

The Psychology of Participatory Democracy and the Personality Profile of the Nigerian Politicians

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Abstract

This paper explores the personality profiles of the Nigerian politician as antithetic to the enthronement of participatory democracy in Nigeria. It contends that the antidemocratic and corruptive behaviour of the Nigerian politician is hinged on a lack of sterling personality traits of these Nigerian politicians. The paper argues that although the behaviour impede on national growth and development; nonetheless, the behaviour are a result of entrenched poverty, political ignorance and political alienation of the civic public. The paper, thus, suggests political education, self-enfranchisement and friendly and virile political environment for the production, development and growth of Nigerian politicians with deep vision and sublime mission to turn around the political misfortunes of Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

The Nature of Politics and the Values of Man

Politics has been defined as the game of who gets what, when and how (Lasswell, 1958). Deutsch, (1974:13) sees it as the process by which values – things or relationships which people will like to have or to enjoy – are allocated in a society in an authoritative manner. Other scholars see politics as more inherent in public arena than in the private sector. In this way, Deutsch (Ibid: 3) defines politics as “the making of decisions by public means”. Here public decision making process qualifies as politics while private decision process does not. Whether this distinction is valid is, however, debatable. The fact, however, is that politics is pervasive. It impacts on all aspects of human life. Indeed it will not be an overstatement to say that politics is a matter of life and death, a game of human survival or perdition. This fact is perspicaciously captured by Deutsch (Ibid: 6). He opines that:

If civilization should be destroyed and most of mankind killed within the next twenty to thirty years, we shall not be killed by plague or pestilence; we shall be killed by politics.

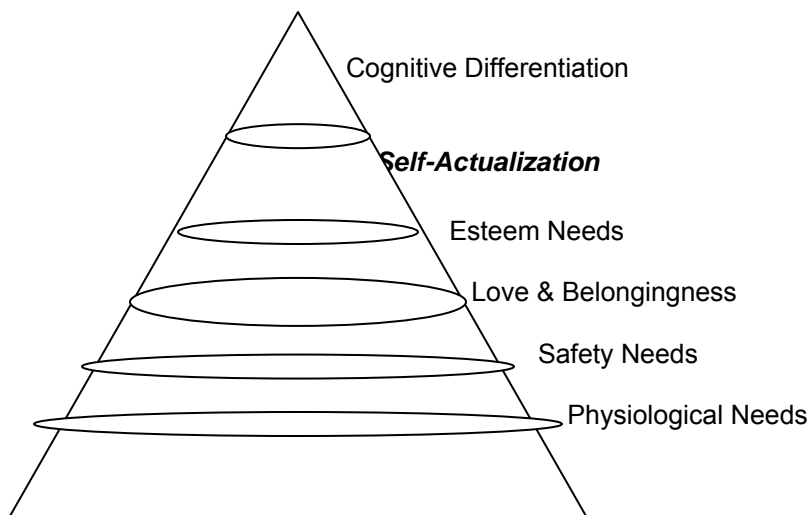
Whichever way politics is defined, it is recognized that there exist values which political practice may help man to configure and actualize. Lasswell (op cit) has discussed eight basic values all of which people will pursue. These are power, enlightenment, wealth, well-being (or health) skill,

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affection, rectitude (which involves both righteousness and justice) and deference. Deutsch (IbidL14) has captured the importance of these eight values to people when he opines that:

People want to be powerful. They have a natural curiosity and want to increase their knowledge, they desire wealth, they value health and sensual joy of a difficult job well done and they possess what Thorestein Veblen called “the instinct of workmanship”; they all need affection. People also want to feel righteous in terms of their neighbours and to receive due deference from them.

Maslow (1967), a celebrated fulfillment and actualization psychologist went further to suggest that these needs and values are in hierarchy and some are more basic than others. Man’s needs according to Maslow are arranged in the following ascending order:



The process of allocation, configuration and satisfaction of these values and needs suggest the existence of an authority in every human society who will ensure that the allocation of these values to people will be done in a manner that will be valid, reliable and legitimate. The authority that does the allocation and configuration of these values in most modern states is the government.

