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**CIRCULATION OF ELITES AND THE 2015 ELECTION IN NIGERIA: A THEMATIC EXPOSITION OF
SUCCESSION CRISIS BETWEEN GOVERNORS AND THEIR SENATORS**

***¹Eme, Okechukwu, I. and ²Okeke Martin Ifeanyi**

¹Department of Public Administration and Local Government, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

²Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka

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ABSTRACT

Barring last minutes political permutations, there are indications that the race to the Senate in 2015 will be hotly contested as most of the governors currently serving out their second term have never hidden their ambition to pick up their parties' tickets for the Upper Chamber. While those already serving will be battling to retain their seats, about eighteen governors currently serving out their second term are expected to slug it out with the incumbent Senators by 2015. Those governors who would not want to be confined to political oblivion beyond their second tenure would obviously deploy their resources to clinch their senatorial seat at all cost. Already, some of the serving governors have begun to send warning signals to those perceived to be their major contenders in the senatorial election. Therefore, they are squaring up with those currently occupying their Senatorial seats and this has turned into some political acrimonies threatening to tear certain camaraderie hitherto existing among the politicians across the country. Using secondary sources and the technique of content analysis the paper explores the motivations, pros and cons of the political ambitions of serving governors who want to run for the senate positions come 2015. It also examines the implications of such actions on the circulation of elites and democracy in Nigeria. The race is expected to witness intrigues, mudslinging, and horse-trading that usually characterize politics of this nature, especially with the entry of some serving governors who will complete their two terms of eight years by May next year. The paper concludes by positing that the battle for the Senate has become an ego trip for some state governors who will serve out their two terms in 2015. Also, the governors who are engaged in fierce battle with their incumbent senators may end up turning the senate as their final political rest home.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the return of democratic governance in 1999, former governors have been in the habit of moving from Government House to the Senate after the expiration of their second term in office. While some of them were pressurized by their people to go to the senate based on their performance in office, others pulled their way through without minding whose ox is gored. The trend, which has grown phenomenal in the polity in recent years, is also gradually becoming part of the country's political norms. Even though it is backed by the 1999 constitution, many believe that it is a trend seeming only obtainable in a country like ours where continuous occupation

of public offices and posturing for consistent political relevance is placed above merit and performance. When in Enugu State in 1999, the former governor of old Anambra state and then godfather of the state politics, Chief Jim Nwobodo won the Enugu east senatorial seat by proxy, not many knew it was the beginning of a new trend. After the senatorial election, Nwobodo, who was also a presidential aspirant of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), contested the party's Presidential primaries in Jos, and lost. But he immediately took the Enugu East senatorial seat from its political godson, Nnaji and moved to the Senate in 1999. He also defected from the AD of which the senatorial seat was won to PDP. So Nwobodo was among, if not the first former governor, that went to Senate with the return of democracy in 1999. Since then the influx of former governors into the senate has remained a common practice in every general elections especially since 2007 till date.

***Corresponding author: Eme, Okechukwu, I.**

Department of Public Administration and Local Government,
University of Nigeria, Nsukka

This is despite the clamour for a paradigm shift in the country's political leadership that has been predominantly dominated by the same set of people and their cronies since independence. It would be recalled that with the expiration in 2007 the second term in office of all the state governors elected in 1999, some of them quickly found their way to the senate the same year without delay. Among those that were elected into the Senate in 2007 were Alhaji Bukar Abba Ibrahim (Yobe State), Senator Saminu Turaki (Jigawa State), Senator Chimaroke Nnamani (Enugu), and Senator Abdullahi Adamu (Nasarawa) Adamu Aliero (Kebbi) George Akume (Benue). In 2011 the number rose with the election of Dr. Bukola Saraki (Kwara) Alhaji Danjuma Goje (Gombe) Dr. Chris Ngige (Anambra) and Joshua Dariye (Plateau). Senator Chimaroke Nnamani (Enugu), Alhaji Saminu Turaki (Jigawa) and senator Adamu Aliero (Kebbi) who were in the senate in 2007 failed to win their re-election in 2011 due to some political differences with their successors and other factors. The likes of Orji Uzor Kalu (Abia) Attahiru Bafarawa (Sokoto) Boni Haruna (Adamawa), Rev. Jolly Nyame (Taraba) Gbenga Daniel (Ogun) and others who could not find their way to the senate immediately after their second term as governors expired have not been finding it easy politically.

The attempts to move to Senate in the last general elections failed them as they lost out in the election. But it seems they are not relenting yet as some of them are already making moves to contest for the senatorial seats in 2015 general elections. Ahead of next year's elections, there is every political indication that the number of second term governors that are planning to go to the senate is on the rise. Among the 18 PDP governors, 14 of them are on second term, while only four are on first term. Those on second term are governors of Enugu, Abia, Ebonyi, Akwa Ibom, Delta Cross Rivers, Niger, Jigawa, Kebbi, Katsina, Bauchi, Plateau, Benue, and Taraba State. Those on second term are governors of Kaduna, Kogi, Gombe and Bayelsa state. In the same vein, out of 16 governors of All Progressives Congress (APC), seven of them are on second term, while nine are on first term. On second term are governors of Adamawa, Yobe, Sokoto, Rivers, Lagos, Edo and Kano State (Agbese and Hassan, 2014:8).

Already in some states, the second term governors' loyalists are preparing ground for the actualization of their bosses' senatorial ambition in 2015. The development has pitched some of the governors against the incumbent senators of their zones. As days pass by and the echo of 2015 elections draws nearer, there are ongoing subterranean moves, and political intrigues by majority of the second term governors to ensure that they grab their zone's senatorial seat as parting gifts. A development *The Source* learnt is causing ripples and rivalry in some political parties already. A serving senator had disclosed at peak of the defection and counter-defection in the National Assembly that their party leadership promised them automatic tickets for 2015 election. According to a serving senator: We were promised automatic return ticket for 2015, but some of were skeptical about it, considering that most second term governors on our party platform want to go to the senate in 2015. With this, how are we sure that all of us will be given automatic ticket back to the senate. It was obvious they just used it as a political gimmick to discourage us from defecting to another party (Abideen, 2013:16).

We are cautiously watching how the whole thing will play out in 2015 with the overbearing influence and inordinate ambition of some of the state governors in the party (Uzundu, 2014:16). Speaking on the development, Mr. Ikechi Okanu, a public affairs analyst said that in as much as there is nothing wrong or illegal about it, it is not good and healthy for the country's democracy. Okanu said:

If our electoral system is transparent, some of these governors cannot win councillorship election even after being governor for eight years with nothing to show in term of performance. It is quite unfortunate that we are running an electoral system where election is determined by power of incumbency and money. As it is now, nothing will stop most of these second term governors from going to the senate in 2015 (Ilevbare, 2014:3). The essence of the paper is to discuss the role the circulation of elite theory we help us to understand the change of positions by serving and former governors swap their position from state executives to senators. To achieve this objective, following the introduction is the theoretical perspective. The next segment discusses using specific examples in selected states how these battles between serving senators and their governors are playing out. The fourth section analyzes the implications of such strong for power between them. The final segment offers recommendations and concludes the paper.

Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical foundation of this article will rest on elite theory. Parry (1969) defined elites as the small minorities who appear to play an exceptionally influential part in socio-political affairs. They exercise preponderant influence within that collectivistic by virtue of their actual or supposed talents. In political science, the theory is basically a "class" analysis approach to the understanding of political phenomena. The term has history that dates back to the writings of Vilfredo Pareto (1935 and 1968), Gaetano Mosca (1939 and 1968) and Robert Michels (1968, 2001) observations made by them with regard to (1) the elite as distinguished from the non-elite groups within a social order and (2) the divisions within the elite as between a governing and a non-governing elite. Furthermore, Mosca Gaetano (1939) noted that the distinguishing characteristic of the elite is the "aptitude to command and to exercise political control". The conceptual schemes postulated by elite theorists comprise the following generalization:

In every society, there is, and must always be, a minority which rules over the rest of society. This notion is quite compatible with Robert Michel's observation in his "political party" who posits that organization says oligarchy". Mosca Pareto also says that in all human societies, be it capitalist or socialist, simple or complex, there is a ruling elite which rules all others member of society. The classical elite theorists posit that elites derive almost invariably the original power from coercive sources through the monopoly of military factor. The minority, either "political class" or governing elite compose of all those that occupy political power or those that influence governmental decisions. This minority undergo changes in its membership and composition. These changes may ordinarily be by recruitment of new members of society. Sometimes the

change is by incorporation of new social groups and accordingly a complete replacement of ousted elite by counter elite through revolution. The last form of change comes about when elite refuses to respond to the first two changes. Elite theorists also talked about what they called the "circulation of elites". This can be explained as a situation where by one set of elites (political executives) is replaced by another possessing similar traits. This is what Mosca Pareto was describing when he generalized that "history is a graveyard of aristocracies". This statement shows the inevitability of change when the elite facet. This change can take different forms: (1) between different categories of the governing elites itself (e.g. from the non-governing elite) or between the elite and the rest of the population and while such changes go on, they affect merely the form but not the structure of rule which remains at all times minority dominated (Oligarchy).

