

KWANKWASIYYA: AN IDEOLOGY, A MOVEMENT OR A MERE STRATEGY?

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Abstract

This paper analyzes godfatherism in the Kwankwasiyya phenomena rooted in Kano State and founded by Senator Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso. It also x-rays Kano politics bringing to bear concomitants of elections in the State that ranges from political violence, rigging and other electoral irregularities. The paper mainly employed primary sources of data where KII was used to gather data from purposively selected interviewees; stakeholders in the affairs of the State and political commentators as well. The paper uses elitism to delineate the prebendal relationship between Kwankwaso and his political protégés. The paper finds among other things that godfatherism in Kano breeds corruption in public offices, yields bad governance, promotes hooliganism and violence during elections thereby creating political apathy across the State and loss of lives and properties. The paper thus recommends rigorous auditing in governance to enhance accountability in public offices with severe punishment for offenders, political godfatherism to be closely monitored and its heinous activities checkmated by state authorities. Also, the public to be empowered to use available and legitimate resources at their disposal to call their representatives to order via social media usage and the right to exercise their vote of no confidence to non performing political holders.

Keywords: Kwankwaso, Godfatherism, Kano, Elections, INEC.

DOI: 10.31039/bjir.v2i5.36

1. INTRODUCTION

Kwankwaso a political godfather in Kano politics has held sway over Kano politics since his assumption of the state's leadership at the start of the Fourth Republic. He was the governor of Kano State at two different times, a senator, minister and was also the presidential candidate for New Nigeria People's Party (NNDP) during the recently concluded presidential elections. As a politician, he has massive fellowship that forms his social and political base, a force to

reckon with in national politics. He is the leader of Kwankwasiyya; a movement to some and a strategy to others.

Kwankwaso is undoubtedly a political godfather with the wherewithal to influence decisions and decide political actions in Kano State. But, does the political fanfare he demonstrates, the regalia he adopts, the slogans he is known to have brought into Kano politics and the mass fellowship he commands amounts to establishing a movement, or is that just a mere political strategy? In other words, is Kwankwaso a political ideologue?

Godfatherism in Kano State has permeated the fabrics of Kano politics, thus, its impacts and implications kept the state politically charged and active while on the otherhand it comes with concomitant excesses; corrupt leadership, bad governance, political violence etc thereby affecting the political culture of the state.

2. GODFATHERISM AND NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY

Many scholars view Nigeria's democracy as "nascent democracy", "fledgling democracy", "democracy in transition" or even "growing democracy." It all depends on how one views the stage Nigeria's democracy is in at present. Political godfatherism has rendered Nigeria's democracy inefficient. Most of political godfathers are from the ruling party. However, Jibril and Kabiru (2017) argue that this does not necessarily mean that only the party in power engages in such activities; oppositions also engage in such, but the magnitude of that of the incumbent is far more than that of the opposition. Also, political parties are yet to firmly establish themselves that in itself creates problem of internal party democracy hence blocking proper political culture to the polity.

Politically, according to Offor and Obinna (2019) godfatherism is one key internal factor that hampers the advancement of democratization process. It obstructs credible electoral process which eventually produces puppets who add no value to the nation's socio-economic productivity. They further argued that political godfathers are responsible for denial of dividends of good governance to citizens. The godfathers connive with their godsonsto loot the state treasury. Indeed, the privilege of electing people of their choice into public office was denied given the situation in which 'godfathers' foisted candidates of their preference on the generality of the people. This position was concurred by Rasak, Oye, and Ake (2017) who asserted that this is to say the least very inimical to the tenets of democratic rule, when public office holders would not be accountable to the people. Invariably, the loyalty of such public

office holders would be tilted towards their godfathers and this in itself negates one of the critical attributes of democracy which is responsive and transparent government.

3. GODFATHERISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN KANO

Political violence mostly happen during or after elections in Kano, it is quite unfortunate because Malumfashi (2018) believe elections to be the most crucial element of democratic culture which serves as either public endorsement of the performing elected officers or public rejection to non-performing ones. While politicians in Nigeria recognize and accept the values of democratic culture, they find it hard to accept election defeat. Elections, he further asserted, is only credible when one turns out to be the winner irrespective of the process involved. Failure to accept election defeat has been responsible for most of the electoral violence in Nigeria in general and in Kano State in particular (Malumfashi, 2018).

Godfatherism breeds political violence as godfathers insist that their choice must be the one (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020). Inuwa also lamented that godfatherism does that with score of implications, what usually happen is, if certain interest feels that they cannot achieve what they set for through the peaceful means, for instance, if it is through elections or congress to show influence or to show their mass support they recruit certain criminal elements either to dislodge any program or distort any gathering or to distort even people from speaking or to even insert fear in the minds of the people to speak their minds on certain things. They continue to keep people under that perpetually through the use of money, drugs and lack of education (M. Inuwa, personal communication, June 27, 2020).

In the same vein, Ashir argued that loyalty and hatred are held with religious tenacity which erupts into political violence in Kano, a Kumbutso politician confessed to be '*Dan-daba*', and loyalists of a godfather will go to extreme end to actualize his demigod wishes. To them, an opponent is expendable, the love and loyalty is fanatic and the godfather bails out his thugs shall they fall in police trap(A. Ashir , personal communication, May 22, 2020).

Also, when the qualified is not allowed to contest, the most lovable is not allowed, the one with most support of the masses is not fielded because he is not in the good books of the governor, political violence is unavoidable. A member of the house of representative in Doguwa was recorded on tape telling his supporters to go and kill a boy who was not supporting him, the boy was killed and nothing happened to the politician, in fact he was reelected because of his close relationship with the governor. In Kano South, the man people wanted was Kawu Samaila

and not Kabiru Gaya but because of the cozy relationship between the latter and the governor he continued to be there. These are some of the things that trigger violence when unpopular candidates are imposed on people to vote... (A. Ali, personal communication, April 29, 2020).

Malumfashi blamed incumbents and governments in power in promoting political violence where they use instruments of violence - the security agents and when people begin to react, the whole scene becomes violent. He asserted that from the experience had in Kano and Kogi, opposition parties - come what may - they must win. No party will afford to lose elections again because the parties now don't trust the security personnel who are supposed to secure the elections, who are supposed to be neutral, the party now don't trust the election tribunal; the parties now don't trust the Supreme Court. We have reached a point where nobody will agree to lose election and if that situation comes it means crises (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

During the inconclusive elections in Gama, Kano, a whole commissioner was sidelined, somebody was sent from Abuja. Police gave the cover up they cover the thugs. Elsewhere in Kogi a whole helicopter came, disbursing people only for IG to come out and say those people in police uniforms were not police. Furthermore, a presiding judge was prevented from coming to the court in Kano the day judgment will be passed, so when the instruments of order and stability are not trusted political violence becomes the order of the day (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

Conclusively, godfathers hold the remote control to either avert or instigate political violence, addressing masses, compensating losers (Y. Tijjani, personal communication, May 25, 2020). As affirmed by the interviewees, Malumfashi (2018) also considered politicians' desperation for political office to influence political violence. He believed access to the nation's massive resources including the Local, State and national treasury is easier done when one holds position of political relevance. To enjoy the benefits reaped from these offices, politicians resort to all means of holding onto their offices including triggering political violence, election rigging, rituals, membership of secret societies, and absolute disregard to the constitutional provisions. Other factor responsible for violence and general insecurity in Nigeria is prebendal politics (Malumfashi, 2018).