Democracy and Authoritative Allocation of Values

The manner these values are allocated, however, is a function of the nature of government being practiced in a society. While historically, different forms of government like monarchy, oligarchy and aristocracy have existed in different societies; the form of government that is credited with the authoritative allocation of values in a manner that promotes the greatest happiness for the greatest number is democracy.

Democracy as a form of government is difficult to define. This is because its structures and elements vary from state to state. There are, however, some inherent universal qualities in this popular form of government.

Abraham Lincoln, a former American President, has posited the most universal definition of the term. According to him “democracy is a government of the people by the people and for the people (Graham, 1986:13). Deutsch (*op cit*: 20) captures the attribute of democratic government in this most apt manner:

Under democratic government, the majority makes or confirms laws and elects or confirms the government, its officials and policies. But the minority that disagrees today with these policies or laws may become a majority tomorrow.

What the above suggests is that while the majority may have its way in democracy, minority is free to express its views, agitate for them and make attempts to organize and win converts to its side. By this opportunity, power to authoritatively allocate values does not rest perpetually in the hands of an interest group in the society as it is the case in other forms of government.

The freedoms of minority to express its views ensure that all interests, views, values, and needs are considered in democratic government. This is why it may be suggested that it is democracy that provides for the greatest happiness of the greatest number in the authoritative allocation of values.

All democratic institutions are alike on promotion of delegation of authority, representation, control, recall, checks and balances and limitation of government. Democratic government, unlike other forms of government, ensures constitutionalism, rule of law, rather than the rule of men, separation of power, participation of individuals in decision making (through the exercise of representation, referendum, and recall control) about how individual's values, needs and interest become public policies (Awa, 1997).

Further important in democratic institution is the existence of political parties and association and institutions of electoral process. These ensure full participation of people. Civil, political and economic rights also exist for people. The political right of the people otherwise known as franchise ensures that the people can vote and be voted for. With this power of voting, the ruled can become the ruler.

While democracy has the singular quality of promoting the interest of the people, it may not adequately promote them if the people are not fully involved in government consequent upon their ignorance, lack of political education and self-disenfranchisement.

Social-Psychological Advantages of Participatory Democracy

Participatory democracy has the following important advantages.

One is promotion of liberal society: Democracy breeds liberal institutions where respect for freedom and fundamental human rights thrives.

Two, is the promotion of liberal-minded personality: Participatory democracy liberates the mind and makes the citizens to become cognitively complex. Citizens are not likely to suffer from extremity of positions (not likely to be fanatic in religious beliefs or in the belief about the power and potency of science), more likely to value the enjoyment of fundamental human rights by individual and by others. Liberal minded persons are also not likely to be ethnocentric in thought, prejudiced in feeling and discriminatory in behaviour. The opposite of liberal-minded individual is the authoritarian personality. Authoritarian personality is the evil consequence of totalitarian rule and it has a way of reproducing itself.

Three, is the value of justice: The concept of justice is fundamental to participatory democracy. By justice, we refer to the value for the observance of the fundamental rights of individuals and the protection of same by the government. Participatory democracy ensures the existence and functioning of institutions that will ensure promotion of justice. These institutions are professional bodies, such as the judiciary, ombudsman, the press and others.

Four, is the moral tone of the society and moral development of the citizenry: Participatory democracy ensures the participation of professional bodies in governance. Professional bodies have been noted for their role as the pacesetters of moral standard and the promoter of morality in every society (Durkheim, 1961). Participatory democracy also ensures the existence of the two mechanisms by which mature moral development is engendered in the citizens. These mechanisms are role-taking and cognitive disequilibrium. As parts of decision makers in government, citizens often face situations with novel moral dilemmas that challenge the conventional ethics characteristic of their moral stages of development. When individual's ethics are questioned, one is getting prepared to move to higher stages of moral development (Kohlberg, 1980).

Democracy also creates opportunity for role-taking. By becoming a public officer (a leader) at one time and an ordinary citizen at the other time, old conventional moralities are challenged and both the individual and the state or nation moves to the next higher stage of moral development. This enhancement *ipso facto* leads to fall in the rate of political violence, crime, bribery and corruption and other vices.

The Paradox of Apathy and the Psychology of Amotivation

Theoretically, political apathy should be alien to democratic nations. This is because it should be an expectation of a rational mind that people will be eager to, and active in, participating in decision-making process about which of their myriad of values, interests and needs will configurate and become public policies. Practically, however, most modern states that practice democracy have experienced political apathy among their citizenry as responses to the opportunity offered in participating in government.