In political science and sociology, elite theory is a theory of the state which seeks to describe and explain the power relationships in contemporary society. The theory posits that a small minority, consisting of members of the economic elite and policy-planning networks, holds the most power and that this power is independent of a state's democratic elections process. Through positions in corporations or on corporate boards, and influence over the policy-planning networks through financial support of foundations or positions with think tanks or policy-discussion groups, members of the "elite" are able to exert significant power over the policy decisions of corporations and governments. An example of this can be found in the *Forbes Magazine* article (published in December 2009) entitled *The World's Most Powerful People*, in which *Forbes* purported to list the 67 most powerful people in the world (assigning 1 "slot" for each 100,000,000 of human population).

Even when entire groups are ostensibly completely excluded from the state's traditional networks of power (historically, on the basis of arbitrary criteria such as nobility, race, gender, or religion), elite theory recognizes that "counter-elites" frequently develop within such excluded groups. Negotiations between such disenfranchised groups and the state can be analyzed as negotiations between elites and counter-elites. A major problem, in turn, is the ability of elites to co-opt counter-elites. Elite theory stands in opposition to pluralism in suggesting that democracy is a utopian ideal. It also stands in opposition to state autonomy theory. The aristocratic version of this theory is the classical elite theory which is based on two ideas:

1. Power lies in position of authority in key economic and political institutions.
2. The psychological difference that sets elites apart is that they have personal resources, for instance intelligence and skills, and a vested interest in the government; while the rest are incompetent and do not have the capabilities of governing themselves, the elite are resourceful and will strive to make the government work. For in reality, the elite have the most to lose in a failed government.

Pareto emphasized the psychological and intellectual superiority of elites, believing that they were the highest accomplishers in any field. He discussed the existence of two types of elites:

1. governing elites
2. non-governing elites

He also extended the idea that a whole elite can be replaced by a new one and how one can circulate from being elite to non-elite. It is a basic axiom for Pareto that people are unequal physically, as well as intellectually and morally. In society as a whole, and in any of its particular strata and groupings, some people are more gifted than others. Those who are most capable in any particular grouping are the elite. The term elite have no moral or honorific connotations in Pareto's usage. It denotes simply "a class of the people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity." Pareto argues that "It will help if we further divide that [elite] class into two classes: a governing elite, comprising individuals who directly or indirectly play some considerable part in government, and a non-governing elite, comprising the rest." His main discussion focuses on the governing elite. There is a basic ambiguity in Pareto's treatment of the notion of the elite. In some passages, as in the one quoted above, it would appear that those occupying elite positions are, by definition, the most qualified. But there are many other passages where Pareto asserts that people are assigned elite positions by virtue of being so labeled. That is, men assigned elite positions may not have the requisite capabilities, while others not so labeled may have them.

It would seem that Pareto believed that only in perfectly open societies, those with perfect social mobility, would elite position correlate fully with superior capacity. Only under such conditions would the governing elite, for example, consist of the people most capable of governing. The actual social fact is that obstacles such as inherited wealth, family connections, and the like prevent the free circulation of individuals through the ranks of society, so that those wearing an elite label and those possessing highest capacity tend to diverge to greater or lesser degrees. Given the likelihood of divergences between ascribed elite position and actual achievement and capacity, Pareto is a passionate advocate of maximum social mobility and of careers open to all. He saw the danger that elite positions that were once occupied by men of real talent would in the course of time be preempted by men devoid of such talent.

When governing or non-governing elites attempt to close themselves to the influx of newer and more capable elements from the underlying population, when the circulation of elites is impeded, social equilibrium is upset and the social order will decay. Pareto argued that if the governing elite does not "find ways to assimilate the exceptional individuals who come to the front in the subject classes," an imbalance is created in the body politic and the body social until this condition is rectified, either through a new opening of channels of mobility or through violent overthrow of an old ineffectual governing elite by a new one that is capable of governing. Pareto introduced a social taxonomy that included six classes, Class I through Class VI. Class I corresponds to the adventurous "foxes" in Macchiavelli, and Class II to the conservative "lions,"^[1] particularly in the governing elite. Not only are intelligence and aptitudes unequally distributed among the members of society, but the residues as well. Under ordinary circumstances, the "conservative" residues of Class II

preponderate in the masses and thus make them submissive. The governing elite, however, if it is to be effective, must consist of individuals who have a strong mixture of both Class I and Class II elements. The ideal governing class contains a judicious mixture of lions and foxes, of men capable of decisive and forceful action and of others who are imaginative, innovative, and unscrupulous. When imperfections in the circulation of governing elites prevent the attainment of such judicious mixtures among the governing, regimes either degenerate into hidebound and ossified bureaucracies incapable of renewal and adaptation, or into weak regimes of squabbling lawyers and rhetoricians incapable of decisive and forceful action. When this happens, the governed will succeed in overthrowing their rulers and new elites will institute a more effective regime. Mosca emphasized the sociological and personal characteristics of elites. He said elites are an organized minority and that the masses are an unorganized majority. The ruling class is composed of the ruling elite and the sub-elites. He divides the world into two groups:

1. ruling class
2. class that is ruled

Mosca asserts that elites have intellectual, moral, and material superiority that is highly esteemed and influential. Sociologist Michels developed the iron law of oligarchy where, he asserts, social and political organizations are run by few individuals, and social organization and labor division are keys. He believed that all organizations were elitist and that elites have three basic principles that help in the bureaucratic structure of political organization:

1. Need for leaders, specialized staff and facilities
2. Utilization of facilities by leaders within their organization
3. The importance of the psychological attributes of the leaders

Elmer Eric Schattschneider offered a strong critique of the American political theory of pluralism: Rather than an essentially democratic system in which the many competing interests of citizens are amply represented, if not advanced, by equally many competing interest groups, (Schattschneider, 1960) argued the pressure system is biased in favor of "the most educated and highest-income members of society", and showed that "the difference between those who participate in interest group activity and those who stand at the sidelines is much greater than between voters and nonvoters." In *The Semi-sovereign People*, Schattschneider (1960) argued the scope of the pressure system is really quite small: The "range of organized, identifiable, known groups is amazingly narrow; there is nothing remotely universal about it" and the "business or upper-class bias of the pressure system shows up everywhere". He says the "notion that the pressure system is automatically representative of the whole community is a myth" and, instead, the "system is skewed, loaded and unbalanced in favor of a fraction of a minority" (Bottomore, 1993:25). Mills published his book *The Power Elite* in 1956, claiming a new sociological perspective on systems of power in the United States. He identified a triumvirate of power groups – political, economic and military – which form a distinguishable, although not unified, power-wielding body in the United States (Mills, 1959:274).

Mills proposed that this group had been generated through a process of rationalization at work in all advanced industrial societies whereby the mechanisms of power became concentrated, funneling overall control into the hands of a limited, somewhat corrupt group (Mills, 1959:274). This reflected a decline in politics as an arena for debate and relegation to a merely formal level of discourse (Mills, 1959:274). This macro-scale analysis sought to point out the degradation of democracy in "advanced" societies and the fact that power generally lies outside the boundaries of elected representatives. A main influence for the study was Franz Leopold Neumann's book, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism, 1933-1944*, a study of how Nazism came to power in the German democratic state. It provided the tools to analyze the structure of a political system and served as a warning of what could happen in a modern capitalistic democracy (Mills, 1959:274).

The elite theory analysis of power was also applied on the micro scale in community power studies such as that by Floyd Hunter. Hunter examined in detail the power of relationships evident in his "Regional City" looking for the "real" holders of power rather than those in obvious official positions. He posited a structural-functional approach which mapped the hierarchies and webs of interconnection operating within the city – mapping relationships of power between businessmen, politicians, clergy etc. The study was promoted to debunk current concepts of any "democracy" present within urban politics and reaffirm the arguments for a true representative democracy (Domhoff and Dye, 1987). This type of analysis was also used in later, larger scale, studies such as that carried out by M. Schwartz examining the power structures within the sphere of the corporate elite in the United States (Schwartz, 1987). In his controversial book *Who Rules America?*, G. William Domhoff researched local and national decision making process networks in order to illustrate the power structure in the United States. He asserts, much like Hunter, that an elite class that owns and manages large income-producing properties (like banks and corporations) dominate the American power structure politically and economically (Domhoff, 2005).

