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Follower-Ship Engagement and Gate-Keeping: A Pragmatic Approach

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Abstract

There has been a widespread consensus that the problem with Nigeria is majorly leadership deficit. Many believe this position to be an apodictic truth without any attempt to carry out a critical analysis of the veracity of the claim. In this study, a different narrative is presented where the problem with Nigeria is situated on the failings of followership. Employing the theoretical framework of pragmatism, the study argues that there are certain actions to be taken by the follower-ship in order to engender the needed development in the body polity of Nigeria. Among the engagements of followership is what is called "citizens watch" which is properly explicated in the body of the study as a rallying point based on the principle of justice, fairness and equity. As a finding, the study contends the followership are more in number and can upturn any unfavorable policies and actions of government using the instrumentality of the law, pressure and rational engagements over and above any other considerations.

Keywords: Followership, Citizens, Engagement, Watch, Pressure, Unity, Majority

Introduction

Many people believe that Nigeria's lack of development and progress stems from its inadequate leadership. They argue that with more ethical and competent leaders, the problem of Nigeria will be resolved. However, in this study, a different viewpoint is presented, which is that the true problem of Nigeria lies within its followers rather than the leaders. While it may be a popular notion, the idea that poor leadership is Nigeria's main obstacle remains unproven. This position sits well with the claim that "one of the attractions of democracy is that it is founded on the freedom of the electorates to choose their preferred candidates…" (Isife, 2023 p. 19). Through a closer examination, the study unveils that Nigeria's struggles are rooted in the shortcomings of its followership.

Through a pragmatic approach, it is proposed that the responsibility for driving essential development in Nigeria's institutions and civil society lies with the followership. The study introduces the novel idea of "citizen's watch" which is a form of civic engagement and oversight grounded in the principles of justice, fairness, and equity. The findings reveal that Nigeria's everyday citizens possess immense potential and hold the key to challenging detrimental government practices and bringing about positive transformations through lawful channels. Rather than waiting for a perfect leader to emerge, the nation's progress may depend more heavily on empowering and reviving its followers.

To test this alternative perspective centered on empowering Nigeria's followership, the study employs a pragmatic approach that focuses on real-world applicability rather than abstract analysis. This approach examines how shifting conceptions of civic participation and public accountability could engender concrete betterment across Nigeria's societal institutions. The study introduces the organizing principle of "citizen's watch" which is a form of proactive, vigilant followership grounded in notions of equity and justice. Citizen's watch then will involve ordinary Nigerians leveraging their collective agency to shape public discourse, set policy agendas in their common interest, and demand integrity from leadership figures across sectors. While dismissive perspectives write off the Nigerian people as helpless spectators to elite misrule, the study argues that latent capacities for changing leadership reside within citizen communities themselves. As an evidence, Nigeria's history contains previous instances of followership-driven reforms, such as the mass anti-corruption movement leading to General Buhari's short-lived regime in 1984.

By analyzing the philosophical underpinnings and historical expressions of citizen power in Nigeria, the study contends that activating robust followership may provide the missing catalyst for national revival and development. With conscientious and organized followership holding authorities accountable, Nigeria possesses what it takes for a meaningful progress where overcoming injustices across economic, political and social dimensions of national life is entrenched. Hence, the desired change lies in the untapped potential of the Nigerian people themselves to serve as stewards and agents of change for the country they wish to inhabit.

Pragmatism as a Method of Philosophical Investigation

Pragmatism is a philosophical tradition that originated in the United States around 1870. As a method of philosophical investigation, pragmatism emphasizes the practical application of ideas and theories as the test of their validity. (Menand 2001 p. 5). Rather than focusing on abstract debates about truth or reality, pragmatists assess the value of philosophies based on their usefulness and practical consequences. William James states that, "theories thus become instruments, not answers to enigmas, in which we can rest." (James 1907 p.28). In other words, the worth of a theory lies in its capacity to solve real-world problems.

Ideas that prove successful in practice can be considered both "true" and "good" in a pragmatic sense. This point aligns with pragmatism emphasis on change and flexibility rather than permanence. As new evidence and ideas emerge, philosophies and theories should evolve accordingly to produce better ethical, predictive, and problem-solving outcomes. In sum, pragmatism advocates for an empirical and consequentialist approach to assessing the merit of philosophical claims and systems of thought. The locus then is not on abstract accuracy but

rather practical usefulness in navigating the conditions of life in the real world.

