

The Menace of Political Godfatherism as a Factor in the Underdevelopment of Nigeria: Justifying Rostow's Thesis

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Abstract

This article examined the menace of political godfatherism, one of the major internal factors hindering the advancement of the democratization process and development of Nigeria in order to validate Rostow thesis. The study employed the descriptive approach and therefore collected its data from secondary sources. Moreover, the study examined the two opposing models on the subject of development and also discussed the problem of godfatherism and its implications on the democratization process and development of Nigeria. The paper suggests love, patriotism, hard work, sacrifice, commitment, condemnation of evil and celebration of good, not only for the elite class, but also for the entire citizenry. These could be used to stop the escalation of political godfatherism in order to enthrone true the democracy that is needed for national unity and development. In actualizing this, this paper concluded that the elite class needs to be saturated or dyed with positive attributes, which hinge on national unity and consciousness, development-oriented mentality, public-spirit and patriotism. These are essential to galvanize the available resources and generate the necessary sentiments for the progress and well-being of Nigerians.

Keywords: Menace, political godfatherism, underdevelopment, justifying, Rostow's thesis.

1. Introduction

Prior to the 19th century, several theoretical models emerged in the academia to explain stages of societal development (Darwin, 1861; Spencer, 1887; Durkhiem, 1893; Marx, 1894; Tonnies, 1925; Sorokin, 1937; Toynbee, 1946). After 1900, Capitalism and Socialism erupted from the above named theories as the world's powerful tools of economic development.

In the early 60s Capitalism and Socialism metamorphosed to Modernization and Dependency theories and formed the yardstick for dividing the world to Eastern and Western blocs. Each of these blocs had its own development patterns. The leading country in each bloc employed its ideology to render assistance to underdeveloped nations.

In explaining global development, modernization theorists (Lerner, 1958; Rostow 1960; MacClelland, 1961; Hagen, 1962; Levy, 1966) contend that Third World nations are unable to develop because of their close tie to traditions, customs and other internal factors. However, dependency authors (Frank, 1966; Rodney, 1972; Fanon, 1965; Wayne, 1975) largely blame the underdevelopment of Third World countries on their relationship with western powers.

Although scholars in each of these ideological affiliations presented brilliant ideas, nevertheless, none of their ideas is flawless. The argument of the modernization authors about internal factors constituting a hindrance to the progress of Third World nations (Lerner, 1958; Rostow 1960) is highly commendable. But the model has been condemned for ignoring the past relationship of Third World countries with developed nations, in which they were massively exploited and dehumanized (Rodney, 1972; Lenin, 1977). Similarly, dependency theorists were applauded for highlighting the negative impacts of the Third World nation's relationship with the West (Frank 1966), but the school of thought was equally condemned for ignoring the obvious roles of internal factors in the backwardness of Third World nations. Although the problem of internal factors, which eluded the thinking of dependency scholars might not be very much relevant in accounting for the underdevelopment of Third World countries in the past, certainly, it makes tremendous sense in contemporary times.

Weighing the above divergent views, it could be observed that dependency scholars' idea is no longer tenable because, since political independence, most African nations have remained underdeveloped. While the Southeast Asian nations that had a similar experience have emerged as Newly Industrialized countries of the world, many African countries are worse in recent times than the colonial era. It is very essential to note that Southeast Asia did not just emerge as an advanced region without concerted efforts of her elites. In fact, Nwosu (2002) describes the region as a determined and united people that pursued freedom, democracy and human rights. Hence, in only five decades, the region transitioned from a postwar subsistence agricultural economy to a high-tech industrial one of today. Frankly speaking, these attributes are relatively lacking in most African countries. As observed by Weinberg, (1972) cited in Omonijo (2008) development is a process of social change which describes the career of a country's independence. Since independence in 1960, previous studies have shown that Nigerians have contributed immensely to the backwardness of their own country (Ujah, 2003; West, 2003; BBC News, (2007) cited by Omonijo, Oludayo, Eche and Uche (2015).

Could it therefore be argued in line with Banfield (1958); Rostow (1960); McClelland (1962); Warren (1980) that the underdevelopment of Africa is as a consequence of specified attributes of **the population**, often at the level of cultural practices and religious beliefs? It is on this ground, that this paper uses the attributes of the Nigerian population, mostly, the elite class to justify the view of Rostow (1960) and other scholars in his camp, on the continuous underdevelopment of Nigeria, considering the crucial role this class of people need to play in the process of development as suggested in the second and third stages of his thesis that these elites are executing indirect opposite, bringing to the fore the view of Omonijo, Nnedum and Ezeokana (2011) on *Nigeria being regarded as un-developing, meaning, developing in a wrong direction*. Thus, this article aims at examining the menace of godfatherism in Nigerian politics and its negative implication on the democratization process and development.

Apart from its introduction, this paper proceeds in five sections. The first is theoretical clarifications and review of literature on a brief profile of W.W. Rostow and his five stages of

economic growth. The next is the examination of research on godfatherism, historical development of godfatherism in Nigerian politics, its negative impact on leadership and development of the country. The paper ends with some concluding remarks, including implications of the menace of godfatherism on democratization process and development. It is envisaged that this study will bridge some gaps in the literature. Also, it is expected to inform the political and elite class as well as the youth who are regarded as leaders of tomorrow, the negative consequence of the menace of godfatherism on the advancement of Nigeria.

1.1 Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined as used in this article

Third World-Underdeveloped societies

West-Western Europe and North America, western powers, developed countries

Blocs-Camps

2. Review of Literature

2.1 Theoretical Clarifications

This aspect reviews literature on core development theories (Capitalism, Socialism, Modernization and Dependency) as applies to this article.

2.1.1 Capitalism

According to the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968), Capitalism is the social system of production that first developed in England in the late 18th century. The theory later spread to Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Much later, with the influence of the United States of America (USA), the paradigm spread to different parts of the world. Under this system, the means for producing and distributing goods (the land, factories, technology, transport system etc) are owned by a small minority of people called the capitalists while the majority of people who work for a wage or salary is referred to as the proletariats. The working class according to Perlman (1969) is being paid to produce goods and services which are then sold for profit. The profit is gained by the capitalist class because they can make more money by selling what is produced in the labour market. In this sense, the working class is exploited by the capitalist class. The capitalists live off the profits they obtain from exploiting the working class whilst reinvesting some of their profits for the further accumulation of wealth.

This system of economic development ensures minimization of cost and maximization of profits. Thus, it encourages the exploitation of the less privileged and accumulation of wealth by the capitalists to the detriment of the masses. The system was employed by the West as a weapon of economic development. In an attempt to expand their economies Western nations came in contact with the rest of the world, mostly Africa that was considered a fertile ground for raw materials needed for production, cheap manpower for their industries and market for their finished products. In the process of transactions, African nations were massively exploited for many years (Rodney, 1972). Based on this, scholars of Marxist extraction emerged to condemn capitalist ideology and presented alternative theory to economic development (Socialism), which is elucidated below.

2.2 Socialism

Socialism is a socioeconomic system characterised by social ownership of the means of production and co-operative management of the economy Bertrand Badie et al., (2011) as well as a political theory and movement that aims at the establishment of such a system. Social ownership means cooperative enterprises, common ownership, state ownership, citizen ownership of equity, or any combination of these ownerships (Peter & Docherty, 2006). They differ in the type of social ownership they advocate,

the degree to which they rely on markets or planning, how management is to be organised within productive institutions, and the role of the state in constructing socialism (Nove, 2008).

