

**SITUATIONS OF ANOMIE AND THE CHALLENGE OF GOD-FATHERISM IN
NIGERIAN POLITICS: INSIGHTS FROM NWADIGWE'S *THE INSTALLATION***

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Abstract

This study critically examines Charles Nwadigwe's *The Installation* to explore how Nigerian politicians and their stooges perpetuate conditions of anomie in the polity. The analysis reveals a disturbing nexus of corruption, declining patriotism, and manipulative practices that result from the installation of loyalists in political offices. These practices, the study argues, are central to Nigeria's crises of poor governance and leadership. Anchored on Emile Durkheim's Theory of Anomie—which focuses on social phenomena (or “social facts”) that regulate human conduct—the study highlights how corruption, electoral malpractice, and the imposition of loyalists weaken social integration and solidarity, thereby fostering conditions of anomie. Durkheim's framework suggests that the higher the incidence of corruption and manipulation, the weaker the collective consciousness and social cohesion. Methodologically, the research employs case study and content analysis within a qualitative design. The primary source is *The Installation*, while secondary data are drawn from books, journals, newspapers, and online sources. Findings indicate that godfatherism—where powerful individuals manipulate politics through patronage and control—contributes significantly to Nigeria's social disintegration by undermining democratic institutions, entrenching mediocrity, and fostering corruption. The study concludes that Nigeria urgently requires systemic reforms and a reorientation of political values. It argues that meaningful progress lies in embracing meritocracy, strengthening democratic institutions, and promoting culture, modern technology, and social change to reverse the tide of anomie threatening the nation's future.

Keywords: Anomie, God-fatherism, Politics, Corruption, Patriotism, Social Integration

Introduction

Nigeria, one of Africa's largest economies with a rich cultural heritage and indigenous technology, has for decades grappled with persistent socio-economic and political crises. At the core of these challenges lies the pervasive culture of god-fatherism. This phenomenon, marked by the installation of stooges who often lack the requisite qualifications for leadership, has far-reaching consequences. It undermines democratic institutions, entrenches a culture of patronage, and rewards loyalty over merit. Those who secure positions of power often do so through sycophancy and allegiance to powerful patrons rather than competence. As a result, resources are misallocated,

development is stifled, and corruption thrives. Chinua Achebe rightly observes that “to hold any useful discussion of corruption, we must first locate it where it properly belongs—in the ranks of the powerful” (38). Echoing this, Wole Soyinka warns in *Season of Anomie* that “the season of anomie is upon us and it is a time of great danger” (56).

Although Nigeria has transitioned from military rule to democracy, the dominance of god-fatherism persists. In this system, wealthy and influential patrons—the so-called “godfathers”—sponsor and control politicians in exchange for loyalty, financial rewards, or other benefits. Outgoing leaders also handpick and install loyalists as successors, consolidating power at the expense of the populace. This practice entrenches mediocrity over merit, sidelines competent individuals, and concentrates political authority in the hands of a few. Achebe notes that “the greatest sufferer is the nation itself which has to ... accommodate the incompetence of a favored citizen and ... endure a general decline of morale and subversion of efficiency ... until we put merit back on the national agenda” (20). The consequences of this trend are evident in the rise of social vices including prostitution (now rebranded as hookup), advanced fee fraud (419), internet scams (*yahoo* and *yahoo plus*), robbery, banditry, kidnappings, assassinations, and ritual killings. This study therefore investigates the disturbing web of corruption, declining patriotism, and manipulative practices dramatized in Nwadiigwe’s *The Installation*. These interrelated ills, it contends, are symptomatic of Nigeria’s broader crisis of poor governance and weak leadership. The analysis is anchored on Emile Durkheim’s Theory of Anomie, which emphasizes social phenomena—what he terms “social facts”—that regulate human conduct. Durkheim conceptualizes anomie as a breakdown of social norms and values, producing disconnection, confusion, and disorientation among individuals (*The Division of Labour in Society*, Book III, Ch. 1, 1893). In this context, corruption, rigged elections, and the imposition of unqualified leaders weaken social integration, breed instability, and foster widespread apathy.

