



Buhari's Nigeria and the Politics of Exclusivisms: Accessing the Trends and the Prospects

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Abstract

Politics of exclusivism refers to a deliberate calculated political immorality that often results in a complete socio-political, economic, psychological, cultural as well as organizational powerlessness of a people in a given society. It is derived from the dominant ethnic group that constitute the nucleus of its establishment and found expression in a deliberate marginalization and disempowerment of some regions within a given political society militarily, politically, economically and even socially by the dominant ethnic group from either having access to and or taking outstanding control of national key positions and public resources. This paper attempts an assessment of the trends and prospects of the politics of exclusivism in Nigeria political firmament under President Buhari's government. Using the human needs theory as its framework of analysis, this study reveals that there is a positive correlation between President Buhari's politics of exclusivisms and the prevailing socio-economic and political inertia in the country, as well as the recurrent security quandary. Based on the basic tenets of this theory the study is premised on the view that until the significance of inclusive politics and true representative governance is realized by the political elites in Nigeria, the challenges will continue. It therefore recommend a review of the present status-quo.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Human needs theory, Inclusive politics, National integration, Marginalization.

Introduction

The term politics is a very complicated concept in the political science literature as we shall highlight as the study progress, its concise definition is fraught with ambiguity, but there are some salient features that must appear in its definition no-matter how narrow or bogus it may be. These features specifically concern those human actions or activities that are related to the process of attaining, maintaining and the application of the state power in a given society. The Nigeria state whose politics is the subject matter of this study is made-up of 36 states and federal capital territory, the second tier of government is further sub-divided into 774 local governments for administrative and political convenience. The total land area is approximately 923,768 km² or 356,667 sq. mi. the country share boundaries with Cameroon to the East and Southeast, the Republic of Benin to the West, Niger Republic to the North and the Gulf of Guinea to the South (NMDGR, 2016). The population of Nigeria is



estimated at about 180 million people in 2018 from the 2006 National population census figure of 140 million people. From over 250 different but unique ethnic groups, constituting over five hundred different languages and dialects, with an array of beautiful cultural diversities that has been enjoying tourist destination for centuries. The official language in Nigeria is the English language with local varieties popularly known and called “pigeon English” The modern day Nigeria is a culmination of numerous kingdoms and tribal nations or societies over the millennia. The contemporary Nigeria is an outcome of the British colonial rule that started officially in the 19th centuries and enhanced by the merging of the Northern and Southern protectorate in 1914. The colonial masters established administrative and legal institutions which facilitated the practice of indirect rule through the local and traditional chiefdoms. However the country becomes officially independent federation in 1960. But due to politics of exclusivism by the political class the country was plunged into a prolonged political pandemonium that culminates to a fierce civil war from 1967 to 1970. Nevertheless, since 1970 the country has been swinging from democratically elected civilian government to military dictatorship until 1999 when it appears to have achieved a stable democracy from the third wave of democratization as has been argued by Huntington (1991). Nigeria has been running a presidential democracy since 1999 uninterrupted. And also have been able to record four successful general elections since then. The democratization processes that heralded in the dawning of forth republic can be argued to have effectively begun with the establishment of political bureau in 1986 by the government (military) of General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida IBB, though others will argue otherwise and suggest that it started with the constituent assembly which was elected in 1977 to draft a new constitution for Nigeria as a means of transformation to civil or democratic system. But the military sandwiched again into the democratic process four years later and set aside the 1979 constitution which was a culmination of the 1977 draft. The 1986 transition program of IBB was reputed as the most imaginative, complex, ambitious, long expected and expensive transition globally. But it unprecedentedly ended in disaster, with the infamous and arrogant annulment of the June 12th 1993 Nigeria presidential election (Omotala, 2007; Aziegbe, 1992)