This school of thought was spearheaded by the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) that used her wealth for building global power and influence among the countries in its camp. But a line of demarcation can be clearly drawn between capitalism and socialism. According to Rodney, (1972), Socialist countries have never at any time owned any part of the African continent. Also, they never invested in African economies in such a way as to expatriate profits from Africa. Thus, they are not involved in the robbery of Africa. Moreover, this school of thought never encouraged private accumulation of properties and the exploitation of the less privileged, but the school of thought has not been able to bring about massive development among its nations. While capitalist countries, spearheaded by the United States of America have recorded a great feat in transforming Southeast Asian countries, the Socialist camp has become devastated with the collapse of the USSR in December 1991, (Declaration № 142-H, 1991). To worsen the situation, Cuba, the only Socialist country in Western hemisphere and one of the surviving four in the world has gone from being the third richest county in Latin America to become one of the poorest (Guardian, 2003 cited in Omonijo 2008). In other words, the advancement of nations under socialism is relatively limited compared with societies under capitalism. Moreover, it is evident in the literature that no capitalist country has ever succeeded in crossing from capitalist ideology to socialist, but it is evident that most nations have crossed from socialism to capitalism (Orsi and Rodriguez, 2015; Clarke, 2015).

The reason why Capitalism is flourishing and also absorbing countries from the Socialist camp could be linked with the relationship of many great Christians with the living God in many capitalist societies. In spite of the prevailing exploitation, cheating, and other evil practices, many people worship the living God in truth and in spirit, while in socialist countries many people do not believe in God. In fact, people worship idols and persecute Christians in these countries with the backing of the state (Stan and Turcescu, 2000). This is because Socialists believe that Christianity, which is the world's largest faith, with an estimated 2.1 billion followers worldwide, or a third of the global population, represents the interest of Western capitalist societies (Jacobs, 2011). However, it could be observed that no one can persecute God and hinder the expansion of His kingdom and prosper. This might be the major problem of the Socialist countries. Their self-righteousness might not be acceptable before God.

Nigeria is a capitalist country; therefore exploitation of the masses by the elite class is prevalent. Godfathers serve as the bourgeois, while the masses are the proletariat. The former manipulates the resources of the state to their advantage and to the detriment of the proletariat. But capitalism as being practised in Nigeria does not reflect what is being practised in many prominent capitalist societies. Western principles that enhance the success of capitalism are seriously abhorred by the elite class due to their self-interests. This paper examines these principles or the attributes of the Nigerian population as rooted in political godfatherism and its negative effect on the democratization process and development.

2.3 Modernisation

Modernization, according to Eisenstadt, (1966) cited in Omonijo, Nnedum, Fadugba, Uche and Makodi (2013) emphasises the process of change towards social, economic, and political systems developed in Western Europe and North America from the 17th to 19th century and spread to other parts of the world. The paradigm is a multi-faceted phenomenon that erupted from the classical evolutionary explanation of social change (Giddens 1991; Tipps, 1973) and the process of natural selection theory of Darwin, (1861) and some other early theories mentioned above. Modernization is strongly rooted in the efficacy of capitalism. Thus, it involves political, economic, social, cultural and psychological process of social changes whose cumulative effects are to move a society from a traditional stage to a more developed state. Specifically, it involves the development of an industrial labour force, an educated population, urbanization and political participation with concomitant changes and inevitable interrelation (Tilly, 1972).

Prominent authors in this school of thought (MacClelland, 1961; Hagen, 1962; Levy, 1966; Lerner, 1958; Rostow 1960) argue that the advanced industrial societies have passed through these

processes before attaining development. Therefore, they are able to boast of high development in science and technology. It is on this note that Third World countries are advised to pass through the same process in order to attain development.

Modernization theorists however, advanced divergent views on factors inhibiting the process of development in Third World countries. These are basically internal factors.

Modernization authors conclude by advising Third World countries to keep on copying advanced societies while following the suggested stages of economic growth blindly. Developed countries will be in a position to help and tailor them towards attaining development. In realizing this, developed countries have been diffusing aids and technical assistance in education, health, agriculture and other crucial areas of life to underdeveloped societies.

2.3.1 Critique of Modernisation Theory

This model was condemned for ignoring the negative impact of intra-and-inter societal connections as a strong factor in the underdevelopment of Third World countries. Scholars such as (Frank, 1966; Fanon, 1965) blame the underdevelopment of the Third World countries on their decades of enslavement and colonization by the West.

In respect of slavery Bush (2003;32) claims that *by a plan known only to providence, the stolen sons and daughters of Africa helped to awaken the conscience of America*. He advances that the people traded into slavery helped to set America free while Lenin, (1977: 39) remarks on colonization that

It is a common knowledge that colonies were conquered with fire and sword, that the population of the colonies were brutally treated, and that they were exploited in a thousand and one ways exploiting capital through concessions, cheating in the sale of goods, submission to the authorities of the ruling nations, and so on

The contributions of these two factors to the backwardness of the Third World countries in the past cannot be easily ignored. Also, the positive impact of these factors on the development of Western Europe and North America is evident in the literature (Rodney, 1972). These authors claim that resources that would have been used to develop the Third World countries were exported and used for the industrial advancement of the West. Thus, the West became manufacture of finished products while the Third World countries that produced the raw materials became the market ground for these products. By this gimmick and scheme, Third World growth became retarded.

However, slavery and colonialism happened in the past. Thus, Third World nations are expected to forget their experience and forge ahead, but the reverse has been the case. Many Third World societies, mostly Africa, South-South Asia and Caribbean Island have not been able to get rid of the scars incurred in the process of slavery and colonization. The negative impact of Colonialism in the form of neo-colonialism, by the foolishness of the elites in Third World countries is still bitten hard on them. In fact, the rate of modern slavery in form of human trafficking from Third World countries to developed nations is alarming (Walk Free Foundation, 2013a). The number of Nigerians affected by this phenomenon in 2013, according to Ingwe, (2014) was 701,032, representing a substantial proportion of the country's total population estimated for that year at 168,833,776. Nigerian women and girls constitute some of the largest proportion of the developing world's females trafficked to Europe, Asia and America (Naijafeed, 2009; Rees, 2012). Hence, where lies the justification of dependency scholars in condemning the ancient slavery and colonialism?

Contrary to the argument of dependency scholars, Warren, (1980) claims that the Third World countries contact with the West was a positive development. On a serious note, the contact actually opened up traditional societies to civilization. It is a common knowledge that barbaric practice of Africans such as human sacrifice, idol worshipping were abandoned due to colonialism. Christianity and education which brought about high technologies of today, trade and commerce were equally introduced during colonialism.

2.4 Dependency Theory

Dependency is defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences--political, economic, and cultural--on national development policies (Osvaldo, 1969). Thus, the argument of dependency scholars against modernization theorists hinges on this influence (Fanon 1965; Frank 1966; Amin, 1971; Rodney 1972; Galtung, 1972; Amin 1976; Cardoso and Faletto, 1979; James, 1997).

