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“First Ladyism”: A Condoned Aspect of Corruption under Successive Governments in Nigeria, 1985 – 2014

Dr. A. A. Fari

Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Maiduguri, Nigeria

J. P. Dada

Professor, University of Maiduguri, Nigeria

Abstract:

The Nigerian first ladyship and its various programmes for empowering women may have, as it has been generally argued, led to improvement in the lives of the targeted female groups. But this is only one aspect which seems to have been exaggerated. This paper argues that a more serious but overlooked aspect of the first ladyship and its many activities is that it has since 1985 constituted a form of corruption which for want of a better term is called “first ladyism”. In the first place, first ladyism, which is a mindset, was a new development involving the existence of a parallel and informal source of influence, exercised largely over the womenfolk, particularly the wives of administrators/governors and chairmen of local governments and leverage with government officials. Secondly, it was the object of a state treatment during visits to parts of the country by all tiers of government and drew on government resources in terms of protocol, security and staffing. Lastly, it was an avenue for accessing funds that not only by far outstripped the cost of the pet projects but were not accounted for. Thus, first ladyism represented a rare opportunity for amassing wealth and influence which was an aberration going by standard governmental practice.

Keywords: *Aberration, corruption, “first ladyism”, influence, leverage, mindset*

1. Introduction

Nigerian first ladies, beginning from Maryam Babangida, obtruded upon public affairs and minds of Nigerians through the initiation of a number of philanthropically-inspired programmes that sought to satisfy their craving for the limelight, wealth and influence. This development is, without doubt, unprecedented in the history of this country as none of the first ladies before 1985 seemed to have courted or savoured publicity. On the contrary, those early first ladies were completely unassuming, limiting themselves to “being patronesses of Girls Guides and charitable causes, as well as playing a low-key role as dutiful hosts whenever their husbands received dignitaries”.ⁱ However, it is not the purpose of this paper to examine the reasons for, and the manner of, this development. The determination of the new breed of first ladies to wield influence, if not power, the accomplishments of women in many fields of human endeavour and, more importantly, their potential for making effective contribution to national development with the support of national and international agencies have also been adequately covered elsewhere.ⁱⁱ Its purpose is to look into the moral and legal implications of the development with a view to demonstrating that it was an aspect of corruption which has been completely ignored. But first of all, it is important to put the status of the spouses of rulers in historical perspective so as to understand the genesis and meaning of the title “first lady” in the realm that matters, namely politics/power.ⁱⁱⁱ

2. The Origin and Meaning of the Term “First Lady”

It is generally accepted that the term “first lady” originated in the United States of America but other than that there is no agreement on the dating of the use of the term. According to one view, the term was first used in a newspaper article in 1843 in praise of the unassuming and simple life style of Martha Washington, the wife of the then President of the United States, George Washington. In contrast, another view has dated the use of the term to 1849 when the then President of the United States, Zachary Taylor, employed it in describing Dolley Madison in an eulogy which he read at her funeral.^{iv} But it seems that the second view is doubtful as the piece of evidence on which it is based, a copy of the eulogy, has not been found.^v Be that as it may, it would appear that the term “first lady” is, in concept, an expression of respect and endearment based on the social status of its bearer in which case it may be said to have a much longer history.

In fact, from time immemorial society has been accustomed to holding members of the privileged classes, particularly the aristocracy and more especially ruling dynasties in high esteem which it has expressed by means of titles. It is in this regard that all the wives of American presidents since Martha Washington (1789-1797) have, despite their preferences for

other appellations, been given the respect that was due to their social status whether or not referred to as first ladies.^{vi} It is also in a similar vein that spouses of rulers in Europe have held such status-based titles such as prince consort, princess but more usually queen consort or just queen, queen mother, etc.^{vii} In the Central Bilad-al-Sudan members of the Seifuwa ruling dynasty in Borno have held a wide range of titles such as magira (queen mother), magaram (official sister), gumsu (first wife of the ruler), chiroma (crown prince), maina (any prince) and mairam (any princess).^{viii}