The Concept of Followership

The concept of "followership" has emerged in recent scholarship as a complementary lens to traditional leadership studies. Rather than focusing purely on the skills and behaviours of formal leaders, followership examines how the attitudes, actions, and participation of subordinates contribute to collective outcomes. (Baker, 2007 p.50). Bjugstad*et al* explain that, "Followership is the process that occurs between leaders and followers to achieve organizational goals" (2006 p. 304). From this, followers are not passive recipients of leadership but rather empowered actors who enable and sustain leadership through their support or lack of it.

Different models of followership have been developed and often centered on two key dimensions which are critical, independent thinking and engagement/activity level. Kelley's groundbreaking research identifies five styles of followership: exemplary, conformist, passive, alienated and pragmatist styles(Kelly 1988 p. 142). What unifies contemporary followership theory is the recognition that organizational success depends equally on those being led. As argued, problematic followership often enables bad leadership while "good followers are critical to the health, welfare and sanity of any group" (Kellerman 2007 p.84). In a nutshell, the concept of followership focuses analytical attention on followers' qualities, behaviours and population dynamics as key determinants of group or institutional outcomes.

Citizen's Gate-Keeping

Generally, the concept refers to the way ordinary people and users of social media platforms actively filter, share, and distribute information that reaches wider audiences (Bakshy*et al* 2015 p. 1130). Rather than solely relying on traditional media, gatekeepers like editors, journalists, and publishers to control the flow of news and information, user-generated content and social sharing allow average citizens to significantly influence what ideas gain traction. Some primary ways that citizens engage in gate-keeping behaviours on social media include sharing certain news stories and commentators, fact-checking questionable information, and liking or commenting to express their perspectives (Bakshy 2015 p. 1131). By choosing which content to propagate and react to, ordinary users exert significant influence over algorithms that then further amplify the visibility of selected posts. T This way, the gate-keeping power over narratives and norms has shifted from official entities to everyday citizens.

However, these gate-keeping abilities also come with risks like echo chambers and preferential spread of misinformation that aligns with people's existing biases. Nonetheless, the central role of citizens as information gate-keepers represents a major way that social media has decentralized and democratized influence over ideas and beliefs in the digital public sphere. The ability for ordinary citizens to directly distribute information online allows regular people to circumvent traditional media gatekeepers who previously controlled most of what narratives and perspectives reached the public (Hermida 2016 p.13). This has fundamentally shifted power and influence over social discourse from major institutions like news organizations, governments, and corporations towards individual users on social media platforms.

A key impact is that now an exponentially larger and more diverse array of voices can share ideas and shape narratives compared to when publication and broadcast distribution channels were tightly controlled by a limited number of entities. For example, anyone with a social media account can call attention to underreported social issues or criticize powerful groups in ways that were unlikely to make it past institutional gatekeepers who filtered out those perspectives (Senft 2013 p.156). However, unmediated citizen gate-keeping also brings risks of fragmentation, polarization, and misinformation as people gravitate towards and amplify content that confirms their existing biases (Tsfati and Cappella 2003 p. 644). Still, the openness of social platforms to allow ordinary citizens to propagate the types of ideas and narratives they see as most relevant remains a defining feature of user-driven gate-keeping power in the modern media landscape. This understanding informs a very powerful tool that followership can use to organize, plan and pressurize leaders towards good governance in Nigeria.

Followership Evolution and Citizen's Engagement in Nigeria

In recent decades, Nigeria has undergone major shifts in followership trends and civic participation. As the country transitioned from military dictatorship to democracy beginning in 1999, new opportunities emerged for citizens to engage with the political process and influence their leaders (Adebanwi and Obadaro p. 2013). However, the evolution of followership and public involvement faces ongoing obstacles in a nation still grappling with developmental challenges. One notable followership trend is the rise of more educated, informed, and politically active youth. Nigeria has a median age of 18 and a massive youth population, representing the largest youth demographic across Africa. Ichoku and Agbeseexplain that, "with access to social media and technology, they are more knowledgeable about social and political issues and demand greater accountability from elected officials." (2020 p.1115) This surging youth followership brought energy to Nigeria's recent #EndSARS anti-police brutality protests, showing young people determined to achieve positive change. It has been observed that "the Endsars nurtured a group of egalitarian youths ready to change the status quo and provided a platform and the disposition for youth disdain for elites and oligarchic political class that has enslaved the country" (Isife 2023 p.147). Hence, social media has given the youths both the opportunity and the platform to actively participate in issues concerning governance of the country.