The model is largely rooted in Marxism and later developed to Socialism (ideas that birth the paradigm erupted from neo-Marxist and Socialist thinkers). Rodney, (1972) in particular argues that Third World countries were developing independently before they came in contact with Western powers, which enslaved and imperialized them heavily. Hence, Frank, (1966) argued that contemporary Third World countries underdevelopment is a consequence of asymmetric contact with capitalist societies. This scholar advances his view by presenting 'development of underdevelopment' as the radical counterpart of Rostow's (1960) take-off stage and scornfully describes his thesis as an uneven structure tagged: "metropolis-satellite relations". The nature of this relationship is a gigantic and systematic rip-off, because 'surplus is continuously appropriated and expropriated upwards and outwards to the detriment of under-developed societies (Frank, 1966).

National economics according to Frank (1966) are perceived as structural elements in the global capitalist system. This system is therefore the unit of analysis and not individual societies. The system is structured in an uneven manner and it is characterized by Frank as a whole chain of metropolis-satellite relations. This chain links the entire system, from a nation such as the USA which represents the ultimate global metropolis, which is no one satellite via a whole series of international units which are simultaneously both metropolis and satellite. Using Latin America as a point of view, Frank (1967) argues that USA exploited Latin American cities massively while Latin American cities exploited their hinterlands terribly. From the illustration of Frank (1969) a poor village in Sao Paulo sends its goods to the city; the city in turn extracts the surplus value from the capital transaction before sending it to America that benefit more than the capital cities. Sao Paulo then serves itself to the next metropolis in the hierarchy, the nation state of Brazil and the West (Moses, 2012). Therefore, the system continues past the poorest local units and right down to what may be termed the ultimate, which Frank characterized as a landless rural labourer. This lowly in the capitalist dependency chain has nothing and no one to exploit, and is likely to be the female these days-Modern societies (Frank, 1966).

For development to take place at satellite, Frank (1966) and other radical authors suggest radical de-link of Third World countries from the World System. This according to them is because the development of Third World countries is not visible under western powers.

The impact that dependency ideas held in Latin American centres of academia were pervasive and highly impressive. More importantly, the paradigm gained many adherents in Europe and the United States and beyond scholarly circles. It is on this ground that Falcoff (1980: 797) notes:

dependency explanations...are no longer confined to academic sanctuaries; they are now the common currency of a growing body of generals bishops, editors, chiefs of state, even Latin American businessmen." What gave the dependency perspective particular allure is that, unlike other previous paradigms, it was held to be a distinctively Latin American analysis of Latin American development. Its legacy can be discerned from the pronouncements of Latin American scholars, policymakers and politicians who choose to put the emphasis on the structural conditions of the world economy that work against the prospects of the region's economies. Understanding the dependency movement is important, not least because it is a consequential episode in the history of social thought in Latin America. It also marks one of those rare instances in which ideas produced in the Third World come to influence the thinking of scholars in the developed world. Indeed, the supply of underdevelopment theory (principally structuralism and dependency) has been regarded as "Latin America's major contribution to the social sciences.

In spite of the above, the theory has been criticized by a number of scholars. This is succinctly discussed below.

2.4.1 Critique of Dependency Theory

De-link suggestion of Third World countries from the World System has provoked arguments in academia. While the point raised by dependency scholars is relevant to the past underdevelopment of Africa, certainly, it is not a point of reference to Africa's continuous backwardness. Hence, dependency scholars have been accused of ignoring several internal factors of Third World countries that are being responsible for their continuous backwardness. Factors like inter-tribal war, corruption, tribalism, poor leadership etc seem to be more important in the continuous underdevelopment of Nigeria than any other thing else.

Besides, the three criteria that Frank used to criticize Rostow's thesis boomerang back on him, as his own thesis is found wanting on empirical inadequacy, theoretical invalidity and policy ineffectiveness.

Empirically, the claim of Frank that development was not possible at all under capitalism is no longer tenable in the academia. Although, some aspects of North South relations, past and present, seem to support his point of reasoning, but others like Southeast Asia countries, certainly do not. The rapid advancement of the Southeast Asian nations within metro pole satellite relations coupled with the collapsed of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in December 1991, Declaration № 142-H, (1991) and the fact that no nation within dependency camp has ever advanced beyond capitalist countries has rendered this suggestion useless.

Theoretically, Although Kaschuba, (2006) views metropolis as cities which constitute a setting and a stage for urbanity, and for creating a public sphere while satellite could be regarded as rural settings, but it has been argued in academia that identifying Frank's metropolis and satellite within sociological entity is very intricate. Therefore, they are regarded as a curious mix of geographical and social entities, being constituted at different levels by people.

In *area of policy*, it is obvious that de-link suggestion is not realistic and it can create immense problem to development planners worldwide. No country can be an island on its own. The recent wave of globalization sweeping across Elms and Low, (2013) the six continents of the world compressing them to a small village could be regarded as a devastating blow to de-linking suggestion. Moreover, the recent renewal of Cuba's relationship with the West (Orsi and Rodriguez, 2015; Clarke, 2015) shows that dependency has lost its academic relevance. Therefore, de-linking is not visible and it will never become a reality because of the distribution of power and wealth in the globalized economy, skewed against the Third World countries (Wallerstein, 1974). Instead, Atu Wad, (1984) suggests a gradual transition to autonomy through self-reliant path.

3.1 Walt Whitman Rostow: A Brief Profile

Walt Whitman Rostow (also known as Walt Rostow or W.W. Rostow) was born in New York to a Russian Jewish family and lived between October 7, 1916 and February 13, 2003 (Keene, 2015).

Rostow studied at Yale University both at undergraduate and at Doctoral level. He was named a Rhodes Scholar and spent two years at Oxford University before joining the economics department at Columbia University as an instructor.

In 1945 Rostow joined the state department in Washington as assistant chief of the German-Austrian division. Later he was involved in the development of the Marshall Plan. After leaving the state department he became a lecturer at Oxford University, Cambridge University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In 1958 Rostow became a speech writer for President Dwight Eisenhower. As a renowned Economist and Political Theorist, he also served as a Special Assistant for National Security Affairs to the U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson from 1966 to 1969.

W.W. Rostow was prominent for his role in formulating and implementing foreign policy of the United States of America, most especially in relation to Southeast Asia, Cuba and other nations under

Western bloc in 1960s. He was a staunch antagonist of communism and greatly noted for his belief in the efficacy of capitalism and free enterprise (John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 2015).

Other books published by Rostow according to Your Dictionary. Com (2015) include: East-West Relations: Is Detente Possible? (with William E. Griffith, 1969); Politics and the Stages of Growth (1971); The Diffusion of Power (1972); How It All Began: Origins of the Modern Economy (1975); The World Economy: History and Prospect (1978); Getting from Here to There (1978); Why the Poor Get Richer and the Rich Slow Down (1980); Pre-Invasion Bombing Strategy: General Eisenhower's Decision of March 25, 1944 (1981); The Division of Europe After World War II: 1946 (1981); Europe After Stalin: Eisenhower's Three Decisions of March 11, 1953 (1982); Open Skies: Eisenhower's Proposal of July 21, 1955 (1982); The Barbaric Counter-Revolution: Cause and Cure (1983); The United States and the Regional Organization of Asia and the Pacific, 1965-1985 (1986); and Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (1991). Theories of Economic Growth (1990) and The Great Population Spike and After: Reflections on the 21st Century (1998).