As has been implied, these and many other titles of ruling dynasties (of course excepting that held by the actual ruler/rulers), particularly that of first lady borne by the wife of a sovereign have, for all intent and purposes, been honorific carrying no official functions but only public recognition. To take, for example, the position of the wife of the president of the United States as forming the basis of the title "first lady": the wife of the president plays a number of roles, ranging from acting as a wife, managing and preserving the White House, campaigning, undertaking social advocacy, speaking on behalf of the president, doubling as a political and presidential partner to symbolizing American women.^{ix} But in all these they took "care to keep within the bounds of decency by espousing those causes that promote the family as the bedrock of societal wellbeing" and "not to overshadow their husbands for publicity".^x

Based on the practice in the United States, it may be assumed that it is these roles, albeit varying in line with local circumstances, that should constitute the functions of first ladies, if not everywhere, at least in Nigeria and other countries that practice the presidential system of government in which case it may be contended that whatever importance or influence that is associated with their person must be merely deferential but not obligatory. It may be further argued that it is this situation, innocuous, unassuming and devoid of the exploitation of the state, its resources, facilities, and power trappings in furtherance of enlightened self interests that defines the position of the wife of the head of government under the presidential system as first ladyship. Any departure from this model is not first ladyship; and the Nigerian version which seemed to vary from it in the fundamental manner in which the status has been conceived since 1985 is what is referred to in this article as "first ladyism". It is thus a deviation from the ideal. This much is acknowledged in the statement that "the activities of Maryam Babangida with the introduction of the Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLPRW) turned the traditionally-ceremonial post of the first lady into a potent force for women's rural development in Nigeria" made by a foremost writer on Nigerian first ladies and their various pet projects.^{xi}

2.1. First Ladyism as a System of Quasi-Official Influence and Power and Access to State and Private Resources: The Military Variety

First ladyism, under military rule, represented a belief in the importance, in not the necessity, of the creation of a parallel and informal source of influence, if not power, exercised largely over the womenfolk, particularly the wives of administrators/governors and chairmen of local governments and the exercise of leverage with government officials. The basis of this belief is to be found in military psychology and command structure which not only predisposed junior officers and the rank and file to equate the position of wives of officers with the rank of their husbands and obey them accordingly but inclined even the officers to exhibit chivalry towards their spouses and generally defer to their wishes. It is this mentality that Maryam Babangida, Maryam Abatcha and Fati Abubakar would appear to have exploited when their husbands became Heads of State.

As wives of Heads of State and Commanders-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the aforementioned women held an informal but effective sway over the military, particularly those officers holding governmental positions and their spouses which they sought to actualize in a tangible arrangement. This is certainly not an easily perceptible, even though an equally valid reason; that led, in conjunction with others,^{xii} to the launching at the national level of the Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLPRW), simply known as the Better Life Programme (BLP), the Family Support Programme (FSP) and Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) and Women Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) which wives of military governors/administrators and those of local government chairmen were required to replicate in the domain of their husbands^{xiii} in which regard they may be deemed to have been answerable to the first ladies. Certainly, there were subtle differences in the organizational structure of these programmes which may have to do with the personality of the founders. But no matter the differences there is no gainsaying the total control of the programme by the initiator. Thus, at the apex of the Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLPRW) stood Maryam Babangida as the Chairperson of the National Organizing Committee.^{xiv} At the state level the activities of the programme were directed by a planning committee headed by the governor's wife. In the local government areas, the wives of local government chairmen presided over committees of the programme while an experienced programme officer coordinated its activities. At the village level responsibility for the execution of the programme was devolved on a group, comprising a coordinator and ward representatives.

The organization of the Family Support Programme/the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FSP/FEAP) was virtually similar to that of the Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLPRW). The only differences were that the initiator of the former programme was known as Patron and there was more infusion of professionalism in its management. Consequently, at the national level the programme was, first, coordinated by the National Commission for Women Societies (NCWS) through the National Coordinating Committee and, subsequently in 1995 by the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs. At the state level the programme was ran by coordinating committees made up of experts from relevant state ministries/agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The coordinating committees were chaired by directors-general of state women commissions. With regard to the local government areas, the programme was executed by

implementation committees, comprising field officers drawn from line departments and non-ministerial agencies under the chairmanship of the Coordinator, Women Development Programme in the area. In contrast, the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) which was established in August, 1996 was made over to the government of the day which constituted it into a quango through Decree No. 11 of 1977.