The motivational basis of individual participation in government can be located in the six hierarchical needs of Maslow and eight Deutschian values. All individuals need justice, enlightenment, skills, affection, wealth and well being. All individuals ought to, when given the opportunity to participate, help in making the values become public policies that will bring about good living like good roads, good hospitals, and other social infrastructures. But all individuals are not willing to participate; although participatory democracy requires the participation of the greatest number. This apparent political motivation, which is true of developed as well as developing nations, should be the concern of psychologist interested in the study of political behaviour.

Social-Psychological Causes of Political Amotivation

Causes of political motivation expressed in the form of political apathy vary from one political environment to another. The following factors may be responsible in Nigeria:

1. **Economic Poverty:**

Poverty as political amotivation or political mis-motivation has been discussed by Eze (1983). He suggests that the typical Nigerian has an H-G-C-M personality. An H-G-C-M personality, according to Eze, is Hungry, Greedy, Corrupt and Manipulable. Poverty creates hunger in Nigerians and motivates them towards lower order survival needs; unlike advanced countries where the electorate is motivated by higher other needs like esteem, self-actualization and cognitive differentiation. Lower order needs like food, and shelter predispose the Nigerian electorate to corruption and manipulation. Mundane things like salt, beans, rice or money influence them to misdirect their votes. At other times, obsession with procurement of lower order satisfier creates political inertia in the Nigerian electorate. Little or no interest is exhibited for government and those who control its machinery. The consequence, of this inertia is further aggravation of poverty and geometric progression of problems related to the satisfaction of lower-order needs. This, in consequence, further aggravates poverty of the citizenry. This vicious circle of poverty is captured in figure 1.