When Richard Nixon became the president of the United States, Rostow resigned his appointment and became a faculty for 30 years at the University of Texas.

3.2 Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto

In his thesis, titled "5 Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-communist Manifesto", Rostow (1960) takes the economic approach to explain the development of countries worldwide. Dwelling on this author, the level of economic investment, scientific and technical knowledge play key roles in the development process of every nation. He believes immensely that the present developed nations had passed through these stages before attaining development. Therefore, he suggests that underdeveloped societies of the world must pass through the same before attaining development:

The Traditional Stage: This is the first stage of the Rostow development process. The stage is characterized by Pre-Newtonian Science and Technology. Thus, the economic system of production is stationary and dominated by agriculture with traditional cultivating forms (subsistence agriculture). Production by man-hour (hourly rating) is lower due to lack of technology). In the stage, the social structure of the society is rigidly ascriptive and it is also based on kinship relations. Trade is largely done in this stage through barter, while monetary system is not pronounced. Investment's share never exceeds 5% of total economic production.

The Precondition for Take-Off: this is the second stage of this process, where some impulse from outside triggered development across a whole range of institutions. In this stage, agriculture is augmented by an increase in trade services, and the beginnings of industry, mostly extractive industry like mining. This type of economic development arises from industrial revolution and it last for a century. The economy as a whole becomes less of self-sufficient and localized, as trade and improved communications facilitate the growth of both national and international economies. Socially, these processes are related to the emergence of *an elite group, able and willing to re-invest their wealth rather than squander it*. Political institutions began to change and rational scientific ideas also played a key role in this transformation.

The Take-Off Stage: This is the third stage where investment as a proportion of national income rise to at least 10%, thus, ensuring that increases in production output outstrip population growth. The main characteristic of this economic growth is self-sustained growth that requires no exogenous inputs. Rostow, (1960) cites the case of textile in England as an example. Political and social institutions are more re-shaped to permit the pursuit of economic growth to take root. Dwelling on Rostow, 1960, this stage last for 20 years and the following countries have experienced it: Britain 1783-1803, U.S.A 1843-1860, Japan 1878-1900, Russia 1890-1914, Canada 1896-1914, India and China 1952 (Mishra, 2010)

The Drive to Maturity: This is the second to the last stage and it is a period of consolidation where modern science and technology are extended to most if not all the branches of the economy. The rate of investment remains high, at 10-20% of national income. Economic and technical progress

dominates this stage and new forms of industries like neo-technical industries emerged. These include electrical and chemical industries as well as mechanical engineering. Therefore, Neo-technical industries supplement the paleo-technical industries. Consequently, social and economic prosperity, most especially the latter, increase Political reform continues and the economy finds its feet internationally. This stage commences about 60 years after the Take off stage.

The age of High Mass Consumption: This is the final stage of Rostow's thesis and most parts of the society live in prosperity and persons living in this society are offered both abundance and a multiplicity of choices. According to Rostow, the North and the West belong to this category. In this stage, however, the productive power of countries that has attained development is focused on three major initiatives. So far, Western Europe has been engaging it for national welfare. The U.S.A is known for using it for individual consumption while the former Soviet Union used it for building global power and influence.

The aim of Rostow's (1960) economic model is that within economic and social history, certain criterion distinguishes the stages of modernity from each other. Thus, modernization is characterized by rational conformity to the present requirements (Giddens 1991).

3.3 Critique of Rostow's Thesis

Since inception, Rostow's thesis has been hotly debated, fiercely criticized and heavily condemned in the academic literature, by scholars from dependency school of thought (Fanon, 1965; Rodeny, 1972; Frank, 1967). Frank (1966) in particular finds Rostow, (1960) wanting, using three criteria generally employed to assess the acceptability of any theory in social sciences.

The first criterion is **theoretical adequacy**. Frank (1966) argues that Rostow's thesis lacks theoretical adequacy because it fails to emphasize inter and intra societal connections. The relationship of slavery and colonialism between the developed and Third World countries was conspicuously omitted in Rostow's thesis. Although this may no longer be a strong point of reference in recent times, except the belief of some persons that colonialism has resulted in neo-colonialism and globalization that has greatly affected African rich cultural heritage. But it could be argued that most Third World countries have failed in determining their own path of development. The fact remains that they were forced to embrace colonialism in the past, but certainly they are not forced to embrace these policies in recent times. The point is that the elite class in Third World countries has decided to imbibe these policies because of their selfish interests.

The second yardstick is **empirical validity**. Frank (1966) questions the vagueness of Rostow's thesis that investment spur characterized the actual take off stage. Using a number of countries in Latin America, like Uruguay, where there was no traditional stage at all. Frank asks: where then lies the traditional stage of these countries? Frank, (1969) calls these tabular rasa countries-meaning countries where there were no traditional stages.

The third is **policy effectiveness**. Frank claims that the take off stage can only be identified ex-post, meaning several years after it might have happened. This therefore, could make the thesis ineffective to any development planner worldwide. Although it is possible to project into the future but certainly, one cannot rely on the result of the developmental process of twenty years' time for planning in the present times.

In spite of the above, Rostow thesis makes a profound influence in the academia. His observations concerning internal problems as a key blockage of development in Third World countries seems to be very much relevant in contemporary times than in 1960. The social life reality of his thesis as related to the backwardness of Nigeria in the comity of nations provokes this study. Hence, the study to a greater extent will be exploring the reality of internal problem of the menace of political godfatherism as it affects politics and governance in Nigeria and its root in the nation's underdevelopment.

3.4 Exposition of Research on Godfatherism

Several articles have emerged on the menace of political godfatherism in Nigeria (Albert, 2005; Obaji, 2006; Gambo, 2006; Adeoye 2009; Haruna and Jumba 2011; Majekodunmi and Awosika, 2013), each scholar tries to define the term according to his point of reasoning, theoretical extraction etc. For the purpose of this article, the following few perspectives shall be explored.

According to Mbamara, (2004), godfatherism is *the invasion of the political candidate by discarnate powerful sponsor, tending to complete possession for the purpose of selfish gratification*. Going by this author, it is a political slave trade or political sponsorship based on political manipulation with several evil agenda. In the context of this discussion, however, the godfather is the political slave merchant while the godson is the political slave or slave boy or political article for sale. The godson is purchased with a big sum of money under a demonic oath. The aims and objectives of this deal include access to appointments, stealing of government money, robbery and looting of government treasury. The decision-making appointments and contract award is usually manipulated by the godfather. It is like drug abuse (Mbamara, 2004).

The view presented above by Mbamara, (2004) captures the reality of the menace of the political godfatherism in Nigeria. It specifically describes the scenario in Anambra State during Dr. Mbadinuju's regime but other factors that characterized the challenge of godfathers as evident in states like Oyo State are conspicuously omitted. These include violence and bribery. Thus Ayoade (2006:83) cited by Omonijo et al., (2013) posits: The godfather is not in the business of philanthropy... The godfather gives support to install the godson oftentimes by devious antidemocratic means... They are merchants of fear. They dispense violence freely and fully on those who stand in their way. In this they play the additional role of Warlord. They establish, train and maintain a standing personal "army" which they ostensibly supplement with a sprinkling of the official police detachment. In order to effect electoral change, they bribe election officials to deliver the winning election figures. They also bribe the police and other security agents to look the other way when they traffic in ballot boxes and sack opponents strongholds. The godson, having taken office, returns the gesture hundredfold to the point that the godfather becomes an "intractable parasite" on government. The initial support given by the godfather then becomes an investment with a colossal rate of returns because the godfather becomes the „de facto“ governor, which goes to explain the sociological theory of reciprocity which Oloko, (2008) associates with the escalation of corruption in Nigeria.