Structural issues like poverty and illiteracy are still hindering civic participation for marginalized groups. Though citizen followership has strengthened post-dictatorship, substantial room exists for greater public involvement in shaping Nigeria's governance and national direction. As followership continues evolving in 21st-century Nigeria, key questions centre on how to translate growing youth civic engagement into concrete political change and how to empower disadvantaged communities. The nation's path ahead relies on addressing these citizens' empowerment challenges. With sound policies strengthening political participation, Nigeria's emerging generation of followers can positively transform the country's institutions and developmental trajectory.

Beyond formal political participation, some scholars have pointed to the growing phenomenon of "informal citizenship" in Nigeria. This concept refers to citizens exerting agency outside formal government channels, through informal networks and grassroots collective action. For example, in many Nigerian communities, voluntary organizations have emerged to provide public services often lacking from the state, like building roads, hospitals, or schools. These informal civic efforts aim to pragmatically improve lives when formal governance fails its citizens. As for the future outlook, the growing impacts of digital technology and social media on Nigerian civic life cannot be ignored. With increasedinternet access, web-based platforms can expand political inclusiveness by connecting marginalized groups like rural citizens to the public discourse. As civic culture evolves through the digital age, technology's mounting influence introduces both opportunities and challenges to authentic followership in Nigeria.

Unity of Followership in Nigeria

Nigeria is a diverse country with over 250 ethnic groups and languages and this diversity can make unity challenging, yet throughout Nigeria's history, times of crisis have brought the country together. As the purported giant of Africa, Nigeria has the potential to be a major global power if it can foster greater national unity. Unity in Nigeria will require compromises by both leaders and citizens across ethnic, religious, and geographic lines. One factor that often divides Nigeria is the competition for control of resources and power amongst ethnic groups. Rotberg notes that, "competition and conflict between and among these ethnic groups have rent the fabric of national unity." (2019 p.197). Groups such as the Igbo in the Southeast and the Hausa-Fulani in the North or the Yoruba in the Southwest have contested for economic and political dominance. This has led to tensions and sometimes violence, such as during the Nigerian Civil War in the late 1960s when Igbo in the Southeast attempted to form the independent nation of Biafra. While ethnic unity may be an unrealistic goal for Nigeria's diversity, greater commitment to equal resource distribution and power sharing across groups could ease tensions which can be a basis for followership engagements.

Nigeria is almost evenly split between Muslims and Christians. It has been argued that, religious conflicts are often tied to competition over "access to government patronage and resources." Solutions for improving interfaith unity include protecting religious freedom for all groups, speaking out against religious extremism, and promoting interfaith dialogue and cooperation. Grassroots efforts like the Interfaith Mediation Center which brings Muslim and Christian leaders together are an encouraging example. Geographic and resource divisions have also hindered national unity. The oil-rich Niger Delta region has long felt exploited by the federal government, receiving little in return for providing greater part of the nation's economic lifeline. This has sparked unrest and militant activism against oil companies and the government. Rotberg (2019) suggests a fairer distribution of oil wealth as necessary for national unity (p. 197). Infrastructure and economic development projects for neglected regions could also help incorporate them into the national framework leading to a followership engagement rallying point.

While differences pose challenges, Nigeria's diversity also gives it vast human capital potential. By making compromises across ethnic, religious, and regional lines, Nigeria can tap into that potential and foster a greater sense of national identity and unity of purpose. Beyond ethnic, religious, and regional divides, Nigeria struggles with a lack of national identity and vision. British colonial rule brought together disparate groups into one country without efforts

to foster a unified Nigerian identity. To promote unity, Nigeria needs national symbols and ideologies that transcend smaller identities. Things like a shared national history curriculum, civics programs teaching core Nigerian values, and contests encouraging Nigerian patriotism could help followership engagements. In the quest for unity, Nigeria's vibrant civil society and artistic voices can play a key role. Through movements like "Occupy Nigeria" which united Nigerians across ethnic and religious lines in 2012 protests against the removal of fuel subsidies, civil groups foster solidarity around national issues. Nigerian artists, authors, filmmakers and musicians also powerfully express national themes that resonate across subgroups. From Afrobeat legend, FelaKuti, to award-winning novelists like Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, the country's rich culture reveals national talents and stories with unification potential.