3.1 Godfatherism and Electoral Irregularities in Kano

Godfatherism contributes to electoral irregularities because the due process is bridged, you have to have a nomination, primary election has to be transparent, the delegate will select. Sometime it violates the procedure because what the godfather wants is what they do. That selection is not about competence, it is not about qualification it is about who the godfather wishes (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

The godfather thus promotes an unhealthy competition, he wants to keep the political terrain and the governor/godson may want to control the political terrain and then they clash (S. Dukawa, personal communication, April 25, 2020). When a godfather picks an unpopular candidate and they know if elections is to be free and fair he will not make it, they connive with the officials of INEC and security personnel. Even if the security personnel did not partake in the rigging they turn a blind eye and riggers will have a field day. Remember, in Kano Wakil stood his ground, a deputy inspector of police was brought in who took over while the commissioner of police was confined to his office and they did what they wanted to do (A. Ali, personal communication, April 29, 2020). But for Ashir, he compared it with political violence and even though over voting is illegal, Ashir maintained that the godfather rigs not minding the consequences. The inconclusive elections in Kano were as a result of godfatherism- the use of thugs by both the incumbent and the godfather is a case in point (A. Ashir, personal communication, May 22, 2020).

Amid a volatile conflict environment, federal and state government officials cited the heightened violence as the reason for interdictions of political campaigning in some LGAs. Within the region, electoral violence was highest in Kano, where tensions between and within parties have occasionally turned deadly (Election Watch, 2023).

Kano state is one of the many Nigerian states that often experiences election-related violence, whether over federal or local contests. In 2011, post-election riots took place in Hotoro, Kawo, Giginyu, Dakata of Nasarawa LG, Zoo Road, Hausawa, Gyadigyadi of Tarauni LG, Sheka,T/Maliki of Kumbotso LG, Gandu, Emirs Palace Road, Sharada,D/agundi, K/Nassarawa, SabuwarKofa of Kano Municipal LG, and Dorayi, Chiranchi, Ja'in, Kabuga FCE of Gwale LG. Violence also occurred in Dala, Kura and Wudil LGs. The violence was not specially targeted at women but women like men also were victims of the indiscriminate attacks. At the beginning, violence was directly against electoral officials and the PDP. It

targeted powerful politicians from both the ruling PDP and opposition ANPP. For example, the residence of the former House of Representative Speaker, Ghali Naabba was set ablaze, the house of the ANNP stalwart, Alhaji Bashir Tofa was also attacked. The 2011 violence did not have respect even for the traditional rulers as attempts were made to attack the residence of the late Galadiman Kano, Tijjani Hashim. However, it later turned into a class war, as any person seen in flashy car was turned into a victim (Peace and Security Working Group, 2015).

Reporting on electoral violence in Kano state, the European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) maintained that violence, vote trading and intimidation of voters characterized the supplementary governorship election in Kano State, the European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) confirmed while reporting on the exercise monitored by 20 of its observers. The mission said it was disturbed that both the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and security agencies did little to address the violence and malpractices, which spread to many parts of Kano State. Also in the statement, the EU said some of its deployed observers, whom were prevented from accessing some polling units, witnessed widespread interference and vote-buying by party agents during the supplementary poll.

According to EU report, extensive electoral security problems were observed in some areas, with groups of men with weapons intimidating and obstructing the process, and security agencies ineffective at protecting citizens' right to vote," the EU said in its report sent to PREMIUM TIMES on Monday afternoon. "In particular, parts of Kano were largely inaccessible to EU observers, and citizen observers and journalists were also obstructed. EU observers also witnessed increased interference by party agents and cases of vote-buying," the major foreign observers' group found.

In the build up to the 2023 general election, November 2022 to be precise, supporters of the New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP) and the APC clashed in Gwale LGA, as both sides accused each other of instigating violence. Earlier in the year, fighting broke out in March between supporters of rival candidates in the gubernatorial APC primaries in Rano LGA, with heavy clashes resulting in at least one person killed (Election Watch, 2023).

3.2 Godfatherism and Good Governance in Kano

It should be noted that the primary aim of godfathers is the development of self and not the electorate, community or nation. The godfather maintains a parasitic and selfish relationship with his godson and community, not only is the interests of the godson and community abandoned in fulfilment of those of the godfather's but the godson and community are coerced to work and make sacrifices toward the realization of the supreme interest of the godfather (Oviasuyi, 2009). Regrettably in the face of dilapidation or non-sufficient existence of social infrastructures especially in states and local governments, public resources are used for political patronage.