Reversing the tide of anomie in Nigeria requires a multifaceted approach that addresses the root causes of social disintegration. Modern technology can foster community engagement and rebuild cohesion, while culture remains a powerful tool for resisting anti-social practices. Nwadiigwe’s depiction of the Umuato community illustrates this: by invoking their cultural heritage, the people successfully resisted Chief Ikenga’s attempt to install Nwaora, his non-biological son, as Crown Prince. Their collective defiance underscores the role of cultural values in countering god-fatherism. Ultimately, Nigeria must embrace systemic reforms, cultural renewal, and merit-driven governance to overcome the crisis of anomie and chart a sustainable path toward national development. He states that:

... I know how you feel. You may not know how much it pains me to make that decision. But honestly, I have no moral justification to install you as the Crown Prince... Nwaora, I know that one day you will find out the truth. But I wanted you

to be matured enough to bear the impact. Please don't blame us. We wanted the best for you... I had to reveal the truth about your paternity to save you, our people and our land from further bloodshed and destruction. (69)

This example illustrates how cultural identity and value can serve as a bulwark against undue influence, thereby promoting accountability, highlighting the potential for culture to be a transformative force in challenging god-fatherism.

Conceptual Clarifications

- i. **Social Solidarity:** Social Solidarity, according to Durkheim's concept, refers to the shared values, norms and institutions that bind individuals together, providing a strong sense of community and social order.
- ii. **Regulatory Functions:** Durkheim contends that social institutions, such as family, education and government play crucial roles in regulating human conduct in order to maintain social order.
- iii. **Disconnection:** Disconnection refers to the gap between human desires and the means to achieve them, leading to anomie. This definition has its bearing in Robert Merton's Strain Theory and Durkheim's concept of anomie. Research on social disconnection shows that pursuing goals that are consistent with society's values leads to greater well-being. Conversely, striving for goals that are driven by personal gain often leads to decreased well-being among members of the society, leading to anomie. (183)
- iv. **God-fatherism** refers to a patronage system where influential figures wield enormous power and control through personal connections, favouritism and loyalty. The system allows such individuals to circumvent formal structures and meritocracy, often resulting in unequal access to resources and opportunities.

Portrayal of God-fatherism and Situations of Anomie in Nigeria

The concept of god-fatherism is synonymous with Nigeria's political landscape, with some scholars tracing its emergence to the country's tumultuous political history, including the era of the First Republic (1960-1966). The January 1966 coup which overthrew the First Republic, highlighted governance issues and corruption, thus laying the groundwork for the rise of patronage systems and god-fatherism in Nigerian politics. Simply defined, god-fatherism refers to a system of patronage and control where rich, powerful and influential individuals exert enormous influence over others. Associated with god-fatherism are networks of loyalty, favouritism and sometimes, coercion in exchange for loyalty, support and benefits, including installation of loyalists in positions of authority.

The play that has been selected for this study along with additional consulted works, suggest that Nigeria's persistent anomic situations stem from the rise of ill-prepared leaders who assume power through flawed electoral processes, often exemplified by rigging. This illegitimate seizure of power is the root cause of the country's long standing instability. The resultant crisis of legitimacy has rendered the country the butt of international jokes. No leader in other climes who came to power legitimately wants to reckon with Nigerian leaders and this is a national embarrassment.

The dust kicked up by the Nyesom Wike and Sim Fubara imbroglio in Rivers State, for example, is still raging. It is widely alleged that Wike handpicked, anointed and installed Fubara in office as the Executive Governor of Rivers State to be his successor. As a result, Wike reportedly sought to maintain control over Rivers State's resources. However, Fubara appears to have resisted Wike's influence, seeking to establish himself as an independent leader. And since then, it has been Wike's faction led by Martin Amaewhule versus Fubara's faction led by Oko-Jumbo, whom Governor Fubara has transacted business of State with at the Rivers State House of Assembly since the widely publicised and alleged defection of the 27 law makers led by Martin Amaewhule from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the All Progressive Congress (APC). This power struggle in the State is clearly reminiscent of past conflicts in the same Rivers State and indeed in many other States in Nigeria where former Governors tried to exert control over their successors.

The phenomenon of god-fatherism is a pervasive issue in Nigeria, from State to National levels. This phenomenon where rich and influential individuals hijack the political process and exert significant control over politicians, has been a major obstacle to the full maturity of Nigeria's democracy.