Some have argued that this annulment established the politics of exclusivism in Nigeria political topography owing to its latent and manifest function (Onyishi, 2018). President Buhari came to political limelight in 1983 when he became the Head of State after a successful military coup d’etat that overthrew civilian government of President Shehu Shagari on 31 December 1983. His government lasted from January 1984 to August 1985, this reign is forever remembered for its strong campaign against indiscipline and corruption, but it was also tainted with some human rights abuses. With the return to democracy in 1999, General Buhari contested presidential elections in 2003, 2007 and 2011, but always lost to the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) candidates. However, In March 2010, Buhari left his party ANPP and joined the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) where he contested the 2011 presidential poll, but lost again to President Goodluck Jonathan of the PDP. Ironically he was not discouraged by all these political setbacks, he kept on pushing till 2014 when he joined the All Progressives Congress (APC) political party and was nominated as its candidate in the 2015 presidential election which he won, defeating the incumbent President Jonathan of the PDP. On 29 May 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) was sworn in as the President of Nigeria and made history as the first peaceful and democratically transfer of power from a ruling party to an opposition. Having assumed office he once occupied as a military officer and for which he contested several times without success, his government is expected to urgently tackle several challenges that have bedeviled Nigeria over the last three decades as well as the



mistakes he made as a military head of state. But ironically he decided to adopt the politics of exclusivism in his dealings with government business in lieu of the peoples' politics which was a major attribute of the democratic process that brought him to power. By politics of exclusivism this study refers to the display of sentiments and bias to a particular set of group one belongs to, not just in the national politics but in all sphere of social life. It is related to that consciousness of belonging to, identifying with, as well as being loyal to a social group distinguished by shared cultural traditions, a common language, in-group sentiment and self-identity as "we" while referring to others as "they" in a definite socio-economic formation or political society. In synopsis, politics of exclusivisms refers to a deliberate as well as consciousness of tracing of one's identity to a particular ethnic group and allowing such feelings of identity to determine the way one interact and relate with people and things around him or her, it creates a situation of 'we' 'they' 'ours', and 'theirs' feeling in his or her socio-economic and political interaction. Nnoli (1996) in his exposition of ethnicity implicitly defined politics of exclusivism as a "social phenomenon associated with interactions among members of different ethnic groups. He further explained that ethnic groups are social formations distinguished by the communal character of their boundaries however, it is here contended that in the politics of exclusivism these dominant group may not be necessarily linguistically or culturally homogenous but they must be unique to a particular boundary. In other words, politics of exclusivism has to do with a unique socio-political and economic group with divergent and peculiar features that constitute the sources of common ties upon which the feeling of sentiment and emotion is being expressed among them, in protest or support of a particular action taken against or in favor of such a socio-political and economic group.

As a result of this retrogressive principle that the Buhari led administration has chosen over the progressive one the Nigeria polity is now in topsy-turvy. The progressive principles of merit and competition are now supplemented by such nebulous and retrogressive policies as 'quota system,' and State of origin' it did not end with the selective employment into the federal government offices it also spread and extended to admissions into the Federal Unity Schools as well as Federal Universities in Nigeria, where people from the North only have to make 170 in JAMB Exams in some cases to get admitted into any university in the country while those from the southern part of the country must score 240 and above to stand a chance of being admitted into the same federal university, an official policy that is purposefully geared towards favouring a particular section of the country. In addition it is argued that in the politics of exclusivism the ruling class usually tends to employ every possible means to win elections in every transition or election year and later attempts to, or convert this means into a permanent feature of the resulting government. We are of the opinion that such institutionalized political oligarchy not only runs a dangerous risk of promoting hate among the various ethnic groups it also tend to increase mismanagement of public funds and dishonest public officials due to the absence of inclusive politics in the country as well as a reliable tool for accountability, it would in addition be less capable of responding to internal emergency and/or to external shocks at the appropriate time, as is evidence in the case of Herdsmen/farmers crisis in the Middle Belt region of the country and other centrifugal issues that has erupted and or increased in the present administration. Political democracy is a very dangerous victim of this politics of exclusivism in Nigeria because in as much as the electoral process in Nigeria is intended to protect and replicate the status quo and the power of the machinery of a particular political class by selectively installing non-democratically elected candidates and reservoir of power in one part of the federating regions it will be very difficult to secure a responsive development plan in the country. It is



however against this backdrop that this study intends to unveil the facades of the Buhari's led politics of exclusivism with a view to explicate the trends and the prospects for Africa and Nigerians.