More so, according to Ahmed, and Ali (2019) politics of godfatherism affects the national economic and political development in no small measure this is because of the influence of the political godfather and the loyalty of the godson in the political movements. He then added that the over-concentration of influence, wealth and power of politicians describes the ascent for the regulating of the political structures and institutions by the ruling class in society.

In a related development Oviasuyi (2009), opined that there has been a lot of calamities in Nigerian politics and Administrative crisis of self-assurance in the chosen legislatures, a loss of faith in the democratic rule and a rising deterrent at government, also, a rising frustration at the insignificance individual's vote in the political development. All these catastrophes are disasters prompted by the unholy association of godfatherism that believe in the power of incumbency and influence in the nation.

Godfatherism hinders good governance; the godfathers will threaten godsons' second term bidding, for that, a godson has to dance to their tune and therefore will not deliver...(A. Ashir, personal communication, May 22, 2020). Dukawa surmised that there will be divided loyalty, asking: who does the governor obeys, the electorates or the godfather? By and large, he poses as a puppet and that is negative, undemocratic and he tends to promote the philandering of the state economy, the godfather will want to control contracts so that he makes money, irregularities and illegalities takes place, wasting the resources of the state, philandering and pillaging(S. Dukawa, personal communication, April 25, 2020). Godfatherism violates process of selections; the loyalty thus will be absolutely to the godfather and not to the state, not to the constitution or the populace. In terms of responsiveness it will be to the godfather and not to the people (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

The politics of godfather leads to politics of self interest; projects that are for the interest of the society or for the benefit of the larger society may not see the light of the day because of the interest of certain individuals either because they want the contracts for themselves or for some certain individuals or they will be given the contract and they will not execute and the government cannot hold them to account. For instance, in Kano there is what they call 5km project in the local governments, these projects became white elephant projects, it was approved and the money was disbursed and there were allegations that those that gave out the contracts took away the money, on the eve of the 2015 elections and the principal was looking for a political office so they wanted to find way to raise some money, this of course is one of the cases actually and there are many even now in the current dispensation it is happening, there is this alliance they forge of the strong political figures like Shekarau and the incumbent and they share contracts between them. So even if the contract is not executed or it is not according to standard or specification he may not be queried because his godfather will talk. May be even the godfather will be given the project and he will not do it because he knows it is part of his share. Grants of the State ends up in their pockets, they don't direct on how to spend Grants judiciously (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

Inuwa further reckoned that it seriously allow those in government to perpetuate corruption because if there is peace people will look up to government and call it to account for what it is doing but crises will take away the minds of the people from what the government is doing. Money meant for development will be used to fight crime and settle dispute, people who are suppose to go to work for economic development will be jobless because people will not bring in investment due to lack of peace, insecurity repels investment There will be more social problems for the government to contend with (M. Inuwa, personal communication, June 27, 2020).

Citing Kano as an example, Malumfashi condemned the situation in Kano where mortgaging the state has become the order of the day. As a result of godfatherism and the aim of the incumbent to hold his firm grip on the state there is no green land in Kano, government properties are been sold in Kano, Abuja and everywhere, salaries are no longer standardized, it is slashed, there is rampant extortion everywhere, complaints by drivers, government officials are threatening people with killing, appointments are becoming commodities for sale (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

Also, image of the office is dented, videos affecting the office of the governor and his deputy becoming viral. *Babbanriga* is been abused “let me see your *babbanriga*”. Traditional institution is in disarray, the charisma of the institution is no longer there (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

3.3 Impacts of Godfatherism on Kano

Godfatherism has affected growth and development of the State with great impacts. Had it been there is absence of this factor, Kano will see more development because even if the government wants to do something that is of benefit to the people it has to consider this interest and there are projects that are not in interest of the larger society but the government will do it. Also, sometimes, money will be shared outrightly to cater for the interest of these individual, it contributes to bad governance, unqualified people are given position and appointments because of the house they belong to no matter how unqualified they are, there are people who are not performing and you cannot remove them because if you remove them you will be touching the interest of certain individuals (M. Inuwa, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

It has further brought divisions, created tension that generated into conflicts, it distracts attention of the government from the issue of governance, it kills projects, you end up not having continuity of projects the issue of Kano students sponsored by Kwankwaso is an example(S. Dukawa , personal communication, April 25, 2020).