The far-reaching consequences of god-fatherism include undermining the democratic process and thwarting the will of the people, thus perpetuating corrupt practices exemplified by bribery and embezzlement of public funds with attendant severe economic and social implications. Nigeria's oil refineries, for instance, have consistently underperformed and therefore, failed to meet local fuel demands due mainly to the pervasive influence of god-fatherism and its socio-economic implications, especially corruption. This is because unqualified and handpicked individuals are appointed to key positions in the oil industry, even as petroleum ministers, thereby prioritising personal aggrandizement, corrupt enrichment and loyalty to their patrons over merit, competence and public interest. The result is that Nigerians are made to bear the burden of perpetual and arbitrary fuel price hikes and scarcity while these failed appointees and their benefactors reap the benefits of the rotten system.

The consequences of anomic situations, being the direct outcomes of a breakdown in social norms, include increased crime rates and violence, social unrest and protests, economic instability, a surge in inequality, increased human rights abuses, weak institutions and citizens' loss of confidence in

their leaders and the system. This poses a major threat to the fabric of the Nigerian society, thereby jeopardizing its stability, development and the general wellbeing of citizens.

God-fatherism and corruption are interconnected in ways that include god-fathers exerting influence to secure benefits, appointments or favours for their stooges, thus leading to corrupt practices like nepotism, cronyism and favouritism. God-fatherism is capable of distorting the functioning of institutions, leading to corruption and ineptitude. When appointments are based on loyalty rather than merit, it can compromise the effectiveness and integrity of institutions. According to Transparency International, “Corruption in Nigeria is a major obstacle to development with widespread bribery, embezzlement and cronyism, undermining trust in institutions and hindering economic growth”

Breakdown of Social Order: Nigeria’s Anomic Reality

On a daily basis, Nigeria records a surge in anomic situations, characterised by a breakdown in social norms, law, order and institutions. There is therefore, a complete disregard for or even an absence of the rule of law which in turn, leads to a disturbing rise in insecurity, violence and lawlessness thereby creating a climate of fear nurtured by uncertainty. The incessant attacks by *Boko Haram* and other faceless bandits in the North-East and North-West regions and the phenomenon of *Unknown Gunmen* in the Eastern part of the country have resulted in widespread displacement, stunted economic development, destruction of property and loss of lives in the affected regions. The herder-farmer conflicts being witnessed particularly in the Middle-Belt region of the country have also worsened the anomic reality. Benue and Niger States, said to be the largest producers of food in the country have been taken over by bandits. According to *This Day*, as reported online by Deji Elumoye:

A member of the House of Representatives, representing Kwande/Ushongo Federal Constituency in Benue State, Hon. Terseer Ugbor, has sent a Save Our Soul message to President Bola Tinubu and the nations’s security agencies over the nefarious activities of suspected Fulani herdsmen terrorizing his home state... Fulani herdsmen have taken over 40 percent of the entire land in Benue State with thousands of people displaced. (np)

The growing trend of kidnapping for ransom, armed robbery and cultism has substantially contributed to the erosion of social order. Recently, a law maker representing the Onitsha North Constituency at the Anambra House of Assembly, Honourable Justice Azuka, was allegedly kidnapped, a whopping sum of one hundred million naira withdrawn from his account by the kidnappers before they shot him and dumped his lifeless body somewhere around the new Onitsha bridge. This unfortunate incident took place on the 26th of December, 2024. In the 11th February, 2025 edition of the *Punch* newspaper, Ikenna Obianeri wrote that: “Azuka was reportedly abducted

on December 24, 2024, along Ugwunaobankpa Road in Onitsha while returning home for Christmas. His decomposing body was discovered near the second Niger bridge in the early hours of February 6, 2025.” (np) Recently, it has been one story after another about the killings of young girls for money rituals by their boyfriends. Reuben Abati, Nigeria’s frontline Journalist, on January 13, 2025, reported that “a middle-aged man suspected to be a ‘Yahoo boy’ (Internet fraudster) and identified simply as Adaju, has been arrested for allegedly killing his girlfriend for ritual purposes... the suspect was apprehended in Agwan Sarki, Orozo, a boundary area between Nasarawa State and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT).” (np) With all the disturbing stories and reports of security challenges, it can be inferred that Nigeria has become the Hobbesian jungle where life is short, nasty and brutish because there is no more order or law but a society in a state of anomie, chaos and conflict, with human life being wasted like a worthless commodity. On a daily basis, Nigerians are confronted with bizarre statistics of persons who have lost their lives under questionable circumstances and the Nigerian government seems helpless or incapable of arresting the situation.

