achieve the basic objective of this study, the study was divided into five functionally related chapters. To start with, in chapter one a broad introduction to the study with references to background to the contends that democracy is at the crossroads in Nigeria and the role of Goodluck Jonathan administration in promoting democracy in Nigeria. Following that, the purpose of the study was started, viz to dispel the growing negative perception that Goodluck Jonathan administration which is center on the transformation agenda did not promote democracy and bring about democratic dividend on Nigerian. The methodology of study was clearly stated to include archival materials and written materials. The scope of study was noted to be between 2011 to 2015, after which relevant literature relating to the work were thoroughly reviewed.

The study also examined historical background of the democracy and the origins of democracy that lie in ancient Greek political thought. And the session also analysis the Greek philosophers kind of governments according to the number of citizens involved in the process.

Consequently the study also touch on Goodluck Jonathan Leadership Style and the promotion of Democratic Tenet, and examine that Dr. Jonathan was born on 20

November, 1957 into a Christian family at the rural and sleepy riverine community of Otueke in Ogbia Local Government Area of the then Rivers State.

It is against this backdrop that the work further investigated the transformation agenda of the president and how it affected the socio-economic and political institutions and activities of the Nigeria state.

This study further demonstrated that the some challenges of the administrations, thereby identifying the Boko Haram insurgency as of the major obstacle that almost destroyed all the major policies of government of the Godluck Jonathan administration.

However, the study also identify that how the Goodluck Administration fought the insurgent and recapture communities that was invaded by the Boko Haram insurgent. Most recently, was how the administration purchase admonition and other military equipment to fight the insurgent and also build Amajiri School to curtail the recruitment of teenage insurgent and terrorist.

In conclusion, based on the developmental impact of Goodluck Jonathan transformation agenda that sustain the democratic tenet of Nigeria, one can say here that Goodluck Jonathan Administration brought about the dividend of democracy, which touch all the 36 states of the federation and these are as follows: In Cross River Jonathan rehabilitated the Margaret Ekpo Int'l Airport and Modernised the University of Calabar Teaching Hospital. In Delta Jonathan has taken Itakpe-Ajaokuta-warri railway to 80% completion and kick started the \$16B Gas City Project at Ogidigben, In Ebonyi Jonathan established the Fed University in Ndufe – Alike, repaired over 250km of roads and built

power substations. In Edo Jonathan completed the Ihovbor power Station, reconstructed the Benin-Ore-Sagamu and equipped UBTH. In Ekiti Jonathan established the Federal University in Oye – Ekiti, and repaired hundreds of kilometers of Federal Rds. In Enugu Jonathan gave the S. East their first International Airport and revived the PH-Enugu rail line. In Gombe Jonathan established the Federal University in Kashere and built 5 Almajiri schools. In Imo Jonathan rehabilitated the Sam Mbakwe International Airport and completed power stations and built sub stations. #GEJisworking. In Jigawa Jonathan established the Federal University in Dutse, built 5 Almajiri schools and built silos. In Kano Jonathan revived the Lagos-Kano rail, built 5 Almajiri schools, renovated the MAKIA Int'l Airport and built silos. In Kaduna, Jonathan has just completed the Standard Gauge Kad-Abj rail that enables you work in Abuja and live in Kd. In Katsina Jonathan established the Federal University in Dutsin-ma, built 5 Almajiri schools and multiple silos. In Kebbi Jonathan established the Federal University in Kalgo, built 5 Almajiri schools and multiple silos. In Kogi Jonathan established the new Federal University in Lokoja, and completed the Geregu power plant. In Kwara Jonathan revived Jebba-Kano & Ilorin–Offa rail lines, built Almajiri schools, ongoing reconstruction Ibadan Ilorin Rd. In Lagos Jonathan revived the Lagos-Kano rail, introduced intercity air conditioned diesel trains and is rehabilitating MMIA. In Nasarawa Jonathan established a new Federal University in Lafia and rehabilitated the Lafia–Makurdi Rd.

In Niger Jonathan dredged River Niger up to Baro, Baro Port at 95% completion, Zungeru power plant ongoing. In Ondo Jonathan completed and commissioned the 500

MWs Omotosho Power Plant Phase 2 & renovated the Akure airport. In Ogun Jonathan rehabilitated the Sagamu-Ore road as well as the Ijebu Igbo Ajegunle–Araromi–Ife-Sekona Road (Section II). In Osun Jonathan re-equipped OAUTH, constructed silos, built power substations, repaired Efon Alaaye-ErinmoIjesha-Iwarga Rd. In Oyo Jonathan is reconstructing (not repairing) Lag-Ibadan Rd and has commenced constructing the Lag-Ibadan hi-speed rail. In Plateau Jonathan repaired the Vom-Manchok Rd, construction of earth dam in Heipang and power substations. In Rivers Jonathan revived the PH-Enugu Rail, Rehabilitating the PH International Airport & upgraded Uniport Teaching Hospital. In Sokoto Jonathan is fighting desertification with the Great Green Wall and built 5 Almajiri schools.⁶ In Taraba Jonathan established the Federal University in Wukari and constructed the Kashimbila Multi-Purpose Dam Project. In Yobe Jonathan established Fed University of Gashua, Almajiri schools & Gashua–Hadejia 132KV double circuit transmission line. In Zamfara Jonathan established the Federal University Gusau, built multiple Almajiri schools and constructed silos.

In reference, there is no doubt that the Transformation Agenda of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was a bold step towards revamping the ailing socio-economy life of the country. However, the challenges pointed out has no doubt significantly limit the attainment of this laudable desired ends. There is therefore the need to consciously, deliberately and boldly exploit the opportunities and strengths available to the government, while simultaneously reduce the threats and challenges that have been identified. Most importantly, some fundamental measures need to be taken in the thinking

and actions of the leadership of the country. This, in essence involves looking inward into the value orientation of the people to reduce to the barest limit, elements of greed, materialism, opportunism and exploitation.

Finally, there is the need for a radical development strategy that guarantees inclusiveness as opposed to exclusiveness in governance and that is people-driven from conception to implementation. This development strategy must be sustainable with the genuine desire to end poverty, provide productive employment, and satisfy basic needs of all categories of citizens and fair sharing of surplus value. This is the sure way to a realistic Transformation Agenda.

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