Leadership Problem of Followership

The issue of leadership and followership has long been a challenge in Nigeria. While Nigeria has produced numerous political, business, religious, and cultural leaders over the years, it seems to suffer from what Chinua Achebe (2000) called "a failure of leadership." (p. 78). This failure has led to a lack of good governance, religious and ethnic conflicts, and tensions between leaders and followers from all sectors of society. Part of the leadership problem stems from the followers themselves. Kelley (1988) theorized that followers fall into five categories based on how independently and critically they think-from "sheep," that are passive and dependent, to "star followers" who think for themselves and actively participate in the task of followership (p. 142). The sheep-like followership lends itself to dangerous levels of obedience and can enable exploitation.

However, Structural factors also bring about obedient followership; in a country with extreme economic inequality and limited employment opportunities, people desperately rely on the favour of the elite class. Utomi (2007) explains that, "a culture of dependence permeates society, with everyone looking for a 'godfather' or leader who can offer protection and provision." (p. 204). While culture plays a significant role in Nigeria's leadership crisis, this issue requires political and structural reforms as well as courage on the part of followers for positive change to occur (Chaleff 2009 p. 17). Leaders bear the brunt of responsibility in enabling a more robust form of followership in Nigerian society, while also addressing the factors necessary for cultural and structural transformations. Leadership does not exist without willing, active followers. Therefore, building a culture of empowered followership must begin with more ethical, servant-minded leadership.

Servant leadership strategies include involving followers in decision-making processes, actively listening and understanding perspectives, promoting growth opportunities, and putting followers' needs first (Northouse2019 p. 388). By contrast, the predominant leadership style in Nigeria has been more authoritarian, with policies and visions flowing one way from the top, down. Such domineering leadership inevitably breeds passive followership. Transformational leaders like Nelson Mandela demonstrate how visionary, ethical leaders can inspire nations by empowering people. Cultural attitudes cannot change overnight. However, leadership paradigms can shift more rapidly. If Nigerian leaders across sectors began leading through empowerment rather than domination, they could gradually cultivate the kind of

responsible, courageous followership required for national progress. With radical servant leadership, over time the dysfunctional power dynamics between leaders and followers may finally be reformed even though there is no guarantee for this which is why followership engagement is germane.

Ethnic and Religious Biases of Followership

Nigeria is a diverse country with over 250 ethnic groups and a mix of Muslims and Christians across different regions. This diversity has contributed to tensions surrounding ethnicity and religion that extend to politics and leadership. Specifically, biases along ethnic and religious lines have impacted on how Nigerians view and respond to their leaders. One major bias evident among Nigerian followers is ethnic favoritism. Thus, it goes without saying that Nigerians have a strong tendency to support leaders from their own ethnic background over those from other ethnic groups. This can be seen in voting patterns in which areas dominated by a particular ethnicity largely vote for candidates who share their ethnicity. For example, Yoruba followers will overwhelmingly support Yoruba candidates and Hausa followers will back Hausa candidates. This bias fuels ethnic conflict as groups compete to have one of their own in power. Of course, it has to be noted that this scenario was transcended during the 1993 and 2023 Presidential elections when Late Moshood Abiola and Peter Obi won massively across ethnic divides. But even in those elections there still many who voted candidates from their ethnic background.

Religious bias also impacts followership in Nigeria greatly. Nigeria features a Muslim majority in the north and a Christian majority in the south. This religious divide deeply influences the acceptance and cooperation followers extend to leaders who differ in faith from themselves. The ethnic and religious biases present clear challenges to Nigerian unity and governance. Leaders who lack strong support in their ethnicity or faith are undermined by these divisions. Addressing these biases will be critical for Nigeria to build an inclusive national identity across differences. Educational and social initiatives promoting religious tolerance and ethnic cooperation could help to shift followers' perspectives. With less biased followership, leaders may face fewer obstacles in governing the diverse Nigerian population.