The October 2020 #EndSARS protests, which were initially peaceful, degenerated into chaos and violence, thus highlighting the deep-seated frustrations and disillusionment among Nigerian youths. In the same year, (2020), Amnesty International in its report demanded “a thorough and independent investigation into the killings of ENDSARS protesters, documenting cases of excessive force used by security forces against peaceful protesters, resulting in at least 56 deaths across Nigeria...” (AFR44/3254/2020) In 1995, the Ogoni crisis attained its peak with the callous execution of the Ogoni 9, including a foremost writer and environmental activist, Ken Saro Wiwa. Their execution carried out on November 10, 1995 by the dictatorial regime of General Abacha, highlighted the failure of State institutions to protect citizens’ rights. According to Amnesty International report, the Ogoni 9 were executed after a sham trial. The Amnesty’s report captioned: *Nigeria: Time for Justice and Accountability for the Ogoni Nine (2024)* calls for “full exoneration, compensation and clean-up of the environmental damage caused by oil companies”. The execution of the Ogoni 9 and the killing of unarmed protesters by security forces highlight the Nigerian Government’s disregard for human rights.

The phenomena of god-fatherism and election rigging have contributed to anomie in the Nigerian State, eroding trust in the institutions of State and aiding a culture of impunity. This situation is so because the wrong individuals continue to occupy positions of power and authority. Fela Anikulakpo Ransom-Kuti in his satiric songs, referred to them as “vagabonds in power,” (VIP), just to illustrate the lack of moral direction and normlessness of the corrupt elite. The phrase is suggestive of the reprehensible reality that those in power are not genuine leaders who have the interest of the people at heart but rather, shameless opportunists who exploit the positions they

occupy for personal gains. In the process, they perpetuate a system of oppression and corruption and exacerbate the already existing situations of anomie.

A stark illustration of this shameful state of affairs in the country is the 2023 presidential election, where Peter Obi was declared to have lost to Bola Ahmed Tinubu. Many believed that Obi's loss was a direct consequence of god-fatherism, which obviously influenced the electoral process and its outcome. The contentious nature of the election led to a court battle, with Obi's legal team presenting a plethora of evidence of irregularities and allegations of electoral malpractice. But these were discountenances, reflecting the deep-seated issues within Nigeria's political system, where god-fatherism and other forms of undue influence can compromise the integrity of the democratic process and rule of law.

These anomalous situations have far-reaching consequences, including the displacement of communities, disruption of economic activities and a growing sense of insecurity and hopelessness among Nigerians. In an online report in the Premium Times, Ogundapo Abdulgudus reported that "the Senate Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly, presided over by the Vice Chairman of the Committee, Senator Onyekachi Nwobonyi on behalf of the Committee's Chairman, Senator Aliyu Wadada, met to seek clarifications from the Nigerian Police Force over the missing 3,907 rifles and pistols, including AK-47 assault rifles". It is this kind of disturbing development that made Achebe describe Nigeria as "one of the most disorderly nations in the world. It is one of the most corrupt, insensitive, inefficient places under the sun... it is dirty, callous, noisy... dishonest and vulgar. In fact, it is among the most unpleasant places on earth!" (10)

Theoretical Underpinning: The Theory of Anomie

According to Durkheim, anomie simply refers to "a state of normlessness, a breakdown of social norms and values, leading to a sense of disorientation, confusion and lack of direction. (888) Durkheim's sociological perspective emphasises the primacy of society over the individual, focusing on social phenomena which he terms social facts. These external, societal-level constructs encompass beliefs, practices and rules that shape human behavior, effectively guiding individuals' actions through moral obligations. Notably, Durkheim's analysis of suicide highlights the correlation between social facts, collective consciousness and social solidarity. In the context of Nigeria's socio-political and economic challenges, this study draws on Durkheim's insights to explore how social facts might influence individual behaviour and societal outcomes.