As regards the Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA), the pet project of the wife of the last military Head of state, Mrs. Fati Abubakar, it was, *ab initio*, conceived as a non-governmental organization with open membership. It was, therefore, organized into a Board of Trustees under the Chairmanship of the initiator of the programme at the national level. At the state level (WRAPA) was represented by coordinators in all the thirty-six states of the Federation and by forty-two volunteer focal persons located in zones and in the states. This represented a departure from the traditional organization of the first ladies' pet projects which used wives of governors and local government chairmen as the fundamental building blocks of power and influence. But it did not affect the nature of the subsisting power relations. It was the coming of democratic rule that was to lead to the relaxation of relations between the first lady and the wives of governors and other chief executives.

2.2. Democratic Version of First Ladyism

Nigeria returned to democratic rule in May, 1999. The development ushered in a process of democratization in many aspects of the country's national life which, in the case of the connection among wives of elected chief executives at the federal, state and local government levels, involved a shift away from regimentation to a greater freedom of independent action in the relationship subsisting between the first lady and the spouses of governors and local government chairmen which released the latter from the obligation to replicate the pet project of the former in the domains of their husbands. The wives of the state governors had also, for good measure, taken to bearing the title "first lady" in their respective areas of competence, even though the then First Lady, Stella Obasanjo, attempted to restrict the use of the term to herself. At a meeting at Abuja on 24th June, 2003 to which she invited wives of the state governors, she told them that there was only one first lady in the country and her name was Stella Obasanjo and that they should desist from using the title "first Lady" of their husbands and revert to their proper title of governors' wives.^{xv} But it did not seem that the directive was headed. The thinking behind the deregulation of the pet project in 1997 was that the problems facing the society were so enormous and diverse and that it would be unfair to impose a particular project on all the states as was done during the military era for which reason the wives of state governors were encouraged to initiate projects that were most suited to solving problems peculiar to their states.^{xvi}

The impact of these measures was dramatic, leading, as they did, to a proliferation of pet projects of wives of state governors. In some states where the governor had more than one wife there were as many pet projects as there were spouses. An example of this state of affairs that readily comes to mind obtained in Adamawa where each of the four wives of the governor answered the title "first lady" and ran a pet project.^{xvii} The establishment of as many pet projects as there were wives to the state governor had, in the case of Nassarawa, led to an unhealthy rivalry between the two first ladies and clashes between their supporters and opponents.^{xviii} At the federal level the successive first ladies each established her pet project at Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory. Two of the projects, the Child Care Trust (CCT) and the Women and Youth Empowerment Foundation (WAYEF) were set up as non-governmental organizations and ran by means of a Board of Trustees under the chairmanship of their founders. But they differed in terms of organizational structure. The Child Care Trust was organized into five departments each headed by a Programme Director and staffed with Facilitators. In addition, there was a group of consultants which provided technical support. On the other hand, WAYEF had chapters in twenty-six states of the federation and involved wives of governors and local government chairmen, religious leaders as well as traditional rulers. The third project, the Women for Change Initiative (WCI), which was identified with the immediate former First Lady, Dame Patience Goodluck Jonathan, seemed inchoate and lacked a clearly defined status.

But despite the deregulation of the pet projects as well as the use of the title "first lady" there was, apparently, not much derogation, if any, in the power and influence of the first ladies of the country. On the contrary, it would seem to have strengthened the relationship between them and the other women, particularly the wives of the state governors by basing it on a deferential rather than obligatory obeisance. As a result, the wives of the state governors and local government chairmen as well as the rest of the womenfolk were at their beck and call with or without the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development. It is, in sum, this relaxation in the relationship between the wife of the President and those of state governors that constituted the main distinguishing feature between first ladyism under a military and a democratic regime; but otherwise the connection among the women remained that of power relations.

The quasi-official power that the first ladies, regardless of the complexion of the regime, whether military or civilian, wielded over the wives of governors and even their husbands and the rest of the womenfolk was also exercised over the civil service where it took the form of obedience to the wishes of "madam". This is particularly the case in the period from 1985 to 1999 and from 2007 to 2010 and in respect of those civil servants drawn closer to the person of the first ladies through assignment. The leverage exercised over the civil service seemed to have reached its high-water mark between 2007 and 2010 when, owing to the incapacitation of the then head of state, the First Lady, Turai Yar'Adua was said to be virtually running the government in collaboration with a group of close official confidantes.