Burnham's early work *The Managerial Revolution* sought to express the movement of all functional power into the hands of managers rather than politicians or businessmen – separating ownership and control (Burnham, 1960). Many of these ideas were adapted by paleo-conservatives Samuel T. Francis and Paul Gottfried in their theories of the managerial state. Burnham's thoughts on elite theory were elucidated more specifically in his book *The Machiavellians* which discusses the thoughts of, among others, Pareto, Mosca, and Michels; it is here that Burnham attempts a scientific analysis of both elites and politics generally (Bottomore, 1993:59). Putnam (1976) saw the development of technical and exclusive knowledge among administrators and other specialist groups as a mechanism by which power is stripped from the democratic process and slipped sideways to the advisors and specialists influencing the decision making process. According to him "If the dominant figures of the past hundred years have been the entrepreneur, the businessman, and the industrial executive, the 'new men' are the scientists, the mathematicians, the economists, and the engineers of the new

intellectual technology" (Putnam, 1976:384). Dye (2000) in his book *Top Down Policymaking*, argues that U.S. public policy does not result from the "demands of the people", but rather from elite consensus found in Washington, D.C. based non-profit foundations, think tanks, special-interest groups, and prominent lobbyists and law firms. Dye's thesis is further expanded upon in his works: *The Irony of Democracy*, *Politics in America*, *Understanding Public Policy*, and *Who's Running America?*

In his book *Corporate Power and the Environment*, George A. Gonzalez (2006, 2009 and 2012) writes persuasively on the power of U.S. economic elites to shape environmental policy for their own advantage. In *The Politics of Air Pollution: Urban Growth, Ecological Modernization and Symbolic Inclusion* and also in *Urban Sprawl, Global Warming, and the Empire of Capital* Gonzalez employs elite theory to explain the interrelationship between environmental policy and urban sprawl in America. His most recent work, *Energy and Empire: The Politics of Nuclear and Solar Power in the United States* demonstrates that economic elites tied their advocacy of the nuclear energy option to post-1945 American foreign policy goals, while at the same time these elites opposed government support for other forms of energy, such as solar, that cannot be dominated by one nation (Gonzalez, 2012).

In his book *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*, Ralf Dahrendorf asserts that, due to advanced level of competence required for political activity, a political party tends to become actually a provider of "political services", that is administration of local and governmental public offices. During the electoral campaign, each party tries to convince the electors that it is the most suitable organization that could manage the state business under the particular circumstances of the moment. The logical consequence would be to acknowledge this character and register openly the parties as services providing companies. In this way, the ruling class would include the members and associates of legally acknowledged companies and the "class that is ruled" have to select by election the state administration company that fits best its interests (Lerner and Nagai, 1996).

Put differently, the theoretical view held by many social scientists which holds that American politics is best understood through the generalization that nearly all political power is held by a relatively small and wealthy group of people sharing similar values and interests and mostly coming from relatively similar privileged backgrounds. Most of the top leaders in all or nearly all key sectors of society are seen as recruited from this same social group, and elite theorists emphasize the degree to which interlocking corporate and foundation directorates, old school ties and frequent social interaction tend to link together and facilitate coordination between the top leaders in business, government, civic organizations, educational and cultural establishments and the mass media. This "power elite" can effectively dictate the main goals (if not always the practical means and details) for all really important government policy making (as well as dominate the activities of the major mass media and educational/cultural organizations in society) by virtue of their control over the economic resources of the major business and financial organizations in the country. Their power is seen as

based most fundamentally on their personal economic resources and especially on their positions within the top management of the big corporations, and does not really depend upon their ability to garner mass support through efforts to "represent" the interests of broader social groups. Elitist theoreticians differ somewhat among themselves on such questions as how open the power elite is to "new blood," the exact degree of agreement or disagreement that usually prevails within its ranks, and the degree of genuine concern (or lack thereof) for the broader public welfare that enters into their choices of public policy goals, but all such theorists broadly share the notion that it is these few thousand "movers and shakers" who really run the country and determine the basic directions of public policy, certainly not the manipulated and powerless masses of ordinary voters choosing among candidates at election time (Burton and John, 1998).

Elite theory in political sociology was advanced in direct response to Marxism. The early elite theorists were conservatives who were opposed not only to socialism, but also to liberal democracy as expressed by any movement which attempted to give the masses of the population a greater influence on political affairs." They argued that elites were necessary and inevitable and that any revolution which pretended to abolish elites would end up by simply replacing one elite with another. Elite theorists use two basic lines of argument. First, they argue that certain aspects of human nature make elites inevitable. Second, they argue that elites are necessary for any social organization to function effectively. There is also a sociological argument that elites are necessary for a large social organization to function. To a degree this has even been accepted by Marxists. Tucker (1972) accepted the necessity of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" after the Communists had taken power in order to suppress those who would attempt to restore their privileged position in the old society. V. I. Lenin, who led the first communist movement to actually win state power did so on the basis of his theory that only an elitist party of professional revolutionaries, with strict discipline and control by a small central committee, could be efficient enough to win power from the capitalists.

Marx (1982), however, argued that once socialism had been established in conditions of affluence, coercion would no longer be necessary and everyone could share in the administration of common affairs (Tucker, 1972). Exactly how this would be done was never specified, however, and the history of the Soviet Union after the Communist Party took power certainly provided ammunition for the argument that a revolution which intended to abolish elites would simply replace one elite with another. This might be explained as resulting from the avowedly elitist organizational structure which the party needed in order to take power. Elitist tendencies can also be found, however, even in political parties which are deeply committed to democratic ideals and which operate in a society that allows opposition political parties to function freely. Robert Michels made an extensive study of oligarchical tendencies in political parties, basing most of his analysis on the history of the German Social Democratic party, a working class party strongly committed to democratic ideas. He felt that by showing the prevalence of oligarchical rule in an avowedly democratic organization he was making a critical test of elitist theory. Michels thought

that there were three basic causes of oligarchical tendencies---organizational necessities, characteristics of the leaders, and characteristics of the masses. A complex organization requires highly trained and experienced leaders. An organization engaged in conflict with other groups needs to be able to make quick decisions and to command the organization's resources in carrying out those decisions. These organizational demands encourage the development of a professionalized, stable leadership group. These leaders find their job situation quite rewarding, both in salary and in working conditions. This is especially true in labor organizations since the gap in living standards, working conditions, and prestige is great between the leaders and the rank and file. Leaders are likely to perceive an improvement in their own living condition as representative of a general improvement in society, and consequently to become more conservative. In the German socialist party prominent leaders were usually elected members of parliament, where they relied on the support of many voters who were not party members. This enabled them to be relatively independent of the party organization and members; they had more to offer the party than the party had to offer them. The masses tend to be relatively apathetic as long as the organization is producing reasonable benefits for them. Often, they have deferential attitudes toward the leadership; but even if they were unhappy with their leaders, it would be too much trouble to do anything about it.

These processes create what Michels called the "iron law of oligarchy," a tendency for small ruling elites to emerge and persist in complex organizations. This same point was made by Max Weber in his highly influential theory of bureaucratization. Weber felt that bureaucratic administrations could not be abolished by any kind of socialist or anarchist revolution since if they did so the society would cease to operate. He did see possibilities for change, however, largely through the mechanism of a charismatic leader. A charismatic leader emerges during periods of crisis or social breakdown when things aren't working right and people look for a solution which is outside the normal routine of social life. They seek a leader with outstanding personal qualities in whom they can place their trust. While Weber was an intense German nationalist during World War I, he was also a liberal and did not live long enough to see Adolph Hitler become the terrible incarnation of his concept of the charismatic leader. Robert Michels did live long enough to leave the socialist movement and seek salvation from Benito Mussolini. Pareto, also, was sympathetic to the fascist movement, and his works were used as part of the theoretical underpinnings of fascism.