Durkheim's conclusion is that there is an inverse relationship between the social ills such as banditry, killings, kidnapping, all obviously aided by the phenomenon of god-fatherism and social disintegration.

The Portrayal of God-fatherism in Nwadike's *The Installation*

The play reveals Ikenga's determination to install Nwaora as the heir to the throne of Umuato community, despite widespread doubts and controversy surrounding Nwaora's paternity and legitimacy to the throne. To achieve his aim, Ikenga resorts to manipulation, framing his half-brother, Chika, on fabricated charges of treason and alleging that he is plotting to thwart Nwaora's installation. Ikenga states: "Chika, I have been monitoring your movements. I am now sure that you are the one instigating the people against the installation of Nwaora... Don't deny. You want the throne to be transferred to your lineage. Isn't it?" (30) Ikenga, immediately calls on the palace guards to arrest Chika and orders that "He shall remain in detention until the installation is over..." (31)

Despite Chika's arrest and detention, some elders remain defiant. Egbeonu, a respected and outspoken elder, boldly challenges the plan, asking, "who said he is going to be installed... Nwaora's coronation is against our custom and as elders we will not allow it to happen". (33) This comes in response to Ifeka's assertion that the meeting aims to discuss Nwaora's installation as crown prince.

Typical of the prevailing political climate in our country, some elders, notably Ifeka and Ojemba, have been swayed to support Nwaora's installation. In contrast, Maduka and Egbeonu remain steadfast in their opposition, adamant and insisting that installing an illegitimate heir would profane the community's traditions and customs. Nigeria's electoral system has been embroiled in controversies stirred up by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) announcing winners with questionable credentials. The issue of certificate scandals is very worrisome, especially as it undermines the integrity of the electoral process. There have been instances where leaders have been accused of lacking proper documentation and even the basic academic qualifications as defined by Nigeria's constitution, yet they have gone ahead to hold public offices. The case of a past president who allegedly could not provide information about his academic background is a striking example. Despite this, he was allowed to serve for eight years, raising serious questions about the vetting process and accountability of those in power. Most recently, the Chicago school scandal of 2023 has further eroded public trust in the system. It is essential for Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to ensure that candidates meet the necessary and minimum academic qualifications and are transparent about their backgrounds to maintain public trust.

To address these issues, INEC needs to strengthen its vetting processes, ensure transparency in the verification processes of candidates presenting themselves for elections and hold accountable those

who attempt to circumvent the system. That is the only way to restore Nigerians' confidence in the system and the leaders who emerge from it.

Meanwhile different individuals and groups, including women groups, appeal to Ikenga to apply "wisdom" and "restraint" in order not to aggravate the problems in the land as a result of "disagreements, conflicts and threats to peace in the past few weeks... connected with the forthcoming installation" (48) but Ikenga's response to the women's pleas is that "I wish to inform you that Chika was detained, not by me, but the State... the elders are still investigating the allegations against him. Until they conclude their task, we cannot say anything further on the issue". (49)

Ikenga's refusal to listen to pleas for wisdom and restraint is a sad reminder of the challenges Nigeria faces in its electoral process. Despite efforts by individuals and groups, including women's groups, to promote peace and stability, Ikenga's obstinacy and actions seem to be aggravating the problems. The situation is further complicated by Ikenga's unexpected response to Nwamaka's passionate appeal to Ikenga to release her son, Chika, from detention. Instead of showing compassion and understanding, Ikenga imposes stiffer sanctions on Nwamaka, by placing her under house arrest. This action raises concerns about lack of regard for human rights in Nigeria. This scenario is not unique to the society of the play known as Umunato. Nigeria's electoral history has been marred by controversies, including electoral irregularities, violence and disputes over election results. The country's electoral body, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), has faced criticism for its poor conduct of elections in 2007, 2019 and even 2023 presidential elections. In the face of these challenges, it is essential for leaders like Ikenga to prioritise wisdom, restraint, accountability and transparency. By doing so, they can promote peace, stability and democratic values and governance in Nigeria.