That the first ladies wielded so much power was admitted by no less a First Lady than Maryam Abatcha who, in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), declared that although she was not taking decisions herself, she

received ministers and foreign ambassadors and that she had the capacity to solve their problems.^{xix} Similarly, the wife of the Ekiti state governor, Bisi Fayemi, had, in an apology for first ladyism, made quite revealing statements about the phenomenon which, quoted at some length, run thus:

projects of the first ladies, the pivot of their power; and there is little doubt that for many years I have engaged in debates about the role of First Ladies and the pros and cons of the use of informal power structures. The historical use and abuse of non-accountable, unconstitutional power has fuelled suspicion and hostility towards First Ladies, and rightly so. As a Feminist activist, I have been very critical of the ways in which women married to men in power hijack the spaces, voices and resources of others, particularly civil society, and use this as a platform to dispense political favours and elevate other elite women. The abuse of the Office of the First Lady and the questions about its legitimacy are not a solely Nigerian phenomenon. These debates continue to take place elsewhere. The problem we have in Nigeria is the unique ways in which this position has been so grossly abused that people find it hard to be objective or flexible in their assessments of either the position or the occupants.....First Ladies wield so much power and influence that it is very dangerous for such power to fall into the hands of ignorant, uninformed and unethical persons.....what I am calling for is for us to conflate our apprehensions, no matter how legitimate they might be, with the reality that this despised "Office" cannot be wished away. First Ladies are not a homogenous group. We have different contexts, interests and abilities.....I often tell people that we can have lengthy debates about the constitutionality or otherwise of my office but the fact remains that if you have been trying to see my husband for three months and he will not return your calls, I can arrange for you to have breakfast with him tomorrow morning.....Every day I work hard at ensuring that I exercise my informal power and authority with utmost discretion, respect, sensitivity and integrity. I might not always get it right, but I try.^{xx}

But power, no matter the complexion, can be sustained only by means of resources. It is for this reason that money must be found to finance the various pet projects and substantial funds were raised for the programmes but their sources varied. Although all the pet projects of the first ladies may have enjoyed some financial support from the government, those of Maryam Babangida and Maryam Abatcha would appear to have relied completely on the state for funding and offices,^{xxi} attempt by the former First Lady to completely dispel that belief notwithstanding.^{xxii} It may be conceded that a lot of money was raised through contributions from the women involved in the Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLPRW), non-governmental organizations, foreign and domestic donors and philanthropist organizations. In fact, it is claimed that it was with the public money that Maryam obtained through her husband that she built a huge edifice in Abuja which she named the Maryam Babangida Centre for Women and Development. But be that as it may, the amount realized from donations was not revealed vis-à-vis the support received in monetary terms from the state so that the real sources of funding for the programme may not be in doubt. It is a similar state of affairs that obtained in respect of the Family Support Trust Fund (FSTF) launched by Maryam Abatcha. It is not known how much of the funds it raised came from the state and from private donations.

In contrast, the rest of the First Ladies' pet projects, beginning from the Women Rights' Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA), which were registered as non-governmental organizations (NGOS), seemed to have depended mostly on raising funds through donations as a means of financing their activities. This is particularly the case following the return of the country to democratic rule when, as a matter of policy, the government of the day stopped direct funding of the first ladies' pet projects.^{xxiii} As a result, the pet projects sought support from international donor agencies such as the MacArthur Foundation, the Department for International Development (DFID), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU) and a host of others, domestic donors which included corporate organizations, individuals and, to some extent, state and local governments. Yet, the total monetary worth of support each pet project received during its life time from donor agencies both local and international was not revealed. The only exception is the much-publicized raising of ten billion Naira through donations for the building of the International Cancer Centre at Abuja by the Youth and Women Empowerment Foundation (WAYEF). But nevertheless, it is the belief that the first ladies' programmes generated billions of Naira. Yet no sooner had the initiator of a pet project left the Presidential Villa than the undertaking came to an abrupt end without information about the fate of the funds generated in its name, giving the impression that the billions raised had been converted into stupendous personal wealth. As regards the targeted beneficiaries of the pet project, it would appear that no tangible benefit accrued to them enough to reposition them economically so as to lessen the gender disparities and inequalities they suffered.^{xxiv}