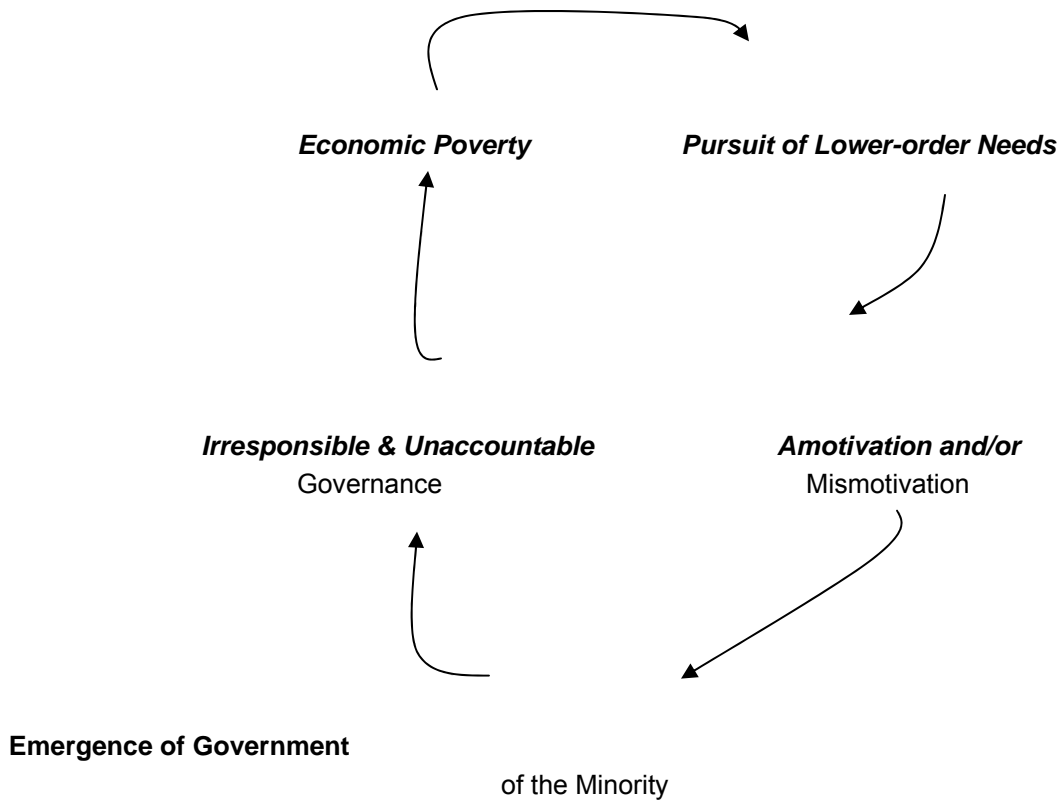


Figure 1: The Vicious Social-Psychological Circle of Poverty

2. Conditioning to Totalitarian Government and the Development of Authoritarian Personality:

Long time exposure to military rule has conditioned Nigerian electorate to totalitarianism and maximum rule. Thus the idea of democracy and participatory democracy for that matter is somehow perceived as offensive and disgusting. Besides, totalitarian military government has frequently been associated with pleasant promises whenever coupists make their “Fellow Nigerians” broadcast. The abysmal failure of the two previous Republics has also created political aversion in the electorate towards democracy.

Furthermore, the command style of the military administration and avalanche of decrees and their ouster clauses, as obnoxious as they may be, have engendered and developed in the Nigerian civil society authoritarian personality. Authoritarian person are conservative, slavish to rules and authority, prejudiced in thinking and discriminatory in behaviour (Adorno, Frenkel – Brunswick, Levinon & Sanford 1950). It is a personality that is antithetic to the freedom and empowerment that liberal democracy guarantees for the citizenry.

The psychological processes by which military regimes achieved the nurturing of authoritarian personality are compliance, identification and internalization. People had to comply with draconian laws or they were heavily sanctioned. They also identified with some military officers (in the manner the latter used naked power and enjoyed obnoxious luxurious life styles). In no time, the values of the people gradually underwent changes and transformation, and become in concord with the military values of order and command.

3. Political Alienation:

Long time political alienation of a large section of the citizenry led to political apathy, political cynicism and political skepticism. All these are various means of expressing political amotivation. Political alienation is made up of three elements political powerlessness; political meaningfulness and political normlessness.

- a. Political Powerlessness means the extent to which an electorate perceives its voting pattern as potent enough in determining the occurrence of political outcomes or configuration of its values and satisfaction of its needs. The lower the perceived or actual extent the more politically powerless is the electorate.
- b. Political Meaninglessness connotes that an individual is unclear as to what one should believe politically. Should he believe that it is the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) or Alliance for Democracy (AD) or All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) that will salvage the masses from poverty? Should one believe that PDP is a party of the right and AD a party of the left? Would the similar manifestoes of these parties and their conception and midwifing by ethnic considerations cloud voters' perception of the existence of differences between these three parties?
- c. Political Normlessness is borne from lack or failure of rules to guide the conduct of citizens. During military regimes, the constitution, which is the basic norm of the country, is always supplanted and then replaced by decrees with ouster clauses. Thus, the political recklessness of the military government cannot be

challenged in the court of law. This untoward attitude soon percolates down the civil society where people begin to behave in normless manners. The consequence is indiscipline, display of raw physical power over and above intellectual power, and the inculcation of wrong belief of what is right in the citizens as demonstrated by the emergence of government through *coup de tat* and ethno-religious violence. Corruption also becomes the order of the day; thus making participatory democracy too costly to institutionalize. It is the combination of these three elements of political alienation that has not made the successful nurturing of participatory democracy possible in Nigeria.

4. **Education:**

There are two types of education: general and political. General education informs the electorate and frees them from irrational decision-making. Political education enables the electorate to be conscious of its fundamental human rights, to make demands for the citizenry's protection when government institutions attempt to encroach on them, fight for these rights when it becomes obvious that they may not be granted by government. It is the combination of the poverty of these two types of education in Nigeria that has prevented the thriving of participatory democracy. Without political education, it becomes impossible for citizens to realize that any emergence of military government through electoral malpractices condoned by power of incumbency is an assault on their fundamental human rights and the need to resist such violation is paramount. Absence of general education may not liberate the mind to see that military rule or maximum rule in a so called democracy is an anathema to civilized conduct.