Elite theory, with its emphasis on strength and leadership, has a natural affinity with fascism just as social class theory has an affinity with socialism and pluralist theory with liberal democracy. Not all elite theorists, however, moved into totalitarianism; one of the most prominent, Gaetano Mosca, was able to reconcile his theory of elites with a belief in a limited form of liberal democracy. The critical differences between political systems, in Mosca's view, depend largely on the organization of two strata within the elite - those at the very top and a larger group of people who are not part of the ruling clique at the moment but nevertheless have considerable power and resources. Less capable families drop out of the top group, and more capable members of the second group rise to

the top. This sort of mobility, which Pareto called the "circulation of the elites" is healthy up to a point. If all could compete equally for the position at the top, however, the struggle for power would use too much social energy for too little social benefit. Indeed, it may be necessary for families to be in an elite position for several generations for them to develop the virtues needed for leadership in their children. This line of argument has been applied to more modern events by Karl Mannheim. Mannheim argued that one of the reasons for the growth of fascism in Europe was the weakness of the elites. There was an increase in the number of elite groups due to the increasing complexity of society. This means that the elites became less exclusive and no one was really able to influence events in the societies. The elites were not sufficiently insulated from the masses and were not able to cultivate cultural and intellectual differences. The anti-intellectualism of the masses became popular in elite circles, the quality of intellectual and artistic work declined, while intellectuals became so numerous that their social prestige declined. After fleeing Germany, Mannheim was impressed by the British social system which maintained a stable elite through its aristocratic traditions, while still recruiting an adequate amount of fresh blood.

Too much democracy could lead to dictatorship, and a dictatorship which rules over a relatively literate and sophisticated population must be an authoritarian one since it cannot rely on the passivity and ignorance of the large majority of the population. England was Mosca's ideal also, and it is easy to see how someone who feared the success of a totalitarian movement based on support from frustrated, uneducated masses might feel that a stable, aristocratic elite on the English model could best provide some stability to society. Elite theory developed in part as a reaction to Marxism. It rejected the Marxian idea that a classless society having an egalitarian structure could be realized after class struggle in every society. It regards Marxism as an ideology rather than an objective analysis of social systems. According to Elite theory man can never be liberated from the subjugation of an elite structure. The term Elite refers to those who excel. The classical elite theorists identify the governing elite in terms of superior personal qualities of those who exercise power. However, later versions of elite theory places less emphasis on the personal qualities of the powerful and more on the institutional framework of the society.

They argued that the hierarchical organization of social institutions allows a minority to monopolize power. Another criticism of the elite theories against the Marxian view of distribution of power is that the ruling class too large and amorphous a group to be able to effectively wield power. In their view power is always exercised by a small cohesive group of the elite. Elite theory argues that all societies are divided into two main groups a ruling minority and the ruled. This situation is inevitable. If the proletarian revolution occurs it will merely result in the replacement of one ruling elite by another. Classical elite theory was propounded by Pareto and Mosca. From the above theses elite theory and their circulation has the following features:

1. Power is a function of economic status (wealth and related social standing)

2. Few have power, while most do not
3. Few are atypical of society as a result of distinct upper Social Economic Status and interlocking social networks in schools, family, corporate & charitable boards, and party affiliation.
4. Non-elite movement into elite strata is slow and only those who accept elite "consensus" enter into the governing circle.
5. Elites share consensus on basic goals and values such as "managed capitalism"
6. Public policy reflects elite preferences
7. Policy changes are incremental while "big" changes are rare
8. Elites influence mass more than mass direct elite through their control of news media, control of political parties, control of entertainment media and control of political agenda
9. Elites because of their privilege position control the business of democracy.
10. Elite Theory discourages competition among homogenous elite and promotes "top down" democratic values, discourages violent changes.

How can a republic like Nigeria claim to be a democracy if only a few people actually make political decisions, even if they are elected by the people? Elite theory holds that a representative democracy is not really based on the will of the people, but that there is a relatively small, cohesive elite class that makes almost all the important decisions for the nation. Another version of elite theory argues that voters choose from among competing elites. New members of the elite are recruited through a merit-based education system, so that the best and brightest young people join the ranks of the elite. Elite theorists argue that the founders believed that a privileged majority should rule in the name of the people with a controlled amount of input from citizens. The application of this theory to this article posits that elites consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every occupation and stratum of society. For example; we can talk of elite of lawyers or Senior Advocates (SAN), elite teachers (Professors), politicians (god fathers, elected and appointed officials) among others.

The elite own political structures which return the god sons to office, bribes the judiciary or electoral umpires to decide cases in their favour. They equally provide financial resources to the non-governing elites to oil their political machine. They control the decision making of their parties and their communities respectively. The role of the elites in Nigeria is captured by the role the once powerful kitchen cabinet of late President Umaru Yar'Adua. The last days of the President's rule was characterized by conscious attempts by the unofficial cabinet to hold on to power, hiding under the delusion that the former president was active enough to pass instructions on even critical state matters that sometimes required physical strength, which events have now demonstrated he surely lacked. Led by the former first lady, Hajia Turai, the kitchen cabinet was so powerful that at a time top government officials were also at its knees. The kitchen cabinet wanted to hold on to power so as to control the machinery of governance from the dark recesses of Aso Rock. Even when the president was ill and flown to Saudi Arabia, the nation was made to believe

that all was well. Attempts by state government and members of the National Assembly to see the ailing president at the King Faisal Hospital were rebuffed by the kitchen cabinet. The late leader was kept incommunicado. Not one of his ministers or party official was able to see him, including the former National Chairman of the People's Democratic Party, Chief Vincent Ogbulafor. The cabal held sway. The misty situation, orchestrated by the kitchen cabinet fuelled speculations about the status of the current president whose hold on power was threatened by the cabal. To move away from this kind of situation the governors are now making effort to remain relevant in Nigeria political history by moving to the senate in droves. The analysis below will attest to this politics of anxiety.

Governors and their senators: An Analysis of the struggles towards 2015

The battle lines are dangerously drawn between the contending forces. It is either that the governors are allowed to go to the senate otherwise the world will come to an end. To them, their political relevance in the polity can only be sustained if they are allowed to replace sitting senators in the National Assembly. Some of the senators appear helpless because part of the political structures upon which they rose to the senate were built and financed by the governors not the senators. As the chief Executive of their states they are ready to pull the strings both within the local party to create a lee way for themselves or at the top. The experience and good will already gathered by the sitting senators is of no moment to them. With the help of traditional rulers, cronies, political mercenaries, they now hurriedly across local governments arranged town hall meetings, with hired supporters and puppets to unleash all manner of blackmail, propaganda and antics to discredit ranking senators. They disparage them before their constituents, ranking which some of them had preached in the last election to get the same people to vote for the senators is of no moment to the governors now. Those to be replaced are today before the governors not performing or providing democratic dividends to the people.

However, questions are whether some of these Senators inspite of the frontal roles they play to uplift the Jonathan administration are helpless at that level, or whether the PDP automatic return ticket the former Tukur administration publicly announced to the world for them was a farce? Or whether it was made merely to douse the political tension created by the threatened spilt in the PDP family? Could it be that Tukur was just speaking with his tongues in his cheek? By their ambitions, it makes no meaning particularly to the PDP governors involved that the opposition APC is set to exploit any crack in the PDP to coast home victory in 2015. Even the PDP governors who before now had posed as possible presidential materials come 2015 and whose actions tactically encouraged the emergence of APC as a party have now beaten a retreat by settling for the senate. In Niger State, it is a battle of supremacy between the state governor, Babangida Aliyu and the serving senator, Dahiru Awaisu Kuta for the Eastern Senatorial District of Niger State in May 2015. Aliyu, the state governor, is completing his constitutionally approved second-term in office while Kuta is in his second term as the senator representing the district in the Senate. Although Aliyu, who is

also Chairman of the Northern State Governors Forum, (NSGF), has not publicly declared his aspiration to vie for the seat, but yet there is the common belief that he will spend his immediate political future in the upper house. His yet to be declared intention to contest the senatorial election is allegedly because his presidential ambition is clashing with that of President Goodluck Jonathan, who is also yet to formally announce his plan to re-contest. On that score, such realization by him that it would be almost impossible to secure the PDP presidential ticket has reportedly led him to eye the senatorial seat of the district. Kuta who is spending his sixth year in the Senate, is nothing letting anything to chance as he has cried out over the governor's alleged intimidation and vowed never to yield the seat to Mr. Aliyu, who also is a member of the PDP like him. In a fit of anger, the senator told journalists recently that no political machinations by Governor Aliyu would frustrate him from seeking the mandate of his people to return to the upper house for the third time come 2015. According to him:

In spite of the political machinations to stop me, nothing will deter me from contesting for re-election in 2015. I cannot be intimidated by anybody after being in politics for 32 years. There is nothing that I have not seen. I have been in politics for long and for that, I cannot be intimidated by anybody not only in Niger but in this country. Mr. Kuta, who chairs the Senate Committee on Federal Character, confirmed the frosty relationship between him and the chief servant, and declared that; My people back my move to seek re-election for a third term. I will seek re-election under the PDP, even though Gov Babangida Aliyu has shown interest in the seat (Agbese and Hassan, 2014:8). According to him, since he went to the Senate, he has achieved a lot for his constituents, especially in providing jobs for about 125 of them, and construction of schools, and health facilities. But the governor's camp has denied the allegation of intimidation adding also that such could not be the case since the governors was yet to declare his intention to run for senate against Senator Kuta.