To crown it all, first ladyism took advantage of virtually every trapping of power. It had an office which was equipped and run with public money. It had attached to it a pool of aides, a press crew and a number of security details who swarmed around her both at home and at the office. It always moved "in a convoy of government vehicles, led by a siren-blowing pilot car meandering menacingly through clogged traffic to ensure the smooth passage of madam's convoy".^{xxv} First ladyism also undertook state visits during which it was received with pomp and pageantry and in accordance with strict protocol and, above all, it was given to courting publicity. In short, first ladyism competed with the Presidency in exuding power and influence as it "preen (s) and pirouette (s) about in resplendent apparels".^{xxvi}

2.3. First Ladyism as Corruption

First ladyism is corruption in the light of the philosophical, theological and moral definitions of the phenomenon in terms of a spiritual, moral impunity or deviation from an ideal.^{xxvii} To begin with, first ladyism is a by-product of the military

incursion into governance in 1985 which has been considered by most Nigerians, particularly the politicians to be an aberration and the source of the various ills that have plagued the country. By the same token, as a by-product of military rule, first ladyism, is also an aberration, nay, unconstitutional and, therefore, lacking in legitimacy and should be seen in the same light as the abrupt seizure of government by the military has been viewed and subjected to the same treatment.

Secondly, first ladyism represents a spiritual or moral impunity in terms of its failure to account for the funds it generated for the purpose of executing the various pet projects it initiated. In this regard, it would seem that all that first ladyism had achieved in raking in billions of Naira in the name of the various pet projects which was exempt from taxation owing to their registration as non-governmental organizations was to create an opportunity for the amassing of stupendous wealth by the initiators, as most of, if not all, the programmes have been abandoned with virtually very little to show for them.

Thirdly, first ladyism, had helped itself and others, particularly those close or connected to it to state resources, facilities, structures and services – in short, all the trappings of power. It even seems to outdo formal power in the way it courted the limelight and exercised leverage over the civil service. Yet the apologists for first ladyism do not see anything wrong with the circumstance that it had overreached itself. In fact, they argue that first ladyism was important in that it did, among other things, arrange for dignitaries to promptly see the head of state or governor.^{xxviii} But it is precisely roles such as these that may have helped in transforming first ladyism into a system of influencing the dispensing of state favours which would surely, as a good turn deserving another, have stood it in good stead with beneficiaries, thereby immersing it deeper into a mire of corruption. To take, for example, the donation or loan of two hundred cars of assorted variety by the car company, Coscharis Group, to the African First Ladies Peace Mission (AFLPM) Conference held in Abuja in July, 2012: the gesture could hardly have been motivated by charitable considerations. In any case, it raised serious ethical questions.^{xxix}

Last but not the least, first ladyism was corruption by virtue of its being a product of political corruption which is defined as the abuse of public power, office or resources by an elected government for personal or private gain.^{xxx} In the light of this definition, it is obvious that first ladyism was corruption in all its ramifications – political, economic and social – having been condoned, nay, encouraged by the executive on no grounds other than marital relationship.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be contended, first, that first ladyism is a system of informal power which consisted of a strong influence over wives of elected officials, particularly those of state governors and local government chairmen and the rest of the womenfolk, leverage over the civil service and capacity to raise funds in billions. It also partook of the trappings of power. Second, that first ladyism is corruption in the philosophical, theological, moral and political contexts. It has been little more than an avenue for influencing decisions at every level of authority for unwholesome considerations, not the least nepotism and unbridled quest for wealth which has had the effect of undermining the integrity of government and robbing the state of much needed resources which could otherwise be channeled into the provision of vital social services to citizens. In this case, and having regard to the fact that first ladyism was not an elected position, the call that it should be given a constitutional role^{xxxi} should not be countenanced at all. On the contrary, the practice should be outlawed. The recommendation of the Presidential Committee on the Review of the 1999 Constitution under the chairmanship of Justice Alfa Modibbo Belgore that since first ladyism did not operate under any legal framework its operation and funding (both in kind and cash) at all levels should be discouraged and abolished forthwith^{xxxii} should be implemented without further delay.

Notes

ⁱ Nigeria: First Lady Syndrome. *allAfrica.com/stories/201208030617.html*. p.1; First Lady Syndrome. (2012, August 3) *Daily Trust*. p.58.

ⁱⁱ See, Hajo Sani. (2010). *First Ladyship And Empowerment Programmes in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum House.; Hajo Sani. (2001). *Women And National Development: The Way Forward*. Ibadan: Spectrum House.