Politics of Exclusivism; A Conceptual Disambiguation

This study uses the term politics of exclusivism to refer to a social trend related to competition between and, or amongst social groups with different ethnic background within a definite geographical location, in which a particular social group regard themselves as “we” and others as “they”. Ethnic background on the other hands refers to a social arrangement distinguished by the shared character of their boundaries and relationship particularly culture, language or both, with language representing the most fundamental variable in the consanguinity. The politics of exclusivisms as used here is not essentially based on linguistically or cultural consistency among a particular social groups, in as much as it usually include occupational, sub-cultural, linguistic, dialectic and class differences, depending on the established degree of socio-economic development and cultural differentiation (Eteng 2004) it is a process that has its foundation in the mutual recollection of past experience and general desires of a people in a given society. It is for that reason a confirmation as Eteng has revealed that politics of exclusivism is derived from the dominant ethnic group that constitute the center of its establishment and found expression in a deliberate marginalization and disempowerment of some regions within the country militarily, politically, economically and even socially by the dominant ethnic group from either having access to and or taking outstanding control of national key positions and general resources, as is evident in the bureaucratic, political, educational, economic, media and the military configuration in Nigeria. It is further argued in extension that politics of exclusivism is a deliberate calculated political evil that often results in a complete socio-political, economic, psychological, cultural as well as organizational powerlessness of a people in a given society (Afigbo, 2000). It is therefore, informative to argue that this political evil is always common in societies where the federating ethnic groups or units are bedeviled by socio-political imbalanced and unfriendly relationships just like is evident in Nigeria political environment. In other words it is the realities of ethnic groups in a given society that gives the politics of exclusivism substance and makes its existence possible. The virus of the politics of exclusivism in Nigeria as unleashed by the political class has been one of the most significant causes of socio-cultural and economic crisis as well as the current political instability in the country, it is evidently a major impediment to the general political and economic development of Nigeria. In disambiguation of the term politics of exclusivism, scholars such as Rahana and Gulshan, 2015) contends that, politics of exclusivism is a political attitude and politics itself is about political power and its appurtenances. Base on the above postulate, the political perspective of President Mohammad Buhari leads to his mobilization of his ethnic groups to consolidate his hold on the political power to the detriment of other concerned groups in the country. From this perspective, politics of exclusivism can as well as be referred to as a social group that can also function as political actors in a given society, with aspirations to achieve and monopolize political rights within that society. The political monopoly as used here referred to an amplified and improved bureaucratic presentation in federal parastatales and other political institutions in the country, a significant power and control over local resources as well as the employment of specific dress code and lingual-franca as a standard of communication and instruction between themselves in a federal



establishment. Should the above unique socio-political behavior be challenge by the relevant state authorities, social and ethnic confrontation will ensue and if not adequately controlled might develop ultimately to civil unrest (Rahana and Gulshan, 2015). Politics of exclusivism has also been viewed or defined as an instrument through which the political class from a particular ethnic group maintains themselves in authority and exercises power and control over the remaining social and, or ethnic group within that collectivity.