The story of Ikenga aptly portrays events that took place in the days of military rule in Nigeria, when the opposition was ruthlessly dealt with. When Abacha imprisoned Chief M.K.O. Abiola over his agitation for the de-annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential election and declare him the winner of that election, respected world leaders like Nelson Mandela and Pope John Paul II, pleaded with General Abacha to release Abiola but their pleas were not heeded by the recalcitrant Abacha junta. Abiola later died in detention on July 7, 1998. Other members of the opposition, including the popular NADECO, academics and other professionals, including Wole Soyinka were either arrested and imprisoned or forced into exile.

Ikenga symbolises the archetype of Nigerian leaders who notoriously employ ruthless tactics, including suppressing the opposition, offering bribes to student and youth leaders and changing the rules, including attempting to alter the constitution in order to perpetuate themselves or their cronies in power. Like Nigeria's former civilian president, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was alleged

to have almost succeeded in changing the constitution of Nigeria in order to achieve his third term agenda, Chief Ikenga attempts to change the tradition of his community to facilitate the installation of Nwaora. He states that:

... Traditions change, don't they? By the way, who made the tradition, was it not my fore-fathers? Today, due to the exigency of the times, I Ikenga, their son, have decided to alter some traditions. They did it during their time and today, it has become our own cherished tradition. No more delay. Let's do it now. (61)

Ikenga's obstinacy persists until the youth leader whom he had previously bribed to silence the youths about his sinister plans, returns the money and announces that "I am here to return your money... Your Highness, in time you will know that the collective will of the people is stronger than bullets and currency notes." (63) At this point Ikenga is forced to inform Nwaora that he cannot proceed with the scheduled coronation, stating that his hands are tied. Explaining to Nwaora on why the installation ceremonies cannot hold, Ikenga states "... I know how you feel. You may not know how much it pains me to make that decision. But honestly, I have no moral justification to install you as the Crown Prince." (68) *The Installation* raises pertinent questions about the dubious character of Nigerian leaders who relentlessly pursue power, often at the expense of others, and install loyalists to perpetuate their selfish interests. These leaders often resort to the use of different tactics to maintain power, including giving bribes to silence those opposing the entrenchment of their loyalists, who are usually either their friends or relatives.

Conclusion

To address the challenges posed by situations of anomie and god-fatherism to the Nigerian people using technology, this researcher recommends that the following strategies can be adopted. The country's priority should be to promote transparency and accountability through the use of modern technology which has proved useful and effective in countries where it has been tested in promoting transparency and accountability in governance. In Nigeria's political processes, especially with regards to conduct of elections if technology is effectively deployed, the culture of god-fatherism and the attendant anomic situations can be curbed. If for instance, the card reader that was procured by Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was used in the 2023 elections, the electoral fraud that allegedly characterised that election would not have happened. This means that those who emerged from that electoral process would not have had legitimacy issues; thus bringing to an end the phenomenon of god-fatherism and by extension, the pervasive situations of anomie that it represents.

The use of online voting and engagement platforms especially social media and other online platforms can be integrated and legalised to facilitate citizens' participation, feedback and oversight and bridging the gap between citizens and policymakers. Online or E-voting has been

very effective in curbing electoral malpractices in countries where it is in use. Using these tools and adopting reforms that promote transparency and citizen engagement would help to strengthen democratic institutions and improve the efficiency of the system. With E-voting, vote buying and ballot box snatching, two evil practices that have roundly defined Nigeria's elections over time, will no longer thrive and that means reducing or even bringing to an end the unwholesome influence of god-fathers and the anomic situations that their activities foist on the country. Other areas that technology can help Nigeria to overcome the challenge of god-fatherism include:

- i. Data-driven decision making: The use of data analytics and visualisation tools can help to provide insights into societal trends, needs and outcomes. This can inform evidence-based policymaking and reduce the influence of loyalists and their godfathers on the political process in Nigeria.
- ii. Eradicating poverty and inequality: Poverty is a factor in the phenomenon of godfatherism. To deal with this factor, policies that promote economic development, reduce inequality and provide equal opportunities for citizens to participate in the democratic process must be adopted and promoted.
- iii. Citizen Education and Awareness: With the aid of digital platforms and tools, citizens can be better and more effectively educated about their rights, responsibilities and the political process. This can empower citizens mentally to help them make informed decisions and demand accountability.

In summary, with modern technology, Nigeria can mitigate and arrest the effects of anomie and the phenomenon of god-fatherism in order to promote a more transparent, accountable and less chaotic political system.

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