Although ethnic and religious biases heavily influence Nigerian politics, there are instances where coalitions are formed across these lines. In particular, when smaller minority groups unite, they can challenge the dominance of larger ethnic groups (Rotberg2019 p.197). The dynamic nature of these inter-ethnic alliances demonstrates that rigid ethnic loyalties can be altered to accommodate strategic pursuits. Moreover, it has been observed that candidates with a natural charm may also garner backing from individuals belonging to diverse ethnic or religious groups. These politicians, rather than emphasizing differences, prioritize fostering a sense of solidarity and collaboration. However, such unifying appeals remain rare in Nigerian politics.

Fundamentally, realizing the inclusive, democratic ideals of Nigerian society requires addressing how ethnic and religious biases distort followership. Purposeful policies and leadership vision are needed to shift follower mentalities away from narrow parochialism. While the biases run deep historically, identifying situations where cross-cutting alliances emerge provides hope for transcending damaging divisions. With work at the institutional and

grassroots levels, Nigeria can foster followership based more on common national identity than ethnic or religious differences.

Followership Engagement for Nigeria's Development

With a population of over 200 million people, abundant natural resources, and a youthful population, Nigeria has all the ingredients to become an economic powerhouse. However, poor leadership, corruption, and economic mismanagement have hampered development. Nigeria's "resource curse" shows that simply having resources does not guarantee prosperity. As the country works to overcome these challenges, an important and often overlooked solution lies in improving followership at all levels of society. Engaged and empowered followers are crucial for implementing visions set by leaders. They take ownership of set goals and work diligently towards actualizing them. Afolabiargues that the best ideas and visions are useless without people to execute them properly (Afolabi, et al 2020 p. 12). With better followership rooted in diligent work ethics and personal responsibility, existing government programs for diversifying the economy could be implemented more successfully to deliver development.

Part of the challenge lies in eroding cultural attitudes opposing conscientious followership. A shift towards respect and appreciation for subordinates who show integrity and dedication in the execution of superiors' directives would benefit society. Not only does this empower followers, but leaders can also focus more on oversight and high-level planning. It is also argued that Nigeria's bloated bureaucracy is an impediment requiring grassroots followership initiative. Beyond public sector reform, cultural barriers in the private sector also require followership engagement. The more ingrained discretion to question prevailing modes of operation is overcome through better follower participation, the faster optimal procedures will be discovered. Socially, a national orientation around proactive citizenship rather than resigned acceptance of substandard living conditions could also catalyze development. It can be pointed that conscious followership will be able to protest against botched government projects like abandoned public housing or poorly maintained roads. Communities tolerating partial completion before funds disappear enable endemic corruption. A mindset shift where engaged citizens demand accountability once funds for new projects are allocated will signal to contractors and politicians that negligence will not go unchallenged. Though followership in Nigeria's socioeconomic context has limitations considering the systemic deficiencies, participating more actively within spheres of citizen's influence can be constructive.

Progress ultimately depends on the aggregated actions of millions of followers incrementally optimizing outdated modalities in public and private sector activities. Through these small ethical decisions, the foundation for national development can be strengthened. An engaged, courageous and empowered followership together with farsighted leadership could catalyze Nigeria's growth.

Evaluation

This study delves into myriad of challenges plaguing followership civic participation in Nigeria. As pragmatically analyzed, deficiencies in these realms substantially contribute to ongoing struggles with corruption, underdevelopment, intergroup conflicts, and ineffective governance. Appraising the proffered concept like Citizens Watch reveals prospects yet also limitations in their applicability to Nigeria's intricate landscape. Though pragmatic and context-based examination of the key issues suggests potential remedies, though structural constraints pose some obstacles.

Regarding leadership challenges, the deeply ingrained "Big Man" political culture cements paternalistic, self-serving leadership across sectors. This authoritarian leadership paradigm concentrates power and inhibits constructive dissent from followers or subordinates. Proposed solutions center on instituting "Servant Leadership" models prioritizing ethical stewardship over domination (Northouse 2019 p. 388) However, transforming self-interests may prove difficult considering that corruption enables personal enrichment for elites. Regulation enforcing transparency could make headway by adding accountability pressures. But the reforms require courageous change-makers willing to eschew patronage benefits for the greater good.