Beside breeding all sorts of disunity, it also take away attention of people from issues and policies, programs turns into personality attacks, Media soldiers- *sojojin baka* – become policy analysts and you can see how empty they are regarding issues and policies. You hear people saying “*duk in da wane yayi mu nan za muyi*” and they end up confusing the average listener(S. Dukawa , personal communication, April 25, 2020).

The fact that average persons in Kano lack the ability to adequately analyze and comprehend policies, they sought the assistance and guidance of the godfather in their voting but ends up with unqualified godsons fielded by godfathers (M. Abubakar, personal communication, April 27, 2020). The phenomenon also prevents rendering initiatives by the godson especially if it is not in the interest of the godfather, that is why fathers and sons fall out. As in freedom to manoeuvre, a godson is not free to do as he deems fit, appointing commissioners, sharing offices and contracts are all strictly carried out with the godfather’s approval and consent. So

the quality of services, contracts and projects is nothing to write home about (A. Ashir , personal communication, May 22, 2020).

4. ASSESSING KWANKWASO'S INFLUENCE IN KANO

Assessing Kwankwaso's influence in Kano is linked to a score of variables, most importantly is the followership he had acquired over time and enjoy, his social capital and other resources that a politician cannot do without; financial wherewithal, records of achievements, connections, range of groomed individuals across the political, economic, social and military sphere etc. Hardly can you see political figures playing politics without reference to their political mentors even the elites. The moment you start speaking they will say he belongs to that or that (M. Inuwa, personal communication, June 27, 2020).

Incumbents for instance are very influential, they control the running of state affairs and can manipulate elections, the case in Gama in Kano, Kogi, Edo for instance are clear examples (M. Abubakar, personal communication, April 27, 2020). Beside incumbency, Inuwa is of the view that the judicious use of resources, opportunities and held positions empowered and help in establishing a political structure (M. Inuwa, personal communication, June 27, 2020). Normally when they are endowed with large political followers coupled with requisite resources, when they themselves have political position this kind of variables are what makes one a political godfather (S. Dukawa , personal communication, April 25, 2020).

Assessing Kwankwaso for instance in his Kwankwasiyya, Malumfashi disclosed that it has 40 million registered and documented members. Registration was ward by ward and membership ID cards were issued. He described the strive as influential in his capacity, full of sagacity and tenacity in grass root mobilization, highly influential in terms of followers- Malumfashi believed, Kwankwaso got his followers out of his own performance. Twice a governor of a state and he performed magnificently in the area of education, infrastructure, health, youth employment, women empowerment and introduction of colourful politics, he was a Minister of defense, he is also respected because he meant what he says; a man of his word. He is not a classical politician of deceit. He has all sorts of people; the good, the bad and the ugly and they are fortunately relatively independent you cannot buy them over to sway their allegiance (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

Kwankwaso is a first class politician, with the power of money and incumbency he became the second in APC's primary then, he was the governor of Kano, making use of the government

resources. Then, the 44 local governments were under caretaker chairmen, he was the one in control of the treasury, Kano was allocated several billions a month from the Federal Government allocation for State and local government areas not to talk of internally generated revenue (A. Ali, personal communication, April 29, 2020).

Ali also observed that Kwankwaso started as a realist, a progressive politician, a developmental politician but ended up becoming a reactionary politician (A. Ali, personal communication, April 29, 2020). He is said to be incorruptible and there have been many attempts to expose elements of corruption but it failed (Malumfashi, 2020). His aim is to uplift the downtrodden and the lower class to an upper level (A. Ashir, personal communication, May 22, 2020). He monitors and follows up projects diligently. He is selfless, enduring, persevering and consistent (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

5. KWANKWASIYYA: AN IDEOLOGY, MOVEMENT OR A MERE STRATEGY?

Analyzing the claim of establishing an ideology around Kwankwaso's personality, Inuwa believed it is more of a political group than ideology, it is a means to hold power because it has no comprehensive blue print to say this is what it stands for, even in their campaigns there are no distinct manifesto to hold onto, beside the slogans and the paraphernalia, there is nothing. There are no any scholarly publication to show what they stand for (M. Inuwa, personal communication, June 27, 2020).