The same scenario is building up in Benue State where the governor of the State, Gabriel Suswan, is said to be secretly quietly plotting to out-stage the incumbent senator, Barnabas Gemade, from the Senate. Suswan has not formally made his aspiration open, but all indication points to the direction that he is, by all indications, plotting to go to the Senate, after his current tenure, which is his second term as governor ends in May 2015, to represent Benue North East otherwise called Zone A. Like in Niger State, the ambition has reportedly pitted him against Gemade, who by no means is an experienced politician; a journey that has seen him as a former National Chairman of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party, (PDP) and former Works Minister. Gemade it was learnt has made it clear that he is ready to fight even if it means dumping the PDP to the fledgling, All Progressive Congress (APC). However, sources informed that the party leadership is not ready for such high profile battle between the duo knowing that Gemade is not one to be waved aside. Nonetheless, he got the inkling of trouble early last year when some of his constituents led by his in-law and former member of the Benue State House of Assembly on the platform of PDP, Atoza Ihindan, and some party elders, gathered at the Akume Atongo Stadium in Katsina-Ala to celebrate Suswan's Supreme Court's victory

over allegation of certificate forgery. At the end of the event, the elders endorsed the governor to take the legislative seat from Gemade, who is currently in his second year in the Senate. They went further to describe the senator as self-serving egocentric. Like giving a dog a bad name to hang it, the elders also harped on the need to have a generational shift in favour of the governor. They also expressed satisfaction with the performance of the governor and added that his wealth of experience would better be put to use in the Senate from 2015. Suswan it could be recalled was a two term member of the House of Representatives before he was elected to the Benue state Governorship. Gemade reacted angrily to the development. He told a news conference in Abuja, that his second term was not negotiable. He gave two reasons for this: first, the former PDP boss said the governor was being distracted by the elders; and secondly, the seat would not be vacant. His disposition rather infuriated the PDP elders who perceived him as being arrogant and therefore intensified the plot to oust him for Mr. Suswan. They upped the ante by allegedly setting up a campaign team and office as well as coordinators and patrons in each of the seven local government areas in the district for the governor (Agbese and Hassan, 2014). While reacting to Mr. Suswan's perceived ambition, Cletus Akwaya, his media aide told *PREMIUM TIMES* that:

His Excellency has not said he is contesting the Senatorial election. Some elders are asking him to contest because they feel he will too young to retire from politics after leaving office as governor. The governor is still studying their request and will make his decision known at the appropriate time. For now he has not told anybody he is contesting (Owete, 2013:9). Prior to the PDP elders' actions, however, Mr. Suswan, who is generally called 'Civilian General,' boasted at a political rally in the Tarka Local Government Area of the State, that whenever he sets his eyes on anything, he would work hard to get it. Not a few believed that it was an indirect reference to the impending political battle between him and Mr. Gemade, who he allegedly backed for the senatorial seat in 2011 against one Mathias Byuan, who was initially favoured to secure the PDP ticket in 2011. When the Benue governor eventually announces his decision to contest, he would bank on his cordial relationship with President Goodluck Jonathan and the PDP headquarters to defeat the party's former national chairman (Aziken, 2013:11).

Senator Liyel Imoke, governor of Cross River has been the subject of much speculation as a possible contestant for the Cross River Central senatorial seat in 2015. The speculation around Imoke it was learnt is fueled by claims that being a former senator, he could be in pole position for a principal office, and possibly the Senate presidency if President Goodluck Jonathan does not seek reelection. Such speculations may have fueled the subtle squabble between aides and associates of the governor and the incumbent Cross River Central senator, Senator Victor Ndoma-Egba, SAN who is the Leader of the Senate. Senator Ndoma-Egba who was at one time one of the closest associates of Imoke, it is learned, is interested in returning to the Senate in 2015 and it is thus not surprising that apprehension may have led to acrimony between his camp and that of the governor. Senator Imoke it was learned, is however,

not interested in returning to the Senate. According to his Chief Press Secretary, Mr. Christian Ita, *"the governor is not contesting any other election again. He wants to rest after his second term. He keeps telling us that to contest an election is not an easy task, it is stressful and he will want to rest after his second term"* (Eteng, 2014:10). For Liyel Imoke the speculations are rife that he is interested to replace his good friend, his one time confidant, the Senate leader, Senator Victor Ndoma-Egba (SAN); it is therefore to be fully ascertained, whether the current ambition of the amiable and vibrant Hon. Owan Enorh to replace Ndoma Egba come 2015 is not a smoke screen, a cover for Imoke to appear subsequently as a consensus to stop the friction created by the Ndoma-Egba and Hon. Enor conflict. It is yet to be ascertained also whether the people of the district would trade-off a No. 3 (Senate President) in the senate to admit a green horn to start all over. It is yet also to be explained how Imoke intends to withdraw his earlier campaign message to the people during the last general election wherein he gave the impression that, because Ndoma-Egba is a ranking senator, a green horn like Hycinth Patrick Iwara should not replace him. In all of this speculation; it is only time that will tell. That Imoke was a senator between 1991 – 1992 is not any better.

After two terms in office Governor Emmanuel Uduaghan of Delta State was learnt was setting himself on retiring and probably back into his medical practice, but that seem not to be the case again. The governor it was learnt may cave in to pressures from associates to step to the Senate. Besides the attraction of sustaining his political relevance in the polity, a move into the Senate is almost a free entry for the governor if the incumbent senator, Senator James Manager decides to step down. Senator Manager has spent an unprecedented three terms representing the Delta South senatorial district. Should he step aside for Uduaghan, it would be in line with the convention that each of the three major tribes in the constituency, Itsekiri, Isoko and Ijaw would take the seat turn by turn. Senator Manager has spent an unprecedented three terms representing the Delta South senatorial district. Should he step aside for Uduaghan, it would be in line with the convention that each of the three major tribes in the constituency, Itsekiri, Isoko and Ijaw would take the seat turn by turn. The last occupant was Senator Stella Omu from Isoko. Senator Manager's longevity has largely been traced to his influence in the PDP machinery cobbled together by the former governor of the state, Chief James Ibori under whom he served as commissioner.

However, what promises to be the most contentious battle is the unfolding tit for tat between the Deputy President of the Senate, Senator Ike Ekweremadu and Governor Sullivan Chime of Enugu State for the Enugu West Senatorial District. The two are currently embroiled in a battle of wit. It is not news that Ekweremadu and Chime are each other's juggler. There are no pretenses, that Chime wants to come to the Senate at the expiration of his tenure in 2015. The battle is so fierce that the governor some time last year embargoed another term for all the Enugu team in the National Assembly. But Chime is not having a smooth sail. He was promptly challenged by some other members not only Ekweremadu. They pointedly told him that he lacks the constitutional powers to deny any member the right to contest if the person so wish.

Just like the normal sibling rivalry, the Ekweremadu and Chime contest, is a rivalry that emanated from their days under Governor Chimaroke Nnamani. Ekweremadu became Chief of Staff when Chime as Special Adviser reported to him. When Ekweremadu became Secretary to the State Government, Chime became a commissioner reporting to the SSG. When Ekweremadu became Deputy President of the Senate, Chime in turn became governor and thence some claim, commenced a battle by the governor to express himself outside Ekweremadu's shadow. The shadow boxing between both men which occurred for most of the first term turned full blown recently at a meeting between the governor and members of the National Assembly from Enugu State during which the governor decreed that members who had served for two or more terms would not be returning to the National Assembly. That meeting was almost a reminder of that night in 2007 when then Governor Chimaroke Nnamani had lined up Enugu members of the National Assembly and his associates at home and dictated what and what offices they would vie for in the 2007 election.

Ekweremadu it was learnt, however, stood up to Chime and told him that he had no capacity to dictate for them and moved that the meeting be closed if the governor had no other agenda. Ekweremadu's stern stance reportedly emboldened another member of the National Assembly who seconded his motion for the adjournment of the meeting. Since that controversial meeting, Ekweremadu and the governor have not sat together but aides and associates have increasingly exchanged barbs. Ekweremadu who it was believed was about relinquishing his seat in 2015, it was learnt, has based on the challenge from the governor now set himself for a possible challenge with the governor who it is alleged may have set his sights on Ekweremadu's seats. Ekweremadu who has through his influence drawn several Federal Government projects to his Enugu West constituency has recently through an aide accused the governor's camp of trying to destroy constituency projects facilitated to the constituency. The chief press secretary to the governor Mr. Chukwudi Achife, has, however, debunked the claim saying, *"the allegations are not only baseless and completely fallacious but the tone in which they were made, smacks of desperation"* (Awom, 2014:14).