Therefore, it is an inglorious characteristic of elite political behavior, a process where educated political elite in a given society become the major protagonist and vendor of parochialism for selfish reasons (Dudley 1973). In addition, the devolution of cultural identities to the political sphere is a necessary attempt by this selfish political class to commandeer or take control of power through the use of cultural identity as a basis for discrimination, condemnation and marginalization of other political opponents with different socio-cultural foundation (Mamdani (2002). Such political exclusion along ethnic line is always used to discriminate against others, not because of any discernable socio-cultural, economic or political uniqueness of a particular ethnic group over others but just the innate desire to control the economy as well as the politics of the country. In the politics of exclusivism the paramount interest of the dominant political class is to maintain the prevailing status quo with themselves and their cronies in its commanding political positions. When this happens all the political followers that was dubiously mobilized and politicized from the whole ethnic groups during the political struggle for power under the pretence that the universal goal is the only objective will be demobilized and depoliticized hurriedly in the interest of elite domination (Aziz 2004). Although ethnic activities is usually established and influenced into action by those who control the state power to counter or discourage a possible rising trend from the dominated groups as well as the out of power class from the opposing ethnic groups. On this basis, politics of exclusivism is a ploy by privileged political class to selfishly enrich themselves from the public fund while protecting themselves with the state power (Onyishi, 2018). The height of politics of exclusivism in the present-day Nigeria is alarming as well as very dangerous and therefore, requires a thematic attention of concerned Nigerians for immediate solution. It is no secret that the unity of Nigeria as a nation is under a serious threat by the prevailing ceaseless and uncontrollable behavior of ethnic base politics in contemporary Nigeria political topography. The politicization of religion, regions and ethnic groups in Nigeria electoral process only further reveals the degree to which the Nigeria unity is threatened by the activities of their political elites. This political carnage cannot be ignored, since it only implies that the motive forces of the political elite in Nigeria are in sharp contrast with the end democratic principles seek to accomplish. In a democratic society the citizens seek to maximize the material wellbeing at their disposal by the use of their political power (inform of electoral process) to control the authority of the state. But such democratic appurtenance and privileges are absent in the Nigeria politics of exlusivisms, prompting the questions as to whether the political process in contemporary Nigeria is of different variety

From the above expositions, the problems that confront the Nigeria democratic process in our own time are relatively a complex one. For there is no effective evidence to suggest or let alone contend that as a method of government it is any less efficient than the military government of the previous era that led the country to a protracted civil war in the late 1960s. we therefore think that what is happening in

the Nigeria political firmament is that the entrance of capitalism into the contemporary phase of political contraction in Nigeria has brought into vivid perspectives the contradiction between the ends of political elite on one side and those of political democracy on another. The Nigerian political class see or perceive the democratic practice as a threat to their own security and would do anything to thwart the process. In the meantime they have resorted to politics of politics of exclusivisms instead of inclusive politics that is the hallmark of democracy in contemporary time. Empirical facts shall be presented to buttress the trends of the above postulates but before that we shall discern or isolate a theoretical framework upon which we align our discourse bearing in mind that Nigeria national integration and unity is no more active as it used to, and has been further dominated by the pandemonium that trail the one sided ministerial lists President Buhari ministers of the current Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

In the quest to explicate the trend, impacts and prospects of the politics of exclusivisms in the President Buhari's led administration in Nigeria; the Human Needs Theory was deemed the most appropriate theory and was therefore employed in the conduct of the study. The human needs theory is a theoretical framework used mainly by the managements and social science scholars to explicate relationships between and, or among variables in political analysis. The theory was first developed in the early 1990s by Harry Burton as a standard theory of human activities though sourced from Maslow's motivation theory. It is rooted on the assumption that human beings have fundamental requirements that must be satisfied in order to sustain a peaceful society. As already highlighted, the concept was first used by Abraham Maslow in 1943 in his classic work titled "*A Theory of Human Motivation*" used in analyzing the universal needs of the society. The basic tenets of the human need theory argued that all human beings have definite fundamental general needs that must be satisfied for common survival, the theory maintained that if these needs are not satisfied by person, group or institutions concerned, social unrest and disagreement is bound to occur within that collectivity. It is argued that those partakers in conflict circumstances are spontaneously struggling in their respective organizational environments at all social strata to satisfy primeval and collective needs, such as development, security, identity, and recognition in their own country. They struggle progressively more to have larger control of their environment which is essential to guarantee the satisfaction of these needs. This struggle is prehistoric and therefore cannot be restrained even if they wanted to (Burton, 1991). However, if the acquired result is not commensurate with the struggle the concerned society usually, tend to degenerate into some kind of social frustration, and this situation if not controlled will inevitably leads to social belligerence and consequently to social conflict in the country. The difference between the Human Needs theory and the Frustration-Aggression theory is just that the Human Needs theory is concerned only with total essential requirements of man in his immediate environment (the basic needs) while the Frustration-Aggression theory is concerned not just with basic needs but beyond that to include other human wants and desires. The above postulates inevitably present a non-ideological foundation upon which the establishment of social institutions and public policies should be based. Because it is apparent that except identity needs are satisfied in a heterogeneous societies, except in every socio-economic formation there is a social justice, that is, a sense of social control and expectations among the social productive forces in a given



society for the pursuit of all other material condition of life, in other words their social developmental needs, social insecurity and disagreement would be the order of the day (1991).