Dukawa critically observed that it will be premature to call it an ideology, it is also presumptuous to call it movement but yes it has a slogan, a terminology which is used to rally round supporters and that terminology and slogan is Kwankwasiyya, it has other slogans but it cannot be elevated to the point of ideology but they help it... a wise politician should think towards having such slogans, such terminologies that mobilizes the youth, for mobilization purpose you need that but it irritates others, even the idea of the dressing itself is a mobilizing factor but it irritates others, that is why we would rather be cautious in calling it ideology or movement, a strategy may be, strategy of having an identity in terms of dressing that help to a great deal.. Just to emphasize on this, Dukawa posed a question whether Kwankwasiyya will continue in the event of Kwankwaso's death? In fact there are some rumours that with '*Abba gida-gida*' slogan Kwankwaso has started feeling uncomfortable, attention is going to Abba, a slogan that is new and the youth prefer it (S. Dukawa, personal communication, April 25, 2020).

Kwankwaso is popular being a radical politician; touching the untouchables is a strategy he employed in winning the heart of the masses (A. Ali, personal communication, April 29, 2020). He also uses youth through propaganda, he knows how to use it immensely; even outside power, he uses mass media, he uses people who use mass media, for instance, he uses youth who uses the social media platforms. Himself, he uses the conventional media to reach out to the public. He had periodic radio programs that he speaks to the people; he dishes out all kinds of information whether they are true or not and there are several radio stations that are fined because of hate speech, he uses that to unsettle and rattle those in power to either force them to respond or carry them away from what they are doing of governance. There are other factors like tagging his name to government scholarship as Kwankwasiyya scholarship, so many quarreled with him because they saw this antecedent to personify government around him, capitalizing on the issue of unemployment thereby swaying youths into his fold (M. Inuwa, personal communication, June 27, 2020).

Among his many strategies is the exploitation of the psyche of the people, in his campaign at *Kofar 'Na'isa'*, he introduced some slogans like “mahaha”, “wujuwuju”, *janbaki*.... His saying: *Ina matasa?* is very appealing to the youth. Tijjani asserted that his radicalism is abusive a times and it appeals to masses and youth especially, he is a revised edition of Rimi. The fact is, if you want to be popular in Kano, touch the established people, touch the influential people, touch the untouchables, and treat them as nobody in Kano. When you deal with them you become popular, the way Rimi dealt with Bayero, same way Kwankwaso did, politics of radicalism made them relevant in Kano (A. Ali, personal communication, April 29, 2020).

Kwankwasiyya to *kwankwasawas* is over and above any political party, Malumfashi revealed that it has followers who are not even affiliated to any political party, but because the grand commander was in PDP the Kwankwasiyya followers had pity to PDP, Party is necessary because you cannot scale through without party platform. Although Malumfashi claimed that there is no local government without Kwankwasiyya chapter in Nigeria (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020), different opinions suggests that his influence is overblown beyond Kano, you won't feel or see that loyalty glaringly, you won't find a person that Kwankwaso had made there, Kwankwaso does not have the economic empire to continue to hold in the future you won't see any economic structure he built that employs large army of people, initiatives that benefit people. Beside the political fanfare there is nothing, no any

industry - filling stations may be or shopping malls by proxy (M. Inuwa, personal communication, June 27, 2020).

In Kano, people look at the mentors as being too selfish that they use you and dump them unlike Lagos; Tinubu is selfless to his group and holds to his people tenaciously. When positions are available he doesn't consider those that are close to him in terms of relationship but in terms of usefulness and merit, his commissioners were from diverse background and that is what kept that empire intact, but here you see people struggling to keep people because they know this one will serve me better not to serve the structure better, so that is why when you leave office you hardly see anyone around you and the political structure crumbles.