Governor Theodore Orji of Abia State may have become the latest in the league of second term governors with an eye for the Senate. Stakeholders from the governor's Abia Central Senatorial Constituency at the end of a meeting last week, said the resolution was upon what they described as the governor's good work in office. One time national chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party, PDP, Prince Vincent Ogbulafor was among the several stakeholders from the party who were at the meeting that was organized by eight members of the House of Assembly from the area. The adoption of the governor as the zone's sole candidate for the Senate seat was irrespective of the intentions of the present occupant of that seat, Senator Nkechi Nwaogu. Senator Nwaogu, a veteran political fighter who fought her way to relevance in the House of Representatives, and in 2007, triumphed over two senators to take the Abia Central seat in the Senate may, however, not be bothered. Senator Nwaogu is presently enmeshed in the battle to succeed Governor Orji and make history as the first woman to be so elected as a governor. A couple of senators

are, however, not as lucky as Nwaogu. Many of them with an eye for continuity in the Senate are entrenched in battle that is redefining political allegiances and alliances across the land. However, no example has brought the issue to perspective as the battle of wits between Governor Godswill Akpabio and his senator, Aloloysius Etuk, (Akwa Ibom, North). The situation is more dramatic and frightening in Akwa Ibom State where the governor, Godswill Akpabio, is also on the last lap of his rule. The apostle of "Uncommon Development" has publicly declared his intention to contest for a senatorial seat, which would pit him against the incumbent, Aloloysius Etok, currently spending his second term in the upper legislative chamber. In April 2013, Mr. Etok raised the alarm that the governor was planning to assassinate him over his (Etok) ambition to re-contest the senatorial election in 2015. He alleged that the governor paid somebody to kill him. To buttress his claim, the senator, who recalled the abduction of his wife and mother-in-law, alleged that he received series of text messages from "Akpabio killer squad" threatening to assassinate him, if he insists on contesting the Senatorial election come 2015. According to Mr. Etok:

I have on this phone some text messages that if I don't retract the statement that I will contest election, after seven days, I will see what they will do. The governor has also instructed different groups that if I don't retract the statement within seven days, I will either be dead to stop me or alive to retract the statement (Okaforadi and Puma, 2013:18). In a tone that must have shocked many and especially Senator Etuk, the governor during a reception for some visiting senators last April, told them that he was looking forward to joining the senators in the next Senate in 2015. Akpabio who apparently had not informed Etok of his intention, added salt to the injury for the incumbent senator, when he said that Etok would be his campaign manager for the contest. The comment apparently brought out fire from Senator Etok, who before then, had been regarded as a weakling who would cave in at the first mention of any interest in his seat by Governor Akpabio. Etok fired back almost immediately and probably with the aim of getting maximum impact resorted through a radio station saying:

Akpabio must as a matter of fact respect my office if he does not respect me like I respect his office. I have told him that there is no vacancy in the senate, as he advised the governor to look elsewhere for political relevance. He can look elsewhere. If he needs a vacancy to be filled, let him look into the state executive council vacancy and fill (Izang, 2014:42). Given that Akpabio's section of the constituency has been producing senators, many are waiting for a titanic battle ahead. It, however took the intervention of the security agencies which probed the allegation of planned assassination for the dust to settle. Interestingly, it was Mr. Akpabio who manipulated Mr. Etok's victory in 2007 against the winner of the PDP primaries for the seat. But the Akwa Ibom State governor, who chairs the PDP Governors Forum, is not the only one eyeing Mr. Etok's seat. A former member of the House of Representatives representing Ikot-Ekpene/Obot Akara/Essien Udim federal Constituency, Patty Etete, had indicated interest for the seat and even vowed to defeat Mr. Akpabio in the PDP primaries should the governor go ahead with his plan to join the senatorial contest. In February 2013, Mr. Etete had recounted that he had the greatest support for the seat in 2011, but he was

denied the ticket. He did not explain who denied him the ticket, anyway. However, not a few believe that if the governor goes ahead, his victory in the primaries is a foregone conclusion. The political calculations in the district appear to favour him. First, as the Chairman of the PDP Governors Forum, it is unlikely that the party will deny him the ticket and settle for his opponents. Secondly, with enormous resources at his disposal and as an incumbent governor, Mr. Akpabio could bulldoze his way to secure the ticket. Also, a former Commissioner for Housing and Urban Renewal in the state, Emmanuel Enoidem, who also showed interest in the seat in 2007, has reportedly yielded his political structure to the governor and has been using it to campaign for him. Even so, the road may not still be easy for the loquacious governor. Indigenes of Etim Ekpo, Ika, Ukanafun, Abak and Oruk Anam, generally referred in political circles as Abak Five, are reportedly insisting it is their turn to produce a senator for the district. Mr. Akpabio would have to surmount their challenge to secure the PDP ticket in 2015.

Governor Jonah Jang of Plateau State is not left out for the senate. Jang, speculations have it that the current senator is Jang's crony planted to hold brief for him in for 2015, whether that is the true or false, sooner than late events will tell. Governor Jonah Jang and Senator Gyantong Pwajok, may slug it out because they are both from the same Senatorial district. Pwajok became the Senator representing Plateau North after Senator Gyan Dangtongwas killed in an attack by gunmen in the state, where he was reportedly attending a burial of one of his constituents. Observers are saying that Pwajok was single handedly enthroned by Jang to secure the seat for him, while he completes his second tenure as governor of Plateau state. It is therefore believed that he will willingly relinquish the position to Jang when the time comes. It is also being speculated that with Jang being a political ally of President Jonathan, as a factional chairman of Nigeria Governors Forum, he would have every political support he needs from the centre to defeat Pwajok even if the election is to be contested on merit level.

There is yet the insinuation that Pwajok, who was a former aide to Jang may have been pencilled down to succeed the governor, barring last minute change of strategy. But, should that fail, there are indications that Pwajok may square up against his former boss at the polls in 2015 for the Senatorial slot. His is more so when his profile has continued to rise in his short stay in the Red Chamber (Nzemeke, 2013:4). Moreover, many people believe that Jang is not popular in his state, owing to his inability to stem the wanton killings in his state. It is believed that his government performed below standard to merit a vote for his senatorial ambition. These and other factors are seen as major challenge to his ambition. Those who know Governor Usman Saidu Dakingari of Kebbi state say he is already making moves to replace Senator Isa Galaudu, who represents Kebbi North in the Senate. Though the governor is yet to publicly declare his interest, Senator Galaudu is said not to be taking the threat to his political ambition with a pinch of salt, as he is said to be doubling his efforts towards 2015. The never-ending quarrel between Sokoto State Governor, Aliyu Magatakarda Wamakko, and Senator Ahmed Mohamed Macido is believed by some analysts to be because of the governor's plans to take up the

seat at the Senate after his tenure ends in 2015. The governor is yet to come out to declare, but it is known information that he is interested in the Senate seat. Kano State Governor, Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso and Senator Basheer Garba Lado are not the best of friends any longer. Before Kwankwaso defected from the PDP to the All Progressives Congress (APC), he had concluded plans to replace Lado for Kano Central. This is why Lado refused to join the governor in his new party. Senator Paulinus Igwe may be having sleepless nights currently, following the threat to his seat from Governor Martins Elechi of Ebonyi State. They are both from the same zone and it was learnt that the governor has even communicated his intention to replace the Senator in 2015, but Igwe has also given a condition that Elechi must support him for the governorship seat.

Implications

Many reasons have been adduced for the sudden desperation by governors to become senators. There are those who opine that many of these governors, especially those who have been involved in some corruption cases, zealously pursue senatorial ambitions to shield themselves from the law. Joshua Dariye, former governor of Plateau State, is one senator who gives credence to this school of thought. It is widely believed that Dariye chose to go to the Senate in order to hide from the economic and financial crimes commission, EFCC, which was bent on prosecuting him for corruption. It will be recalled that while serving as governor between 1999 and 2007, Dariye was arrested in London in 2004 for being in possession of large sums of money. He, however, skipped bail and returned to Nigeria to resume his duties as governor. The EFCC charged him to court for the embezzlement of state funds in 2006 but till date, the case has not gone far. George Akume, former governor of Benue State, is also another example. He is also accused of using the Senate as a means of evading prosecution. Akume became a Senator in 2007 after ruling Benue for eight years. He was re-elected to the Senate in April 2011 on the platform of the now defunct Action Congress of Nigeria, ACN. *The Broad Street Journal* reported that sometimes in 2005, Akume's international passport was seized by the EFCC (Eme, 2013).