5. **Learned Helplessness:**

The complacent behaviours and actions of Nigerians towards changing their political misfortune to political fortune suggests that the psychological mechanism operating is learned helplessness. The mechanism, the syndrome and the concept of learned helplessness were formulated, illustrated and experimented by Seligman (Garber and Seligman, 1980). Learned helplessness is a state of do nothingness to change one's precarious situation. According to Seligman, it is a learnt state that is produced by exposure to noxious, unpleasant situation in which the possibility of escape does not exist (Reber, 1995:332). Political learnt helplessness sets in Nigeria whenever the military takes over government, upturns the constitution and disbands the paraphernalia of the civil society. Opposition ranks are broken down through arrest, sack, summary dismissal and imprisonment through the judgments procured in kangaroo courts. Besides, the shocking realization by the electorate that rigging may make a mince-meat of its commitment to changing the government of the day, may make the voters become helpless. Furthermore, the incident of election annulment characteristic of the Nigerian

situation during Abbasid's government and the incessant election rigging characteristic of the three republics made Nigerians to become fatalistic, external in their locus of control on political issues and helpless in changing the shocking situation through instituting and nurturing of participatory democracy. Helplessness also takes place in pseudodemocracy as subsists in the present democratic situation that is characterized by unprecedented election rigging. In one of the many lamentations over the spate of election rigging in the Nigerian polity, Ayo Fasanmi, one of the leaders of Yoruba socio-economic and political organization described election rigging as having attained the level of national shame. According to him:

“The 2003 election is a shame, not only to Nigerians, but also to democrats all over the world. How would one describe a scenario where in Delta State, for example all the registered voters came out to vote? Or the yet to be unaccounted 600,000 votes in the President's home state, Ogun” (Oropo, 2005).

6. Ethnicity:

One of the major reasons why participatory democracy has not thrived in Nigeria is ethnicity. Ojo (1997) regards it as one of the characteristics of the Nigerian civil society that is antithetical to participatory democracy. Nigeria is a multiethnic society and each of the ethnic groups is attempting to maximize its outcome in Nigeria by outplaying one another (Adebayo, 2001:105). The consequence is that it becomes difficult to establish broad based national political party, which participatory democracy requires. Ethnicity creates the evils of ethnocentrism, prejudice, stereotype and discrimination (Ibid: 105) with ethnic groups trying to outdo one another with the military institutions becoming a ready tool for such (Suberu, 1988). Besides, politics of “indigenes and settlers” has made it difficult, if not impossible, to integrate a united nation. The consequences of ethnocentrism are political instability, lack of opportunity to speak with one voice, political aggrandizement, ethnic violence, injustice, inequity and interethnic and intra-ethnic war (Adebayo, 2001:105; Ugwuegbu, 1995:6). All these are repugnant to the values of participatory democracy.

Personality Profile of the Nigerian Politician

Various authors, including Lasswell and Maslow, have acknowledged the fact of human needs and values. The state, governments, political parties and politicians derive their essence and existence from these values (Adebayo, 1997). They exist to configure and satisfy human needs and actualize human values. Politics, being the game of who gets what, when, and how; is a means by which the state authoritatively allocates these values.

Political parties help members of a state to play politics by articulating human values and providing alternative procedures for their configurations, thus creating elements of choice. But not all citizens of a state can belong to political parties because of the full-time nature of politics and political membership and the sterling personality traits required of politicians. While in advance democracies like Europe and America, politicians have been known to possess sterling traits like intellectuality, discipline, intelligence, honesty, tenacity of purpose, creativity, credibility, reasonableness, patriotism, clear-mindedness, mindfulness, rectitude and altruism; Nigeria politicians have been found wanting in these sterling traits of leadership (Agagu, 1997).

Although it sounds simplistic and reductionistic to attribute the love of development in both human and material resources in the United States of America and Britain to solely the personality traits of the politicians in these polities, but one cannot resist the temptation, especially when their actions and behaviours in promoting participatory democracy are juxtaposed with their Nigerian counterparts whose behaviours have been largely antidemocratic. Western Europe and America have experienced relative political stability of the past five decades; while Nigeria, with 45 years of existence has experienced four Republics, five military interregnums, and, a civil war, in addition to numerous ethno-religious violence. There is no gainsaying the fact that without political stability the state becomes unable to address the issue of configuration of human values. No wonder, there is mass sorrow rather than mass happiness. Nigeria has become one of the twenty poorest nations in the world (World Bank, 1991). The standard of living of Nigerians is at its lowest. The Naira has been devalued beyond imaginations (Essien, 1992)