This theory highlighted the fact that the social struggle cannot be curbed unless their aspirations which is the basic human wants are satisfied, therefore, the solution to social conditions must be sought in the ability of the existing government to establish a political atmosphere in which these needs can be satisfied in all section and levels of the societies and not sectional as is the case with Buhari's Nigeria. To contain social pandemonium in any society according to this theory, it is crucial that those needs of the people that are threatened by any form of activities or developments be identified quickly by the relevant authority and attended to immediately. For instance, this theory if applied to the Nigeria situation can be useful in identifying where there are restraints or limitations on political or federal administrative appointments and participation of the Southern or northern part of the country under President Buhari (Cunningham 2018), the agitation of the Middle-belt region for security against the killer herdsmen and other forms of marginalization in the country. The human needs theory is a basic foundation in understanding exactly how motivation and drive are interconnected when discussing human behavior. Every one of these individual levels is made up of a definite quantity of inner consciousness that must be satisfied in order for an individual to experience a sense of belonging in any society. In every heterogeneous developing societies, ethnicity which is here referred to as politics of exclusivism always finds its way into innumerable political and economic issues, such as educational quota controversies, trade union issues and even the national development plans, including tax policy, land policy as well as business policy in the country. Typically, matters that would have been treated as routine administrative procedure under normal circumstances always becomes a hectic issue on the political agenda of ethnic divided societies as a result of politics of exclusivism (Horowitz, 1985). In accordance with the assumptions and the basic tenets of the Human Needs Theory Burton (1991) implicitly posits that it is very necessary to move away from the prevailing politics of exclusivism in Nigeria and shift towards inclusive politics that will definitely ensure a peaceful coexistence in the short run and sustainable national development in the long run. The importance of this theory is that it recognizes heterogeneous society and emphasizes unity in diversity anchored on the satisfaction of social needs, the needs of all and sundry must be satisfies, not the needs of one social group at the detriment of the other groups. Unfortunately, the federal character principle which would have ushered in an inclusive bureaucracy in Nigeria public administration is being continually manipulated to serve the interest of the political elites in the country (Agbaje, 1989).

Under the guise of the federal character principle, the protagonists of the politics of exclusivism get their cronies ingrained in different government ministries and through them access the political power and exercise control over the machinery of state. Also from the application of this principle they attempt to resolve their class differences through the application of the sham formulae for the distribution of national income and benefits among themselves and their chosen cronies. While they are institutionalizing these principles they are also establishing other means to consolidate their hold on the political power, this include mobilizing and, or organizing their religion, tribal or ethnic groups against the opposing groups or political class without regard to the long term consequences of such political actions as long as it provide them with immediate result (Onyishi, 2018). The human needs theory however, implicitly posits that if the present trend of exclusive politics in Nigeria political environment is not reversed and

substituted with inclusive one, at some point in the political development the social problem that will be generated through its practices may prove very difficult to control even by this dominant political class, when that happens the only option that will confront the federating regions will be to seek the *nunc dimittis* of the country Nigeria.