Scholars above presented the negative side of godfatherism and of course its application in Nigeria today. In other words, it could be suggested that these authors present their views based on the Nigerian experience. Reviewing in the past, it is evident the concept is not a terrible one, it is as an institution of political kingmaking through which certain political office holders of tenuous political clout come into power (Kolawole (2004) cited in Majekodunmi and Awosika, 2013). Therefore, godfatherism is a topic of interest not only in sociology, politics and in religious institutions (Familusi, 2012), but in all areas of life.

A clear picture of biblical version of godfatherism is seen in the life of Moses and Joshua (Kolawole (2004), cited by Majekodunmi and Awosika, (2013)). Through a divine instruction, a minister of Moses-Joshua emerged the leader of Israel after a long-year of political training and mentorship. The same situation repeated itself in the life of Elijah and Elisha (2King 2: 1-14). In the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria, the same scenario led to the emergence of Pastor E. Adeboye and the General overseer of the Church after a few years of training and mentorship under Paa Akindayomi, the founder of the church.

Therefore, every notable leader, in all spheres of life, in all ages, considers succession an issue of priority, out of which continuation of his legacies and the long term programmes of development of the organization he represents may not transcend his generation. However, Nigerian elites, either in the military or in politics, being 'a class in itself', (Wright 2006; Borland, 2008) have succeeded in manipulating the concept of godfatherism to their advantage and to the detriment of the nation with impunity. They are having their ways because the country has become a safe haven for evil. Criminal activities spread like harmattan fire in high and in low places. Given this, Ojih, (2001) submitted that

from one institution to another, from one sector of the national activities to another, from one community to another, from one generation to another, this pathetic phenomenon is observed: all things bright and beautiful, wise and wonderful, all creatures, great and small; Nigerians destroy them all. Similarly, Ejiofor, (1987) remarked, an average Nigerian is corrupt, dishonest, nepotistic, lazy and tribalistic. In line with these scholars, many Nigerians have applied their corrupt nature, evil attitude and terrible belief systems and more dangerously '*not my father's business syndrome*' Omonijo, Uche, Rotimi and Nwadiolor, (2014) to politics, resulting in the menace of godfatherism, leading to poor leadership with attendant effects on development.

Previous studies have shown that good leadership is very essential in the process of development in any nation. In the light of this, Omonijo et al., (2011) compare leadership with a motor engine that drives human beings to their respective destinations and remark "*leadership is more or less like an engine that propels man's society to either advancement or backwardness*". Therefore, a nation with good leadership could develop in all spheres of life while the development of a country with poor leadership could be retarded. Although it has been argued that natural endowments contribute significantly to development, as evident in the United Arab Emirates (Rizvi, 1993; Barma, Kaiser, Minh and Viñuela et al., 2012) but this could only be possible if these endowments are consciously harnessed and prudently managed.

If otherwise, the exploitation of natural resources could propel nations into poverty, instability and chaos (economic and otherwise). It is on the basis of the foregoing that Miguel Urrutia of the United Nations University wrote in 1987: It is now obvious to many economists that since World War II the developing countries that have achieved the highest economic growth rates are those that are apparently not richly endowed with natural resources. Japan is classified among such nations. With the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima in 1945, most people would conclude that advancement of Japan within a century would not be impossible, but in less than 50 years, Japan emerged a world power. The rapid development of Japan is largely attributed to her effective and powerful leadership that is lacking in many countries in Africa, in contemporary times. .

On the other hand, paradoxically, resource rich countries as diverse as Ghana and Argentina achieved very low growth rates, and a country like Mexico and Nigeria had a much worse economic performance after becoming a major oil producer (Urrutia, 1987). It is an irony of life that Nigeria, the 6th largest producer of oil in the world has no functional refinery. It is indeed an insult to knowledge to realize that Nigerian elites import petroleum products for home consumption at higher prices, which goes to confirm Hagen, (1962) who takes political approach and searches for individuals who take leadership positions in innovation of underdeveloped countries and argues that authoritarianism and non-innovating personalities are both the characteristics of Third World countries, and these factors cause stagnation in their development. Quite unfortunate, this view seems to be more relevant in contemporary Nigeria than in early 60s. It is on this ground that this article is conceived. It explores the poor leadership of Nigeria as orchestrated by the elite class through godfatherism to explain her underdevelopment.

3.5 Examination of Research on Historical Development of Godfatherism in Nigerian Politics

Reviewing in the past, it is evident in literature that Godfatherism is not a recent phenomenon in Nigerian politics (Ishaku and Jatau, 2014). It was a strong political instrument employed by the Nigerian notable nationalists, mostly late Chief Obafemi Awolowo to disengage the colonialists from governance in October 1, 1960.

Specifically in 1953, late Chief Anthony Enahoro, the godson of the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo moved the motion for the nation's independence. The motion Babalola and Shobiye, (2010) was a thunderbolt that rocked the then Federal House of Representatives in Lagos and later sent the colonialists packing from the political terrains of Nigeria. At that point in time, there were credible, visionary and focused leaders, heavily backed up by committed followers. Godsons who believed in the legacies of their godfathers and the advancement of Nigeria pervaded the political arena. Therefore, *the falcon could hear the falconer*. However, this study makes special reference to the political

godfatherism of Late Chief ObafemiAwolowo and its impacts on development projects in the then Western region.

The infrastructural development of the Southwest under his political watch, Olaopara (2015) was a testimonial to his capacity in using politics as a tool for bettering the lives of the masses. Laudable development projects, first in Africa, were initiated and accomplished under his leadership. These include Cocoa house, Liberty Stadium, Free Universal Primary Education and health, Western Nigeria Television station etc (Awe, 2007). Although politics in the first republic was not void of rancor and bitterness, the politics of “*wild wild westand operation wetie*” was still fresh in our memories and the problem of godson revolting against his godfather was evident Osuntokun, (2015) but it was at the elementary stage. The stained relationship between the godfather and godson was not as a result of sharing the state resources to the detriment of the masses. It was basically a leadership problem. Godfathers at that point in time, never sustained a reputation for deploying their wealth to secure party nomination for candidates of their choice, sponsor their elections including manipulating the electoral process for their selfish interests(John 2006). Also, godsons were never used as surrogates to promote personal interest butthe developmental aspiration of the people and they were not driven by any sense of enrichmentGambo, (2006) cited in Familusi, (2012).