While political leaders from western Nigeria were hell-bent against interim government and clamoured for the actualization of the June 12, 1993 election success, as evident in the editorial reports of most of the Nigeria Newspapers at the period; their counterparts from the East threatened secession if the issue of June 12 was considered. On the other hand, northern politicians promised fire and brimstone if the winner of the election was allowed to take the mantle of office. The uncoordinated actions of our politicians in the above situations and in many other situations as argued by Agagu (1997) suggest that no sublime democratic values govern the conduct of our political leaders. The values that emerged were the opposite of Lasswellian values; instead of justice, they were mouthing peace and stability, instead of enlightening, they were misinforming, instead of honesty, they were displaying dishonesty; instead of esteem they were demonstrating high self-abnegation, instead of being collaborative, they became avoidant; and instead of being elastic, they were politically corruptive and instead of nationalism they were ethnocentric and egocentric.

The Problematic of Drawing Personality Profile of the Nigerian Politicians

In attempting to analyse the personality of the Nigerian politicians, some contending questions readily come to mind.

- i. Does the Nigerian politician have a personality different from the personality of the general populace or the other members of the civil society?
- ii. Is his/her personality different from the personality of politicians in other places outside the shores of Nigeria?
- iii. What engendered these personality differences; if there are any?
- iv. What proportion of biology and learning is responsible for the Nigerian politician's personality?
- v. Are Nigerian politicians homogenous in behaviour?
- vi. What are the traits of the Nigerian politician's personality?

To answer these questions, there is need to look at some theories and see how they fit into the present attempt at describing the Nigerian politician personality.

A. The Politician as a Leader

This theory suggests that politicians are leaders and like all leaders they possess attributes which may not be found in followers. While followers may be mediocre, leaders are expected to be more intelligent, persuasive, self-confident, and industrious than their followers. The ten often listed areas where leaders excel more than followers are in friendliness, technical knowledge and skill, ability to take action in the pursuit of group goals, human relations skills, need to be effective and to achieve, emotional balance and control, administrative ability, dominance, control and decisiveness (Bakare, 1990).

Although no empirical research work has been carried out to compare Nigerian politicians with other Nigerians on the leadership traits mentioned above, the responses of politicians in facing the challenges of military adventurism has not shown that they possess the above traits in the quantity that could suggest that they are superior to the populace. Indeed Agagu (*op. cit*) has credited them with anti-democratic behaviour both in the First, Second and Third Republics. Ojo (1997:110) has implied that the Nigerian politician is not different from the populace since they are part and parcel of the civil society that is weak, beleaguered by the authoritarian state, divisive, alienated, and "non-combative in the struggle for democracy". Sometimes, however, where the populace had become more proactive in resisting military incursion with vehemence, the political class more often lost its voice. Where the populace had demonstrated that they could not be settled, bribed and corrupted, the politician had often sold out. When monies

changed hands, politicians become ready tools in the hands of megalomaniac military heads of state. It is no surprise that politicians become easily recruited into the Association for Better Nigeria and the two-million man march for General Sanni Abacha. Politicians had often blown hot and cold, issuing communiqués to support the perpetration of military dictatorship and maximum rule and at the same time mouthing democratic tenets.

But to conclude on the basis of this factor that Nigerian politicians lack leadership qualities is to ignore the situation that produced the Nigerian politician and the attendant settlement syndrome.

B. The Nigerian Politician and Poverty

Poverty, as a basis for characterizing the Nigerian politician, is not unique. We have earlier used it to characterize the civil society. Eze (1983) has suggested that the typical Nigerian has a Hungry-Greedy-Corrupt-Manipulable personality. Poverty or the fear of it makes Nigerian politicians hungry and are motivated by lower-order needs unlike in advance countries where politicians are motivated by higher-order needs like esteem, self-actualization, cognitive differentiation, patriotism and altruism. Lower order needs predispose Nigerian politicians to corruption and manipulation. Mundane reinforcement like money, motor cars, buildings and other things often influence them in forming their opinions, pitching their tent, forming consensus in decision-making and crossing carpet. The figure below demonstrates how economic poverty perpetuates itself through lower order needs, negative alignment, and misgovernment.