The Politics of Exclusivism in Buhari Led Government: The Trends and the Prospects

Subsection (3) section 14 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended states that: “The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few State or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies” this constitutional provisions were made for a reason by the founding fathers but regrettably” both the theoretical and empirical data generated for this study reveals that the feeling of marginalization by some section of the country has continued to grow as a result of the Buhari led administration which has exacerbate different kinds of civil agitation ranging from resource control, demand for cessation, rotational presidency as well as the call for total restructuring of the Nigeria federal structure. It is apparent that President Buhari’s previous and latest round of appointments to federal office has drawn a great deal of criticism, especially across the southern part of the country. But the foundation of the prevailing disenchantment is apparently rooted on the ethnic composition of the officials he named to man the important or sensitive positions in the highest level of government in Nigeria (see figure One). Officers of northerners extraction are controlling major office such as the office of the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, Controller General of Customs, the offices of the Cshief of Army Staff, Secretary to the Government of the Federation Director-Generals of DSS, NIA, Inspector General of Police, Chief of Staff to the President, Chairman of the, Nigeria Ports Authority, Immigration, Minister of Internal Affairs, 15 out of the 22 Assistant Inspectors General of Police, National Security Adviser, among other sensitive positions. Their training or academic qualifications may not be in doubt but central to the issue in the public discourse, is the fact that the appointments have been described as asymmetrical and epitome of marginalization, reflecting President Buhari’s insensitivity to the plurality of the Nigerian state, as well as the stipulations of section 14 (3) of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria as amended and which is highlighted above. Marginalization is here referred to as a premeditated disempowerment of a targeted social or ethnic group of people in a give society in both social, economic, political, as well as in military sphere by the dominant social or ethnic group within a given society from having access and or control of important national administrative positions and public resources, as is evident in the Nigeria bureaucratic, educational, political, economic, security as well as the military configuration.

It is further argued that Buhari’s politics of exclusivism is a calculated and conscious political malevolence that always lead to a political and economic powerlessness of the targeted social or ethnic group within the country (Afigbo, 2000). In the light od the above it will not be wrong to contend that this politics of exclusivism is always common in developing societies such as Nigeria where the federating ethnic groups are often confronted by asymmetrical and hostile relationships. This social malaise has been