Asides running from the long arms of the law, some have alleged that governors aspire for senatorial positions just to pass away time, enjoy their loots and rake in more 'jumbo pay' from the national treasury. With more than N48 million as salary every quarter, senators in Nigeria are some of the highest paid in the world. Unlike those employed in other spheres of human endeavour, Nigerian senators have so much time to spare as they do not have to work every day. Section 63 of the 1999 constitution states that: "*The Senate and the House of Representatives shall each sit for a period of not less than one hundred and eighty-one days in a year*" (FRN, 1999). That leaves a senator with about 184 days of idleness in a year. Like a double-edged sword, having former governors in the Senate has its pros and cons. Some analysts have argued that because lawmaking is a different business from governing a state, the governors may feel like a fish out of water in the Senate. Wesley Ekpekuede, a political science lecturer at Niger Delta University, says the trend is bad for Nigerian's democracy because it will deny other people the opportunity to

contribute to national development. It is bad for our democracy because what we are doing is simply recycling leaders. How can someone who has been governor for eight years retire to the Senate? What contribution will he make? They are just there to enjoy the perks and pass away time. Ekpekuede's views tally with that of Olorunnimbe Mamora, a former senator. In a recent interview, Mamora said the Nigerian Senate will soon become an assembly of former governors (Izang, 2014). Put differently, it has become the habit of former governors according to Ekpekuede and Mamora to see the Senate as their retirement ground. It will get to a time that the Senate will become the assembly of former governors. Unfortunately, we have nothing to show for it because all they do is try and remote-control the governors they installed. We are so unserious in this country; otherwise those who want to remain in positions should be people who have shown a level of commitment. These former governors lack legislative experience because they are coming from the executive. The Senate should be a place of serious legislative processes.

Some of the senators that may be affected have according to our findings, perfected plans to either fight the governors and dare the consequences or defect to other political parties while other have indicated that they could do with a soft landing if offered other positions in their states (Eteng, 2014). The reality that the Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria would in the future become a resting haven for ex-governors is gradually sinking in. The buildup has begun and of course it is not lost on close watchers of the National Assembly that the ambition of the serving governors have suddenly shaped the political trajectory of Nigeria's political environment vis a vis the development of the country's parliamentary democracy. Since the country's return to democracy in 1999, the hallowed chambers of the upper arm of the Nigerian legislature has cut a reputation for attracting very senior citizens across the country; ex-military administrators, former governors and ministers, top political leaders all at one point or the other have graced the red chambers of the National Assembly. But it is now trending, that second term governors seeking political relevance for personal aggrandisement use the Senate as a vehicle to keep their political career active.

From all indications, the Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has become a resting place for most former governors in the country especially after their second terms in office. But the development according to Senate watchers has not so far translated into any added value in the red chamber (Uzundu, 2014). Instead, it has only introduced an 'executive mentality' in the Upper Chamber of the nation's legislature where the governors' turned lawmakers. bark orders like in their former positions as chief executives which is a departure from the argumentative nature of the legislature. Currently, there are eight former governors in the Senate. They include Senators Kabiru Gaiya- Kano South, Alhaji Abba Bukar Ibrahim-Yobe, Chris Ngige- Anambra Central, Bukola Saraki- Kwara Central, George Akume, Senate Minority Leader- Benue North-West, Abdullahi Adamu-Nasarawa West, Danjuma Goje-Gombe Central, Ahmed Mohammed Makarfi- Kaduna North and Joshua Dariye- Plateau Central. According to Newsworld's investigation, majority of these former state executives perform below expectation. But Ahmed Mohammed Makarfi,

Chris Ngige and George Akume seem to be trying more than other colleagues in the hallowed chamber. In other climes, the Senate is revered for its ambience of dignity and honour, only deserving of men of no less virtue. In Nigeria, it has become a safe haven of sort for corrupt ex-governors with running cases with the EFCC. Joshua Dariye for instance, in 2004 was arrested in London for money laundering. He jumped bail and returned to the country to resume his duties as governor of Plateau state. Today, he is a 'distinguished' Senator of the Federal Republic. Former governors turned senators with cases with the EFCC include Bukola Saraki, Chimaroke Nnamani, among others. Their presence in the Senate, keeps the anti-graft agencies at bay. Till date their cases have remained inconclusive. A sad reflection of the nature of anti-corruption war the government is waging (Uzundu, 2014). The outgoing governors are running gaga, majority of them want to be senators against the tide of the incumbents from their states. How it would impact on the polity is better left at the realm of political conjecture. Already there are fears among political analysts especially parliamentary commentators that, the incursion of the former governors, known for their dictatorial tendencies may mark the death or better steal the weakening of the National Assembly, the senate in particular.

This assertion gets credence on the current performance of the ex-governors in the senate. It is a truism that most of them have increasingly found it very difficult to find their feet in the chamber and even at the committee level. The influx of retiring governors to the Senate is an indication that their (s)election into the National Assembly complex are for reasons far from the nudge of the people for qualitative representation based on antecedents and the believe that their candidature can deliver democracy dividend. Second term governors who do not contest for Senate are either sceptical of their chances because they underperformed as state governors or will face stiff opposition from an incumbent Senator in the district. Many, like Mr. Akpabio realise that there might be no politician in the district that can match their political and financial clout if they throw their hat in the ring with victory all but guaranteed. Former governors like the pardoned political fugitive, Diepreye Alamieyeseigha is motivated by the quest to revive his ebbing political career in the Senate. Eleven erstwhile governors are currently in the 7th Senate. We can be certain it will increase come 2015 as it did after the 2003 and 2007 elections.

Expectations were rife that they would use their wealth of experience to influence debates on national issues in the Senate. A Senator noted that probably, the ex-governors, thought they would continue to wield the kind of powers they had while they served as governors, except for a handful, who are doing well in the Senate, the rest are just here doing nothing. You don't even see them often in the Senate doing their legislative work, and when they attend committee meetings, they almost talk as if they are still governors. That is why some of them don't even come to the Senate, they stay away (Nzemeke, 21013). Analysts are of the view that most of them and even intending ones have come to regard the senate as a resting home, that affords them some semblance of power and continued relevance in the credo of political power. Again others conjecture that the ex-governors have also come to see senate as a secure umbrella that could confer some level of

immunity from criminal prosecution and a source of influence peddling when out of office. That being the case, the weeping angle would be the National Assembly that would ultimately head to the downward slope in terms of quality of legislation and loss of vibrancy. Such development no doubt would increase the call for the adoption of a unicameral legislature that will see to the scrapping of the Senate to leave only the House of Representatives. Yet political analysts opined that such measure will definitely not solve the problem as the cult of the former governors will latch on any opportunity to straddle the corridors of power. Already, their ambition have somehow started overheating the political system. It has pitched them against serving senators in their constituencies and by extension against some political blocks. For example in Niger State, it is a battle of supremacy between the state governor, Babangida Aliyu and the serving senator, Dahiru Awaisu Kuta for the Eastern Senatorial District of Niger State in May 2015. Aliyu, the state governor, is completing his constitutionally approved second-term in office while Kuta is in his second term as the senator representing the district in the Senate.

Although Aliyu, who is also Chairman of the Northern State Governors Forum, (NSGF), has not publicly declared his aspiration to vie for the seat, but yet there is the common believed that he will spend his immediate political future in the upper house. His yet to be declared intention to contest the senatorial election is allegedly because his presidential ambition is clashing with that of President Goodluck Jonathan, who is also yet to formally announce his plan to re-contest. On that score, such realization by him that it would be almost impossible to secure the PDP presidential ticket has reportedly led him to eye the senatorial seat of the district. Kuta who is spending his sixth year in the Senate, is nothing letting anything to chance as he has cried out over the governor's alleged intimidation and vowed never to yield the seat to Mr. Aliyu, who also is a member of the PDP like him. In a fit of anger, the senator told journalists recently that no political machinations by Governor Aliyu would frustrate him from seeking the mandate of his people to return to the upper house for the third time come 2015.