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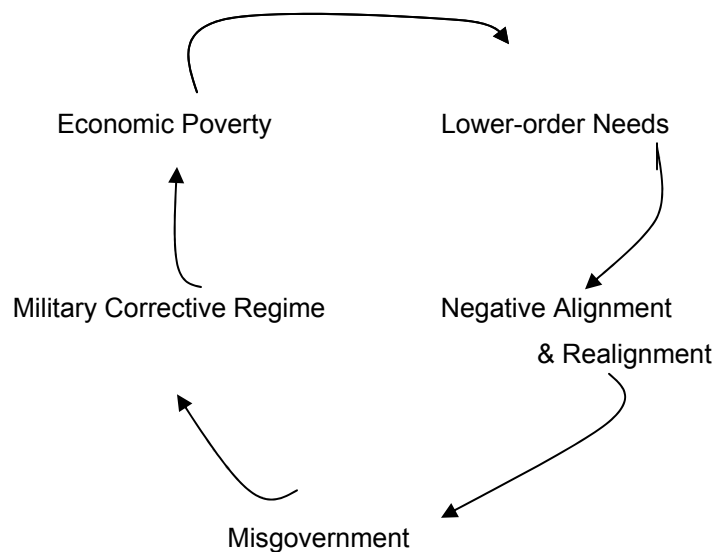


Figure 2: The Vicious Social-Psychological Effect of Poverty on Political Misbehaviour

Consequently, Nigerian politicians lose their orientation as leaders, forget the purpose for which they are elected, make antidemocratic statements and elicit antidemocratic behaviour, loot the purse of the state, misgovern and thereby unwittingly invite military intervention to perpetual economic poverty.

But not all politicians are motivated by lower order needs and those who are so induced may not be because of economic poverty alone. Politician whose actions are governed by higher order needs may still be found in trickles.

C The Politician and the Perception of two Publics

Ekeh (1975), in an attempt to explain corruption, has suggested the existence of two publics; the civic and the primordial public. These publics may be the cause of the undemocratic and corrupt behaviour of the Nigerian politician. These two publics generate in the mind of citizens two different kinds of morality. Money may be stolen from the civic public and used to develop the primordial public. This dual perception is peculiar to colonized states like Nigeria where people have not come to develop psychological sense of community toward the civic public.

Differential perception of civic and primordial public has generated the mentality of sharing the national cake rather than helping to bake it. Politicians are much more concerned about how much of the national cake they could grab to their 'primordial' which is their hometowns or ethnic groups. The consequence is fickleness of thought, corruption of procedure, misappropriation of common wealth, dishonesty in allocating values and the paying of lip service to national peace and stability.

The Business of Metaphor and the Characterology of the Nigerian Politician

Each of the above theories assumes that politicians have similar characters and traits. This may not be necessarily valid. While there are politicians without leadership qualities, there are also politicians with lower-order motivation, while there are others with higher-order motivation and just as there are politicians who experience dual perception of the state there may equally be politicians in whom perception of the public is unitary. The long and short of this is that it is not plausible to posit common personality traits or a uniform personality type to describe all Nigerian politicians.

Metaphor, according to Morris (1972) has become very important among psychologists in describing persons. Morris mentioned six types of metaphor that have been variously used. These are the building metaphor, the engineering metaphor, the agricultural metaphor, the

zoological metaphor, the medical metaphor and the theatrical metaphor. He employed the theatrical metaphor in describing three aspects of the person in social life. While theatrical metaphors may help in the “genuine illumination of human conditions and enables human beings to be seen in their full humanity” (Morris, 1972) they may fail in representing human instinctual drives and disposition which may not necessarily make us human but without which we can not be human.

It is on this note that Cadwallader (1985) employed the animal metaphors to describe four approaches to life. Other psychologists like Kelly (1955) and Fromm (1963) have used the scientist and the business metaphors respectively. Fromm recognizes five business orientations, four of which are unproductive. These are receptive orientation, exploitative orientation, hoarding orientation, marketing orientation and productive orientation. Attempt shall be made to use these metaphoric orientations to characterize types of the Nigerian politician.