In fact, Kwankwaso lost all his commissioners from first tenure and in his second tenure too. The VP was loyal to Tinubu despite his position but if it were Kano, the VP will become the master because he knew he didn't put him there because of merit but because of certain interest and that is what led to the division between Kwankwaso and Ganduje. He wants to exert his pressure on him (M. Inuwa, personal communication, June 27, 2020).

Contemplating whether Kwankwaso's influence paved way for Ganduje, Dukawa doubts it, asserting that Kwankwaso did not give way to Ganduje as godfather, it was incumbency factor that played there. He further elaborated that Kwankwaso attempted to do away with Ganduje after serving him in and out of government, for instance, some of the things that were made public was that in a political gathering, he said: both of us that are above 60 should leave the stage for younger generation, people concluded that he was pointing at Ganduje. Ganduje also use his incumbency factor, his own personal skills and rally round himself a lot of the political actors of the time to the extent that Kwankwaso realize he had no option than to sustain his political weight (S. Dukawa , personal communication, April 25, 2020).

Comparing Tinubu's godfatherism to Kwankwaso's, Dukawa affirmed that the former has one success which gave him an edge over Kwankwaso, that is, successors that built and sustained his success like the ex-governor of Borno once said "any success without a successor is a failure", whatever the success of Kwankwaso he has failed in having a successor (S. Dukawa , personal communication, April 25, 2020). Time will tell how influential Kwankwaso is, politically his relevance is retrogressive and reducing drastically (M. Abubakar, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

The number of political grooming a godfather is able to cultivate determines both his sphere of influence and the longevity of his relevance. Loyal godsons are instrumental in lubricating godfather's political machinery and also help to sustain his political structure. Malumfashi argued that Kwankwaso has groomed a number of people, some are still with him, they work for him, and they still serve his political interest while some disappointed him. That is politics and that is the wisdom (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020). He is now exposed to the disappointment of those who disappointed him and to the loyalty of those that are still loyal to him. There is nothing that will come to him that will appear new to him, he is a highly refined, highly processed politician because he was exposed to all situations. Among his many godsons and benefactors are: Buhari - one of his political benefactor, Ganduje, the then deputy governor Prof. Hafiz Abubakar- who was made to be deputy without him even seeking for it. The secretary to the State government, Rabi'u Bichi was also his godson. Kwankwaso put Aminu Dabo in Nigerian Port Authority. Those still with him are Engineer Abba Yusuf, Dan Gwani. In fact, even at the national level there are Kwankwasiyya stalwart even from APC (S. Malumfashi, personal communication, April 27, 2020).

His political mistakes which could have made him successful had he avoided them include his clash with the *ulama*, that is a very minus to him, we already said religion is second to none in Kano politics ... a wise politician should not come into conflict the kind of conflict he went into with the *ulama* because of the ignorance of the average followers regarding the distinction between the *ulama* and the religion, so, many will feel if you are attacking the *ulama* then you are attacking the religion but Kwankwaso was separating between the religion and the *Ulama*, his attacks are not on the religion they are on the *Ulama*, it is a mistake because the people did not reach that level of understanding. So many people see him as an irreligious person. He does not have to be in romance with the *Ulama*, he can maintain neutrality he can avoid unnecessary conflict with them he can avoid unnecessary antagonism with them (S. Dukawa, personal communication, April 25, 2020).

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper concludes that it is early for Kwankwasiyya to be regarded as a full-blown political movement and godfatherism in Kano breeds corruption in public offices, it also yields bad governance, promotes hooliganism and violence during elections thereby creating political apathy across the State and loss of lives and properties. The paper thus recommends rigorous auditing in governance to enhance accountability in public offices with severe punishment for

offenders, political godfatherism to be closely monitored and its heinous activities checkmated by state authorities. Also, the public to be empowered to use available and legitimate resources at their disposal to call their representatives to order via social media usage and the right to exercise their vote of no confidence to non performing political holders.

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