The same scenario is building up in Benue State where the governor of the State, Gabriel Suswan, is said to be secretly plotting to out-stage the incumbent senator, Barnabas Gemade, from the Senate. Suswan has not formally made his aspiration open, but all indication points to the direction that he is, by all indications, plotting to go to the Senate, after his current tenure, which is his second term as governor ends in May 2015, to represent Benue North East otherwise called Zone A. Like in Niger, the ambition has reportedly pitted him against Gemade, who by no means is an experienced politician; a journey that has seen him as a former National Chairman of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party, (PDP) and former Works Minister. Gemade it was learnt has made it clear that he is ready to fight even if it means dumping the PDP to the fledgling, All Progressive Congress (APC). However, sources informed that the party leadership is not ready for such high profile battle between the duo, knowing that Gemade is not one to be waved aside. Nonetheless, he got the inkling of trouble early last year when some of his constituents led by his in-law and former member of the Benue State House of

Assembly on the platform of PDP, Atoza Ihindan, and some party elders, gathered at the Akume Atongo Stadium in Katsina-Ala to celebrate Suswam's Supreme Court's victory over allegation of certificate forgery. At the end of the event, the elders endorsed the governor to take the legislative seat from Gemade, who is currently in his second year in the Senate. They went further to describe the senator as self-serving egocentric. Like giving a dog a bad name to hang it, the elders also harped on the need to have a generational shift in favour of the governor. They also expressed satisfaction with the performance of the governor and added that his wealth of experience would better be put to use in the Senate from 2015. Susan it could be recalled was a two term member of the House of Representatives before he was elected to the Benue state Governorship. However, observers say that there is nothing wrong if the governors will go there and work. But experience has showed that most of them go there to rest and plot how to extend their executive tendency in the upper chamber. For example, it was the former governors in the Senate that were behind the recent rumble in the red chamber as they were poised to take over the leadership of the National Assembly by force through attempted plot to impeach the Senate President David Mark.

Three former governors of Kwara, Nasarawa and Gombe States were fingered as sponsors (Abideen, 2013). They also plotted decamp of about eleven PDP aggrieved senators to APC to get the required number that will impeach the Senate President. However, along the line the plot was thwarted by Mark coupled with the fact that the affected senators went to court to stop PDP from declaring their seats vacant. The matter is pending in court. In any case, these senators pronounced their decamping to APC on the floor of the house but still sit comfortably on the majority side of the Senate occupied by PDP senators. Another stumbling block on the way of former governors from taking over the Senate is the Ranking of Senators believed to have been inserted in the Senate Standing Orders 2011 as Amended to checkmate the excesses of former governors from grabbing the Senate wholly. Chapter 2 (2) of the Senate Standing Orders states that "Nomination of senators to serve as Presiding Officers and appointment of Principal Officers of the Senate or on any Parliamentary delegations shall be in accordance with the ranking of senators.

In determining ranking, the following order shall apply (i) Senators returning based on number of times re-elected. (ii) Senators who had been members of the House of Representatives and senators elected for the first time". Against this backdrop, most first time former governors were not eligible to contest the position of Senate President and other presiding officers. Checks revealed that ex-governors want this Ranking Order amended to allow them contest the position of Senate President and other presiding officers. This, pundits say will take some time to materialise especially when they are yet to change their barking attitudes. Most of them hardly contribute valid debates on the floor of the house or in their various committees. While some are perpetually absent from sittings. They only see it as a resting place to supervise their wealth and business concerns to the detriment of the people they claim to represent. There is no doubt that they have deep purses to pursue their agenda but most of them lack

the argumentative skill to thrive in the parliament unlike the executive where their orders are not questioned but become law immediately in most of the states. Senate watchers say that a fresher in the National Assembly need at least four years to learn the art of law making unless those who have been in the state assemblies. But these former governors want to appropriate power at all cost before learning how to climb the legislative ladder. This is the crux of the matter believed to have been solved by the ranking order as amended. Be that as it may, the influx of former governors in the Senate will continue to create tension until they learn to adapt to legislative tenets.

Recommendations

The ruling party as it concerned its governors's ambitions has an urgent task and heavy responsibility to resolve this contentious matter promptly to avert grave consequences sooner or later. The opposition is set to harvest any fall out. The situation calls for a bold decision devoid of sentiments in view of the PDP earlier position to return its members back to the National Assembly. The President and the party hierarchy have a duty to remember that the senators and the senate as an institution have been used to stabilize the centre. No senator deserves to be sacrificed for the endless ambition of some of these governors. Again, the senate as an institution is similarly under a solemn duty to protect itself and its members against the over zealotness of some of our governors. The Nigerian people must resist this political trick wherein state governors intimidate sitting senators so as to create a place for them in the senate for them to make money to defend criminal charges touching on corruption against them by the Economic Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).

One may pause to reflect on the statistics of former governors-turn-senators standing trial across the country for corruption charges. Both the PDP and APC as responsible political parties have a duty to want clearance from the EFCC for governors wishing to contest any political position in 2015. It is a shame for our governors turned senators to be in the senate whilst criminal charges are hanging on their neck. It certainly would be suicidal and high level risk for a responsible government to consciously create a situation whereby outing governors converge again in such numbers in the senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to consolidate on their former divisions in the governors' forum. They possess the financial capacity to distract whosoever would be president of the country.

Conclusion

As political activities towards the general election in 2015 gather momentum, on folding drama capable of upstaging or affecting the Jonathan presidency is the avoidable ongoing cold war between some final term governors and the senators representing their senatorial districts. Some of the final term governors appeared determined and desperate to retire to the senate come 2015 election. In modern democratic societies, especially in Nigeria, the Senate, besides the presidency, is the ultimate place and institution to belong, if the struggle to gain access to the elite status is anything to go by. It is argued, once you are safe in the precinct of the hallowed chambers of the

Senate, you can aspire to remain there for life as there is no term limit like the presidency or governorship or even chairmanship position. Two former governors in the short-lived Third Republic, Abba Bukar Ibrahim (Yobe State) and Kabiru Gaya (Kano State) were the first set to be elected into the hallowed chambers of the senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria at different stages of this democratic dispensation. Currently, the 'Red' Chamber, as the Upper House in the National Assembly is referred to, is replete with not less than 11 ex-governors from different states of the federation, and the list is likely to swell come 2015 if media reports on governors who are on their last term in office are anything to go by. In 2007, after their eight-year tenure ended as governors, Ibrahim Saminu Turaki (Jigawa State), Chimaroke Nnamani (Enugu State), Adamu Aliero (Kebbi State), Bukar Abba Ibrahim (Yobe State) and Ahmed Makarfi (Kaduna State) all won elections to the senate. Turaki and Nnamani failed to return after their first term ended in the elite chamber, coupled with occasional punctuation by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC, while Aliero abandoned the senate for a ministerial position barely after a year and half.

Those who are still in the Senate include: Bukar Abba Ibrahim (second term), Kabiru Gaya (second term), Shaba Lafajji (2011), George Akume (second term), Joshua Chibi Dariye and Abdullahi Adamu (both were elected in 2011). Others are Ahmed Mohammed Makarfi (second term); Chris Ngige, Danjuma Muhammed Goje, Bukola Saraki (all came in 2011) and Ahmed Yarima Bakura (second term). Other former governors who attempted but failed to enter the red chamber immediately after their tenure include Ahmed Adamu Mua'azu (now new PDP national chairman), Otunba Gbenga Daniel (Ogun State), Boni Haruna (Adamawa State, now a ministerial nominee) and Ali Modu Sheriff (Borno State). Those who are not qualified to seek for re-election and are keen to switch to the senate include Theodore Orji (Abia State), Martin Elechi (Ebonyi State), Sullivan Chime (Enugu State), Jonah Jang (Plateau State) and Gabriel Suswam (Benue State). Ali Sheriff and Orji Uzor Kalu, both former governors, want to stage a comeback, especially Sheriff, who became governor after a stint in the Senate between 1999 and 2003.

He attempted to re-enter the Senate immediately he left the government house but was defeated by one of his protégés. But, what are these former governors, who after spending eight years as governors coming to do in the Senate; are there no other capable people in the state or why do they want to unseat those already there? The summary of their answers have always been "we want to contribute our quota in the development of our people," or "we are inspired to serve the country better". There are arguments as to why Nigerians struggle to go to the National Assembly or occupy any elective office other than the primary reason of representing their people, i.e., material benefit has been attributed as the propellant that motivates them. A former Senatorial candidate in the Federal Capital Territory, Mr. Kayode Ajulo believes majority of senators perform below our expectation. It has gradually turned into a retirees forum where the qualification is that you must be retired or sacked, and in the absence of the next thing to do, you pick your party's ticket and move to Senate, this shouldn't be the case. The senate is supposed to be the heartbeat of a dynamic and people's legislature.

Everywhere in the world, the Senate is the totem of parliamentary democracy; that is why it is called upper legislative house (Izang, 2013). This, undoubtedly, has rubbed the Senate of its vibrancy and robust legislature, needed to move the country forward.

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