Issues in the followership realm partially stem from cultural tendencies toward Excessive Obedience, passivity, and dependence concerning authority figures (Omolayo 2017 p. 145). The learned helplessness and reality deficit of this breed allow poor leadership to exploit with limited oversight. Building capacities for critical questioning and constructive resistance among citizens and subordinates could increase accountability. Equipping followers to effectively organize through digital tools like social media is valuable but risks aggravating social divisions without unifying agendas. Additionally, citizens may hesitate to dissent considering the vast power differentials allowing intimidation by elites. Gradual consciousness-raising remains pivotal.

Regarding civic participation, low voter turnout and general disengagement reveal shortfalls despite Nigeria's return to democracy. The reasons likely involve systemic barriers like rampant poverty and illiteracy marginalizing swathes of citizens rather than mere apathy (Afolabiet al 2020 p.5). Hence, economic initiatives alleviating hardship seem requisite to enable meaningful political involvement nationally. Simultaneously, digitally connected youth increasingly demand governmental accountability, signaling avenues for leveraging emergent voices (Ichoku, and Agbese 2020 p. 115). In all, multifaceted efforts redressing unequal access to participatory channels while responsibly harnessing technologies could enhance civic oversight.

While this evaluation reveals no quick fixes to followership non-engagement issues in Nigeria, it is worthwhile to note that sustainable positive transformations rely on cumulative efforts pursuing cultural attitudinal shifts, structural reforms, economic upliftment, and technological responsibility. The pragmatist considers the holistic picture where leadership and followership deficiencies intertwine with socioeconomic realities across Nigerian society. While concept like Citizens Watch suggest helpful organizing principles, actualizing impactful change demands grappling with complex systemic constraints. Multilateral cooperation pursuing gradual, ethical reforms may yet move Nigeria's civic participation culture toward activated dynamism checking leadership/governmental excess.

Furthermore, emphasizing shared national symbols and history-building could catalyze patriotic nationhood over divisions. However, such initiatives risk backlash from influential subgroups unwilling to erode hierarchies benefitting their dominance. Hence, they would

need backing from widely respected civil society leaders to succeed. Additionally, equitable resource allocation and power sharing between groups demand urgent action from leadership. Transparent distribution formulas informed by citizen input could mitigate perceptions of discrimination. Still, with parties presently benefiting from skewed arrangements, willingness remains doubtful. But courageous dissent bears risks, meaning gradual consciousness raising remains vital before mass action can amass securely. In totality, Nigeria's complex troubles demand context-based solutions traversing political, cultural, economic and social spheres. Therefore, an activated, responsible followership movement targeting reforms in the common interest may spark a new direction if coordination, vigilance and nonviolent pressures sufficiently stir the national conscience.

Conclusion

This study has been extensive philosophical examination of the intricate followership and civic participation challenges permeating Nigeria's developmental struggles. In critically analyzing mainstream thought pinpointing leadership failure alone as the crux of national troubles, an alternative perspective emerges centering deficient followership as an overlooked yet vital piece of the puzzle. Employing the pragmatic approach in assessing ideas based on real-world applicability and consequences, the potentialities and limitations of the idea "Citizens Watch" come into fuller perspective when contextualized against systemically embedded constraints.

By appraising cultural attitudes, structural barriers, economic deprivations and technological shifts influencing civic engagement capacities, a more holistic insight of Nigeria's predicaments becomes evident. The dangers of intimidation and cooptation cannot be ignored considering historically ruthless responses to challenges against ruling interests. Therefore, a responsible, vigilant organizational approach becomes necessary. The idea of "Citizens Watch" may point as a useful direction, but its viability relies on alleviating oppressive conditions denying many Nigerians basic means to civic participation alongside digital tools expanding engagement avenues.

While empowered followership serves as the study's main proposal for transformative change, even mass mobilization may fail without wider societal commitment to dismantling entrenched patterns of self-interest, nepotism and artificial scarcity regimes that sacrifice populace wellbeing for elite minority enrichment. Nigeria's reality demands sophisticated solutions acknowledging that political isolation, economic inequality, and social fragmentation intertwine to sustain dysfunctional leadership and discouraged followership. Whether through internal pressures or external partnerships, systems change necessitating cooperation and forbearance across ideological lines is indispensable. With diligent coalition building and nonviolent organizing to continuously demand integrity, Nigeria's followership may yet overcome imposed constraints to compel a redemptive revolution in governance and civil society. But it will necessitate shedding passive resignation for active, patriotic citizenship from the grassroots upward.

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