ⁱⁱⁱ The term "Post lady" seems to have other meanings. For example it is used as a term of endearment in referring to a lady who has shown exceptional ability or talent in a particular field or activity. See, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/first_lady. p.3.

^{iv} Hajo Sani. (2010). p.19.

^v http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/first_lady. p.1-3.

^{vi} See, www.history.com/topics/first_ladies. pp.1-3

^{vii} See, [Http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prince_consort](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prince_consort). pp.1-2.; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Princess_consort. pp. 1-2.; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen_mother. pp. 1-5.

^{viii} For these title, some of which, like the chiroma, are not of use, see, M.N Alkali. (1983). *The Political System and Administrative Structure of Borno under the Seifuwa Mias in Bala Usman and Nur Alkali*. (Eds.), *Studies in the History of Pre-Colonial Borno*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University.

^{ix} See, G.O. Akanbi & A.A. Jekayinfa. (2011). From Sincerely to Deception: First Ladies "Pet Projects" of Empowering Rural Women and Children through Education in Nigeria, 1985-2008. *European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 5 (1), 182.

^x Nigeria: First Lady Syndrome. *allAfrica.com/stories/201208030617.html*. p. 1.

^{xi} Hajo Sani. (2010). p.19.

^{xii} It would seem that the First Ladies were also sincere in lauching these programmes. See, G.O. Akanbi & A.A Jekayinfa. (2011).pp. 187-189.

^{xiii} G.O. Akanbi & A.A Jekayinfa. (2011).pp.184-185.

^{xiv} Except stated otherwise, discussion about the organizational structure of the programmes in based on Hajo Sani. (2010).pp.64-65, 89-90, 98, 112-113,122-134,137-139.

^{xv} blueprinting.com/2012/07/how-to-make-first-ladies-relevant/.p.2.; The First Lady Syndrome. (2012, August 6). *Daily Trust*.p.65.

^{xvi} G.O Akanbi & A.A Jekayinfa. (2011).pp.185-186.

^{xvii} For a discussion of the various pet project ran in many of the stated by wives of the governors by Nuruddeen M. Abdullah, See, *Abetting-first-ladies-with----*. sundaytrust.com.ng/index.php?view=article&catid=57%3pp.1-6

- xviii Nigerian First Ladies and The Love of Money. www.nigeria-politico.com/greedyamazons.html.pp.1-2.
- xix See, Jibrin Ibrahim. The First Lady Syndrome. (2012, August 6). *Daily Trust*.p.65.
- xx The First Lady Detate: Speaking for myself. (2012, February 21). *Daily Sun*. p.24.
- xxi See Kochollom, C.S.B. (2006). Gender, Money and Politics in Nigeria. In *Money, Politics and Corruption in Nigeria*. p.137. Abuja: International Foundation for Electoral Support.
- xxii See the interview she gave to Vanguard in which she was at pains to refute that her programme was funded by the government. vanguardngr.com/2010/01/from-the-archive-govt-does-not-fund-better-life-programme...first-lady/p.4.
- xxiii See First Lady Syndrome. (2012, August 3). *Daily Trust*.p.58.
- xxiv Kochollom, C.S.B. (2006).p.136.
- xxv www.nigeriapolitico.com/greedyamazons.html.p.1.
- xxvi First Lady Syndrome. (2012, August 3).p.58.
- xxvii See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/corruption>.p.1.; *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*.p.306.
- xxviii The First Lady Debate: Speaking for myself. (2012, February 21).p.24.
- xxix The First Lady Debate (2012, February 21).p.58
- xxx See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/corruption>.p.1. But a more elaborate definition is contained in Jenny Balboa & Erlinda M. Medella. (2006). *Anti-Corruption and Governance: The Philipine Experience*. www.apec.org/an/docs/06ASCC_HCMC/06_9_1_Balboa.pdf. p.3
- xxxi The call was made by no less a figure than the immediate past first lady when she was being sworn in as a permanent secretary in the Bayelsa state civil service. See, Nigeria: First Lady Syndrome. allAfrica.com/stories/201208030617.html.p.1.
- xxxii Muhammad Haruna. The first Lady Syndrome and all that. (2012, August 8). *Daily Trust*.p.56.

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