1. **The Politician as a receiver:** This politician feels and sees the source of all political good as coming from outside. All political goods must be received from the outside. The outside may be the military, other dominant ethnic groups and a colonial master, etc. The politician as a receiver is discriminate in his/her choice of political objects, because being recognized politically is an overwhelming experience for him/her that she/he falls for anybody who gives him/her the political objects she or he needs. The politician as a receiver is the proverbial political prostitute, good listener and political accommodator; she/he receives without producing ideas. The characterizing traits of the politician as a receiver are passivity, initiativelessness, opinionlessness, servility, self-abnegatedness, unrealisticness, cowardliness, spinelessness, gullibility and sentimentality. Eghagha (1994:9) captured the receptive orientation of the Nigerian politician in his essay titled *Actors in a Political Tragedy* when he opines that:

In terms of characters therefore, we have had men and women who are flexible to the point of weakness, compromising to the point of impotence, and principled only as men of low honour could be as leaders.

2. **The politician as the Exploiter:** The source of all political good for the politician as the exploiter is outside and must be sought there. Politicians as the exploiter expect no political gains to be given on a platter of love; rather he/she takes political advantage over other politicians and followers by grabbing and by stealing. In conflict management language, the politician as an exploiter is competitive, aggressive, egocentric, conceited, rash, arrogant and seducing. He has a high concern for himself, low concern for other politicians; low concern for the electorate if that will give a political edge and low concern for the nation.

3. **The Politician as the Hoarder:** The hoarding politician believes that all sources of good emanates from him and attempts to hoard this source. He is not disposed towards taking the ideas of other politicians or making his own ideas available. The hoarder as a politician has no faith in anything new. He wants to preserve the status quo, the domination of his/her ethnic group over other ethnic group, his/ her continuation in power at the risk of alienating other people. Characteristically, the politician as a hoarder is unimaginative, stingy, suspicious, cold lethargic, anxious, stubborn, indolent, obsessional and possessive.
4. **The Politician as the Marketer:** He or she sees every political transaction from the market point of view and his/her predominant motive is making he/her sellable. She/he claims the attributes that she/he does not possess and as long as she/he can sell himself, nothing matters. With no committed values or principles his/her predominant values is the exchange value. She/he as a marketer only needs to know what personality is in most demand and only to package himself /herself to meet that specification. The politician as a marketer sees himself as the bride to be pursued by many suitors and neither aesthetics nor rectitude influence her choice of a suitor, but his wealth. She/he, thus, becomes a tool in the hands of other politicians who find him/her a ready tool for their dastardly activities.

Characteristically, the politician as a marketer has the traits of a typical marketer; opportunism, inconsistency, childishness, impulsivity, aimlessness, tactlessness, relativism, over-restiveness, silliness, wastefulness and indiscriminatingness. He/she can be in Alliance for Democracy today and tomorrow she/he is found in People's Democratic Party. Her/his philosophy is "no permanent friend".

5. **The Politician as the Producer:** She/he enjoys her/his freedom and does not suffer dependency and has high productive capacity. The productive politician is reasonable and uses his/her power reasonably. She/he is productively related to his/her own world being capable of living she/he can penetrate boundaries that are apparently impermeable for the receptive, the marketing, the exploiting and the hoarding politicians. She/he as a leader is creative, transcendental, transformational and imaginative. To crown it all the productive politician is a moral exemplar.

Conclusion and Recommendation

From the foregoing, it is evident that a thriving participatory democracy breeds liberal society and promotes liberal - minded personality which invariably brings about a sane society. These are only possible in an instance of the existence of a healthy environment and the existence of sane politicians. The Nigerian politicians however, as noted by ESE (1975) are hungry, greedy, manipulable, and corrupt. Thus, they destroy the Nigerian political, economic and social environment

It seems to be that the failure to attain the disannulment of June 12, 1993 election is consequent upon the types of characterless politicians that walk the political terrain (e.g. receptor, hoarder, marketer, exploiter). These are the politicians that are more eager to negotiate the hard-earned political freedom of democracy for a pot of portage. They are military court jesters, ethicists, political jobbers, and politicians of ethnic exclusion and ethnic domination.

If democracy must thrive in Nigeria, then we need to develop productive politicians; politicians who, with their deep vision and sublime mission, can turn around the political misfortune of Nigeria.

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