The style of political godfatherism in the first republic was extended to the second republic. Therefore, godsons of the late Chief ObafemiAwolowo were able to win Ondo State, Oyo State, Ogun State, Lagos State in the gubernatorial election while many others won nearly all the seats in federal house of representative. That was when Chief LateefJakande (baba kekere-small Awo), Chief AdekunleAjasin, Chief Akin Omoboriowo (the author ofAwoism), Chief Ebenezer Babatope, (ebino), late Chief Bola Ige(‘the Cicero’ of EsaOke)etc were ardent followers of the late sageand they succeeded in implementing his policies in their respective states for the betterment of common man.The masses in the Southwest used to vote en mass for any candidate in Chief ObafemiAwolowo’s party. The menace of distributing money and other materials to people in soliciting votes was not in vogue. Election of people to political office largely depended on candidate’s and party’s popularity with the masses and manifestos.

Politics took a new and terrible turn during the military dictatorship of Ibrahim Babangida. The self-acclaimed genius of satanic origin devastated the political class, and institutionalized corruption. Settlement syndrome became part and parse of politics. The godson of Ibrahim Babangida (SaniAbacha) finally unleashed terror on credible politicians.In an attempt to perpetuate himself in power, he assassinated credible Nigerian, who dear to challenge his reign of dictatorship and sent many, such as Professor Wole Soyinka, the first and the only pride of the black man Nobel laurel in literature, in the present age, to exile with a tag of death on his head.

In a frantic endeavour to rescue Nigeria from Abacha and his cohorts grip, godsons of late Chief ObafemiAwolowo and other meaningful Nigerians formed the National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), a pro-democracy group under the leadership of late Chief Michael AdekunleAjasin and late Chief Anthony Enahoro. Having brought military imperialism to a standstill, the elite class in the military in conjunction with Northern oligarch imposed OlusegunObasanjo, who is not a credible and trustworthy politician on Nigerians as against the peoples will, Chief OluFalae, the former minister of defence and secretary to the federal government.

In the regime of Obasanjo, most of the Awoists lost their credibility because they deviated from the populist ideas of the late sage (Chief ObafemiAwolowo). Therefore, they lost the control of power in the Southwest. Today, hardly can one find a credible politician in the Southwest Nigeria, previously known for probity, populist programmes etc. The rave of the moments are ‘*jeliticians*’, meaning, politicians who are out to mercilessly destroy the treasury of the state through looting.Since then,evil godfathers have been having a field day in political arena and the political atmosphere has become a deadly zone where money is been amass mercilessly.

3.6 Examination of Research on the Negative Impact of Godfatherism on political Leadership and Development

The menace of political godfather in Nigeria could be perceived as a political battle which the elite class has been waging against democracy, the masses and the entire nation in order to fulfill their economic self-interests. In ensuring this evil desire, the reward systems are highly skewed in favour of the political class compared to salaries and allowances workers in other sectors of the economy. Nigerian politicians have turned democratic elections into ventures and battle fields where money, private armies and thugs are employed to create enabling environments that guarantee returns on investments and accelerated access to primitive accumulation of wealth (Agba, Achimugu, Chukwurah and Agboni, 2012).

Elitism, as Welsh (1979:10) argues, is a system 'in which the exercise of political control by a small number of persons is institutionalized in the structure of government and political activity'. The structure in Nigeria today ensures a typical political godfather to manipulate state officials, institutions and resources to the detriment of the common man. Without manipulations, the godfathers will not be able to realize the money he spent in ensuring victory for the godson during the electioneering campaign. When the manipulation becomes too much, the godson often reacts and the end product of such reaction, more often than not is violent conflicts. Conflicts occur only when the godson refuses to be manipulated further.

In other words, the contest for supremacy between godfathers and their godsons, leads to conflict, which results in destruction of private and government properties. In most cases lives of innocent people are terminated. According to Edigin, (2010) conflict arising from godfatherism has become one of the greatest problems facing the Nigerian political system. The holder of the political position becomes a stooge to his godfather because he that pays the piper also dictates the tune. Anytime the godson refuses to meet the godfather's demand, he is eventually impeached from office. In the current political dispensation, several cases of such include Saraki-Lawal face off, Nwobodo-Nnamani quagmire, Adedibu-Ladoja crisis, Uba-Ngige saga etc (Okafor, 2006; Ojo, 2006; Obey, 2009). In other words, godfathers' protégé crises in Nigeria do not only portray great danger to our democratic experiments, but also on the very essence and validity of our existence as a nation (Edigin, 2010). It clearly undermines the process of development in an underdeveloped society like Nigeria. It is therefore a well-known fact that no meaningful development can be achieved in an atmosphere of wars of attrition, crisis and people who are perpetually and diametrically opposed to one another (Edigin, 2010).

In the course of conflict between the godson and godfather, Nigeria has recorded unnecessary breakdown of law and order, which should have been avoided if the problem of godfatherism had not been instituted. Whenever the nation witnesses such breakdown of law and order, some hooligans usually exploit the opportunity to unleash terror on citizens. A cogent example is the outlawed Islamic sect Boko Haram, Niger Delta militants and some isolated cases like the "Yan Hisba" of Kano, "Yan sarasuka" of Bauchi and the Yan kalari of Gombe State (Vanguard, 2014). Given the above, Ikokwu and Epia, (2003) link the phenomenon of godfatherism in Nigerian politics with youth delinquency. In the process of godfathers trying to settle political scores with their godsons, innocent youths are being used to perpetuate all kinds of evil. Thus, godfathers more often than not, recruit youths as foot soldiers and arm them with necessary logistics, which are also being used to perpetuate kidnapping, cultism, armed robbery, human trafficking, drug abuse in many villages, towns and cities in Nigeria. The major implication is that such youths in Nigeria today find it very difficult to realize that godfathers are destroying their destinies. The high rate of poverty that is affecting the populace has prevented many youths from accessing higher education, while those who could afford higher education are confronted with the menace of unemployment. Such youths therefore, become vulnerable to political godfathers' manipulations. Instead of trying to struggle and develop their potentials, they find solace in some coins which they receive from godfathers. These youths also fail to realize that godfathers have their children abroad, schooling or working while they are risking their lives for them. Moreover, it is disheartening to realize that these youths could not observe that the money being

siphoned from the state treasury by the godfathers is what the state should have used for their own education, health and employment. Youths are the young ones of today and leaders of tomorrow. When a large proportion of the youth in a country indulge this act, their future leadership roles could be jeopardized and the nation will continue to be in want of credible leaders and agents of rapid development.

Apart from the above, the problem of godfatherism has resulted in outright exclusion of credible people from the decision making process. Many political office seekers are often robbed of their independent and rational sense of judgment. When the right choice is denied during elections, wrong persons assume leadership. Such persons are not materials for leadership. This usually results in maladministration and lack of accountability. This could be used to explain the scenario in the 2nd Republic, when Alhaji Shehu Sagari was imposed on Nigerians as the president and the nation was robbed of the wealth of leadership experience of the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, an agent of development. In the same manner, Olusegun Obasanjo was imposed on Nigeria in the 4th Republic by his godfather (Ibrahim Babangida) and the better candidate, a technocrat- Chief Olu Falae was rejected. Consequently, the rule of law, due process, and transparency in the management of public affairs has all been abused, because credible persons are edged out of governance.