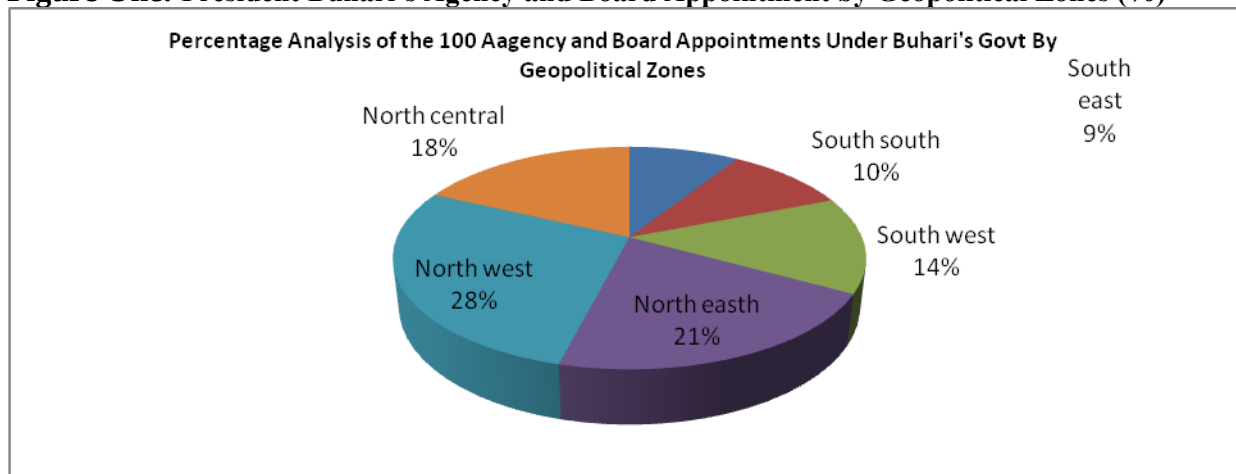


in Nigeria for some time now, spreading to almost the entire sectors of the federation. However, the worst kind is the contemporary trend being experienced by the southeastern geopolitical zone. Nobody is contending the fact that Nigeria have a history of ethnic discrimination in federal appointment, but the contemporary upsurge in the arbitrariness and bias in the Federal appointments by Buhari led presidency has sparked concern that the matter is now becoming a dangerous tradition. That can only be controlled by restructuring of the Nigeria federalism to create survival space for the ethnic minorities. The agitators for restructuring which is predominantly coming from the Southern part of the country have time and again accused Buhari of Northernisation agenda (Eme and Okike, 2017). Out of the 100 appointments made by the President in August 2017, 67.0% are occupied by northerners, while a paltry 33.0% appointment is controlled by the southerners (see table one) and this has drawn some concerns from the affected regions leading to several regional demands, including the prevailing demand for total restructuring of the Nigeria federalism. The President who hails from Northwestern Nigeria, made sure that his region dominates his appointment, against the provisions of the section 14 (3) of the 1999 constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria as amended (See, Figure One). Among the northern region the north-west has the highest percentage of appointment under President Buhari's led government with 28.0% while the North-east followed them with 21.09% leaving 18.0% for the North-central, the Southeast as always got the smallest share with 9.0% confirming the argument of a non-governmental and pro-democracy organization known as the Human Rights Writers Association of Nigeria, HURIWA, who has earlier raised alarm over what they perceived as an organized marginalization of the South-eastern Nigeria in almost every level of federal appointments by the President Buhari's led government. The organization is of the opinion that the president by the virtue of the configuration of his government is treating the over 65 million southeastern Nigerians just like the Rohingya tribal people of Burma through an organized deprivation and denials of their constitutionally protected right and freedoms (HURIWA, 2017).

However, the group which condemned the Buhari-led Federal government for persistently alienating the southeast geopolitical zone from high level defense, security and political positions in clear violations of section 14 (3) and (4) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended, also highlighted the incessant violent invasions of villages by armed Fulani herdsmen, that has resulted in the killing of several innocent rural farmers and recently included clergies and some security agents in the South and the middle-belt region without a single high level arrest by the Police or any other security agents, which confirmed the rumors that some group are indeed above the law under the Buhari (2017). The Buhari-led government chooses to look the other way because the perpetrators of this evil attack on the innocent law-abiding Nigerian famers are not from the South or Southeastern region of the country but from other ethnic group in the northern geopolitical zone that is somehow related to his tribe. This same government did not hesitate to brand IPOB a terrorist group, but have perpetually refused to give the killer herdsmen the name they deserve and deal with them appropriately, and by so doing supporting the argument that the Buhari-led government is the government of the North (Nwabueze, 2001). The point is that the deliberate exclusion of the south, particularly the southeast region from the commanding height of Nigeria's politics is due to the marginalization policy of president Buhari's government. The dominance of Nigerian politics by the politicians of northern extraction through politics of exclusivisms has seen them controlling the commanding height of Nigeria's key positions in politics and governance and by implication has kindled social distrust and hate among the citizens of the country,

especially during the electoral process. This socio-political and economic marginalization has without doubt become a recurring trend prevalent in the socio-political life of the southerners, especially in the southeastern region of Nigeria (Aja 2000). In the light of the above it is evident that the president's method of appointment clearly indicates his northern agenda but what confuses bookmarkers

Figure One: President Buhari's Agency and Board Appointment by Geopolitical Zones (%)



Source: *Saturday Punch*, August 2017

is why he recalled some military officers from retirement to lead some of the agencies, instead of looking for a worthy appointee in his or her productive age to occupy the available positions. As Eme,et.al,(2015) rightly argued, over the years, the Customs service has been infamous for setting ludicrously low revenue targets for themselves, only to praise themselves on meeting or exceeding those target at the end of a fiscal year. In the quest for improved revenues generation in the country to bolster the dwindling incomes from oil exports, the Buhari's government appears to have resolved that a retired and strange personnel is in the best position and with the right frame of mind to manage the agency out of the contemporary challenges that has bedeviled the country in his own time appropriately (Dayo, et.al, 2015). But this is not the issue in focus here, however, The President Buhari's persistent hostility to inclusive government that has circumvented the formation or introduction of State Police must not, however, astonish Nigerians, it is a calculated plan to continue his domination over the internal security of the Southern States that will enable him control the political class ceaselessly. This has led to distrust and feeling of marginalization arising from the non-inclusive style of the Buhari led administration as we have seen in data generated for this study, which has consequently exacerbated the call for total restructuring of the Nigeria federal structure by other federating regions. A systematic understanding of the above expositions will help affirm why the intense quest for a redressing of the marginalization of the



southern Nigeria especially the southeastern region in Nigeria politics, is necessary through restructuring. This of course, offers an explanation for the persistent agitation by the south-eastern Nigeria for a more egalitarian posture in Nigeria's politics otherwise referred to as restructuring.