To make the matter worse, godfathers are being protected with the state resources while the poor masses are being exposed to all sorts of danger on a daily basis, why should the Nigerian government protect notorious godfathers more than the suffering masses? It is simply because the nation is developing in a wrong direction. In fact, it is obvious that the state does not value the life of any common man. And none of them has ever been sanctioned by the court of law, whereas armed robbers and petty thieves are being sentenced to death and life imprisonment by the nation's judiciary. This must have prompted the notorious godfather of Anambra state politics (Chris Uba) to boast that *I am the greatest of all godfathers in Nigeria* Sunday Champion, (2003) as cited by Familusi (2012). According to Albert (2007), Uba for the first time, single-handedly put in position every politician in a state. This includes the state governor and his deputy, the 3 senators to represent the state at the National Assembly, 10 out of 11 members of the federal house of representative and 29 members of the state house of assembly. Because of the protection he enjoyed from the discredited Obasanjo's administration, Uba as reported by Albert, (2007) boasted of having the power to remove any of his political nominees who does not perform up to his *own expectations* anytime he likes. This could be regarded as an insult to democracy and development. Indeed, it gives a picture of a nation developing in a wrong direction as observed by (Omonijo et al., 2011)

3.7 The Reality of Rostow's View on Leadership Problem in Nigeria

In his pre-condition for take-off stage, Rostow, (1960) claims that political class who will be willing to invest their wealth rather than squandering it will emerge and play a key role in development process.

Wealth according to Free Dictionary, (2015) means an *abundance of valuable material possessions or resources or riches* and is being regarded as power Greenfield, (2015) because it has creative ability. It terminates poverty and establishes abundance through the power of prudent spending and investment. Wealth is what people acquired through hardwork, invention, investment and innovation. This has been practically demonstrated among the elite class in developed societies (Forbes Magazine, 2015). In Nigeria, few of such persons are found. The best of all is Alhaji Aliko Dangote, the Nigerian businessman with special business interests in cement, sugar, beverages and petrochemical. Presently, he is the first black man to break into the rank of top 25 richest people in the world (Forbes Magazine 2015).

However, it could be observed with disdain that majority of the Nigerian elites are wealthy not because they are hardworking like Dangote, but because they have access to power. Such persons do not have any sense of invention but they possess the sense of looting the state resources, inflating contracts sums, poorly executing many and abandoning a lot of developmental projects to the detriment of the masses (Omonijo, 2008). In fact, there are more contractors than investors and it is

regarded as the normal way of life to engage in dubious businesses such as smuggling, Advanced-fee-fraud (419), human trafficking, prostitution Osiki (2010), oil bunkering Omojola (2007), armed robbery, and ritual killing. Previous studies show that Nigeria is a country where the good is rubbished and brilliance being scorned (Omonijo and Fadugba, 2011). A place where the best brains needed for development were being hunted by the military imperialists, Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha in particular, and now the political class. Previous studies attest to inhuman detaining, torturing, killing and persecution of manpower assets by the sycophants in power, which invariably resulted in the problem of brain drain that is badly affecting national development. In contrary, the same sycophants are known for applauding and honouring liars, thieves and armed robbers across the nation (Fasan, 2014).

One thing is to acquire wealth in a dubious way; however, another thing is to spend the money on laudable projects for the betterment of the common man. Unfortunately, this class of people is known for squandering the stolen resources on:

- Women. Nigerian elites are known for adultery. Many of them marry many wives. Even at that, they are not satisfied. Hence, most honourables in legislative houses, senators and governors being caught with nickers in tertiary institutions campuses looking for young ladies as girlfriends. It is very disheartening to realize that those who are supposed to be thinking of formulating and implementing policies for the advancement of the country are often caught with female students on campuses. This is not possible in the Faith-based private Universities, such as Covenant University, because if they are caught, the wrath of the law will catch up with them, since these institutions operate zero tolerance for nonsense, but it is prevalent in many public universities, where survival of the fittest prevails.
- Throwing of parties. Nigerian elites are known for throwing unnecessary parties. This is most common during obituaries. In the West, East and South, it is a disdainful habit that has eaten deep into the social fabric of the society. More often than not, most elites borrow money to celebrate the death of their relatives. Meanwhile, when the dead were alive, he or she was not taken care of. Most of them, more often than not, lived and died in abject poverty. This practice is rooted in the tradition of most cultures, most especially in the southwest, southeast and Southsouth regions. To worsen the situation, many dependent persons are found in such families that need empowerment, educationally or economically. Such persons are never attended to. Elites in their families are less concerned, which is contrary to the spirit of communalism prevailing in traditional societies, when people used to act as their brothers keepers (Omonijo and Nnedum, 2012).
- Extravagant life. Most elites live extravagant lifestyles. This is manifested in naming ceremonies, chieftaincy titles, drinking of alcoholic drinks and many other unprofitable ventures. The key public officials do not demonstrate exemplary conduct such as adopting a modest life style (Guardian Editorial, 2013). The extravagant life of the elite class becomes terrible when it comes to state resources. Resources of the state are being squandered with impunity because such resources are being perceived as *not their father's business* (Omonijo et al., 2014). Many elites are interested in getting a lion share of the national cake (resources of the state) while those who are ready to build are very few. This brings to the fore why the rate of embezzlement is rampant among the Nigerian elites. In fact, between 2000 and 2009, it was reported that \$182 billion was stolen and laundered offshore by them (Guardian Editorial, 2013). Thus, Nigeria was ranked 8th out of 20th countries noted for illicit financial outflows, just as it was placed 135th out of 176th in the Transparency International's global Corruption Perception Index (Guardian Editorial, 2013).

Other attributes of the Nigerian population leading to the backwardness of the nation is rooted in the following:

- Stashing of looted resources abroad. It's unfortunate to observe the way the resources that would have been used for investment is being stashed abroad. It is not evident in literature that elites in developed countries looted the resources of their countries and stockpiled the

loot in Nigeria. Yet, the loot of many Nigerian elites is being used to boost the economies of developed nations that enslaved and colonized (Fanon, 1965; Frank, 1969; Rodeny, 1972; Lenin, 1977) their great grandfathers. Countries that carted away the resources that would have been used for development in the past are now controlling the looted finances that would have been used for development in recent times.

- Statistics on reward systems in Nigeria according to Agba et al., (2012) are largely skewed in favour of the political class, making democracy a means through which the political elites feed fat on the masses at the expense of development (Alao, 2010; Ezeoke 2010; Chukwulaka, Ojo, and Anumihe, 2011) which represents the opposite in developed nations. In other words, politics has become prebendalistic and wrongly perceived as a commercial venture where millions of naira are invested in electoral process and billions of naira is reaped in returns (Agba, Coker, Agba, 2010).
- Poor maintenance culture. Nigerian elites, for the past twenty or more years, have increasingly adopted habits and tendencies that are destructive to social harmony and development. Indiscriminate use of physical and monetary resources is parts of these destructive attitudes. This has been linked with the destruction of the state-of-the-art facilities in tertiary institutions in Nigeria. This has badly affected the nation's road network. In fact, Nigeria is on the bottom 191st position out of 192nd nations with poor road network recording the highest number of deaths attributed to road accidents in the world (Ajayi 2011). Preservation and maintenance of resources is very essential in the process of development. Resources that are preserved and properly maintained are those that can last long and prevent unnecessary expenditure. In work settings, mostly government agencies, most people waste energy, pipe borne water, costly equipment etc anyhow, not minding the huge amount of money invested in procuring these resources. Such elites are fond of saying it is not my father's money that was used to procure those materials. Hence, the habit of wasting state resources has become the order of the day.
- Lack of foresight. Inability to foresee the future and plan ahead as evident in developed societies is a major challenge among the Nigerian elite class. That is why the problem of flood, traffic congestion, and overcrowded cities has been negatively affecting Nigerians (Ogunbodede and Sunmola, 2014). Most towns and villages are not properly planned; major cities are now affected (Izueke and Eme, 2013). A one-time Nigerian Head of State in his state of ignorance, foolishness, stupidity, poor reasoning faculty and absolute lack of foresight said *Money is not Nigeria problem, but how to spend it*. The statement was made at the peak of the Nigeria oil boom (Ammani, 2011). Instead of investing the revenue realized from the oil on developmental projects and strengthen agriculture which served as the strong base of the Nigeria economy prior the discovery of oil, Nigerian elites looted the state treasury mercilessly and stockpiled the loot in developed nations, squandered the rest on FEATAC 1977 Ekanem, (2013) and other unprofitable ventures and abandoned agriculture (Chuk-wuemeka and Nzewi, 2011; Izuchukwu, 2011) like '*a keg of toxic waste*'. Today, Nigeria, one of the richest 50 countries in early 1970s, has retrogressed to become one of the 25 poorest countries at the threshold of the 21st century Igbuzor (2007) cited by Omonijo et al., (2011). In recent times, the problem of hunger, lack and want is more serious in Nigeria than it was in 1960. Although, it is evident in the literature that the 'Dutch Disease' or Resource Curse problem is not peculiar to Nigeria alone, it has been a major developmental problem for the oil-rich Venezuela, Mexico, Algeria, etc but the problem is more pronounced in Nigeria because the country is the only oil-rich country featuring among the low-ranking countries in human development according to the UNDP (Human Development Index 2013). In the light of UNDP's observation, Nigeria is not only of the same level with countries that lack such fortune other countries have outrun her (Human Development Index 2013).

- High level of educated illiterates. According to Achebe (1984), only about half of the Nigerian population is literate. Many of those who are literates are educated illiterates as evident in the possession of certificates without any knowledge to match. Hence, moral decadence keeps on escalating across the nation. The elite class in the academia, mostly in the public sector higher education institutions, who are supposed to impart knowledge and discipline to students, have been indicted by previous studies on corruption, all forms of examination misconduct Uche (2014) cultism Ajayi et al., (2010), sexual harassment Arulogun et al., (2013), human trafficking Ajagun (2012) prostitution Adamu (2011), armed robbery, social unrest due to constant industrial action (Omonijo et al., 2014), drug abuse (Apata, 2015) etc. Given these, obtaining quality education in the country becomes a major challenge. Therefore, the education system has failed in empowering Nigerians to face life-challenging situations that will result in positive changes in their lives.
- Absolute lack of patriotism. It is common knowledge that many Nigerian elites have replaced patriotism with selfishness (Omonijo et al., 2015). To make matters worse, the spirit of patriotism demonstrated by a few elites such as: The late Brigadier-General Benjamin Adekunle, A.K.A the Black Scorpion, Prof. Wole Soyinka, Prof. Achebe, Dr. Dora Akunyili, late chief Gani Fawehinmi, Colonel Abubakar Umar, Mallam Ribadu etc, was frustrated by the sycophants in power. Consequently, majority of the Nigerian populace began to place their self-interests above national interests. On this note, Ejiiofor, (1984) claims that, the average Nigerian worker is full of joy not necessarily because his or her roles are making positive ripples in moving the institutions, he or she represents forward, but because, such a worker is registering successful exploitation, draining and looting the institution. To corroborate Ejiiofor (1984), Ejiiofor (1987) submits that the average Nigerian is corrupt, dishonest, nepotistic, lazy and tribalistic, as a result, Nigeria is not conducive for business activities, a precondition for national development. In line with the Nigerian authors, McClelland (1961) employs the psychological factor, which has its root in patriotism, to explain development and argues that Third World countries have low need of achievement, whereas they need high need of achievement, which will produce more energetic entrepreneurs, who in turn produce rapid economic growth. Although many of the elites possessed such attribute but they tend to demonstrate it towards the attainment of their personal goals to the detriment of the nation.

In line with Rostow (1960) Aboribo (2009) cited in Omonijo et al. (2013) believes that the elite class in developed nations is noted for their active roles in the process of development. Such include Bismarck of Germany, Meiji of Japan, Lenin of USSR, Atatürk of Turkey, Bonaparte of France and Chamberlain of Britain etc. Thus, the stage is an actively pursued project in which the state plays crucial economic roles. Nigerian elites, who are supposed to act in a similar way, have been acting negatively in all areas of human endeavours. The situation is worse in politics, which provides leadership for the nation. The political terrain is now marred by the menace of godfatherism. They manipulate every election in favour of their stooges and incompetent persons. Therefore, those who have governed the nation since 1960 are not materials for leadership, but modern Nero in brutality, tyranny, oppression and self-indulgence and corruption (Otite, 1986; Pallister, 2000; West, 2003; Aluko, 2007; Ojukwu and Shopeju, 2010). The amount which elites have stolen in Nigeria was more than what was invested in rebuilding Europe after the Second World War through the Marshall Plan (Omonijo, 2008)

Dwelling on Kotze and Steyn, (2003) elites are the societal agents through which broader forces such as ethnicity, class and religion are filtered to the masses. Similarly, Lasswell, (1936) describes elites as those individuals who decide “who gets what, when (and) how” while Easton, (1965) describes it as individuals who engaged in political action *predominantly oriented toward the authoritative allocation of values for a society*.

Given the above literature, elites produce leadership in any nation and the type of leadership a nation has tends to determine the development of such a nation. Thus, every society has its elite who

‘define the life and death’ issues of that society (Abhuere, 2014). The problem with Nigeria and other underdeveloped countries as demonstrated in this article is the selfishness of the elite class who builds and nurtures institutions and makes policies, which promote their own interest rather than the collective groups (Abhuere, 2014). A nation with such elites, as observed by Omonijo et al., (2011) is doomed and that is the social life reality of leadership in Nigeria today, which is responsible for her backwardness.

4. Summary, Suggestion and Concluding Remarks

This paper explores the menace of political godfatherism and its implications for the democratization process and development of Nigeria. The paper observes that the social problem of political godfatherism in contemporary Nigeria has reached an epidemic proportion (Chibuzo, 2006). Therefore, it could be grouped with other terrible social vices, such as bribery and corruption, nepotism, smuggling, human trafficking etc, affecting the development. It is very disheartened to observe that godfatherism is gradually turning into an evil career, specially carved out by some elites, for ill-gotten wealth to the detriment of the nation. It has become a special means of livelihood for political jobbers to the detriment of the nation’s advancement.

Therefore, this paper suggests love, patriotism, hard work, sacrifice, commitment, condemnation of evil and celebration of good, not only for the elite class, but also for the entire citizenry. Probably, these could halt the escalation of political godfatherism in order to enthrone true democracy that is needed for national unity and development.

This paper concludes that the elite class needs to saturate with attributes analysed by (Banfield, 1958; Rostow 1960; McClelland, 1962), which hinge on national unity and consciousness, development-oriented, public-spirit and patriotism. These are needed to galvanize available resources and generate the necessary sentiments for the progress and well-being of Nigerians.

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