Conclusion and Recommendations

From the exposition of theoretical and empirical data generated for this study we have observed that there is an active act of politics of exclusivism in the Buhari le government, which violate the Subsection (3) in section 14 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended, and contend that this politics of exclusivism in Nigeria has a positive relationship with the socio-political, economic security challenges that has engulfed Nigeria for some times now. Ranging from the Headsmen/famars crisis, secessionist uprising and the relentless demand for total restructuring of the whole superstructure by those federating groups that feel poorly treated with the present structural configuration of the country. With the Buhari's politics of exclusivisms the above development is not surprising since the Burton's theory employed in this study has already educated us to that effect when it insist that the basic tenets of the human need theory argued that all human beings have definite fundamental general needs that must be satisfied for common survival, the theory maintained that if these needs are not satisfied by person, group or institutions concerned, social unrest and disagreement is bound to occur within that collectivity. It is argued that those partakers in conflict circumstances are spontaneously struggling in their respective organizational environments at all social strata to satisfy primeval and collective needs, such as development, security, identity, and recognition in their own country (Burton, 1991), the above postulate no doubt has manifested in Nigeria socio-political topography as we have witnessed in contemporary time. A cursory glance at table one and figure one above would reveal that greater part of Nigeria leadership history starting from 1960 till date were controlled by the northern politicians, a situation that has evidently resulted in a very hostile political atmosphere among the federating regions. The study therefore, revealed that the feeling of marginalization leading to the exacerbated call for the restructuring of the Nigeria federal structure by some section of the country as a result of the political and administrative configuration of the Nigeria federal bureaucracy in the Buhari led government influenced by the politics of exclusivism is expected following the stipulations of the human need theory. The greatest manifestation of this tendency however, is the implicit policy of reserving the political and top bureaucratic management positions in certain key ministries at the federal level for people from certain parts of the country which will most certainly breed social distrust and schisms among the federating regions.

The study however, recommends that for a lasting peace, national development, national integration as well as political unity and trust to be restored in Nigeria. The President Buhari's politics of exclusivism as well as his development model rooted in the sharing of Government revenue and the struggle to control the central government must give way to a new structure that will encourage social justice, challenge and drive productivity in different regions across the country. This new model must begin by restructuring Nigeria into smaller and independent federations and devolution of powers to these federating units to the point that they will control exclusively their human capital development, mineral resources, agriculture, and power (albeit with an obligation to contribute to the federal government) is the only way to salvage the fledging economy and ameliorate the secessionists demand and the struggle for restructuring of the federation. Bearing in mind that the direct participation of the people in matters that



concern them will always put their mind at rest and encourage peaceful coexistence even in a heterogeneous society such as Nigeria. This model will also take into account that the basic dynamics motivating productivity in contemporary times are no longer driven by fossil oil but rather the propagation of a knowledge-based economy; this knowledge-based economy will definitely discourage the fierce competition for resource allocation between the central government and the government of the federating regions as well as the local governments in Nigeria since they will all be in charge of their human capital as well as the mineral resources found in their own regions. This restructuring of Nigeria into a new desired country will pay a particular attention to the new wealth areas, promote competition and productivity among the new federating regions as they struggle to survive. This development model will significantly reduce corruption in the country as the large federal parastatals which often gulp Government revenue for little or no impact are dissolved and give way to small and viable organs in the federating units of the new Nigeria. If all these recommendations are strictly adhered to, the ideology of politics of exclusivism, marginalization and the agitation for restructuring of the federation will become a thing of the past.

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