

Politics and Dynamics of Personality Cult in Africa

Chisomaga Happiness Ighotomo & Udo Daniel Orji

Abstract

Personality cult is a circumstance where an open figure, such as political pioneer is purposely introduced to the individuals of a nation as an extraordinary individual who ought to be appreciated and adored. It is relevant to comprehend that distinctive African nations definitely had early fathers from religious to secular world who contributed colossally to the disclosure and systematization of country state. These personalities are expected to be adored as trailblazers of the nationhood but have been subverted with present day characters whose belief system and perspectives are very unusual to the nations. The thrust of this paper is on politics and dynamics of personality cult in Africa. Data for the study were collected using documentary method and analyzed by content analysis method. This study was anchored on the theory of charismatic leadership propounded by Robert Tucker (1968). The paper discovered that cults served to center emotions and loyalties in personalized symbol and were part of a wider cosmos of symbolic politics, which played an important role in communicating party policies and social hierarchies. However, a purely instrumentalist understanding fails to account for the manifold popular expressions of the cults, especially within local contexts. The examination in this way prescribes among others that authority and non-formally attributed implications ought to be paid attention to in state-society connections in order to encourage and continue pioneer cliques.

Keywords: Personality cult, Religion, Politics, Ethnicity and Africa

Introduction

The term personality cult appeared in English round 1800-1850, at the side of the French and German use. In the beginning, it had no political connotations but became as an alternative carefully associated with the Romantic "cult of genius". The political use of the word came first in a letter from Karl Marx to German political employee, Wilhelm Blos, 10 November 1877. North Koreans bowing in the front of the statues of Kim Il-sung (left) and Kim Jong-il at the Mansudae Grand Monument (David, 2010).

A cult of personality, or cult of the leader arises when a country's regime or, more rarely, a man or woman makes use of the techniques of mass media, propaganda, the massive lie, spectacle, the humanities, patriotism, and authorities-prepared demonstrations and rallies to create an idealized, heroic, and worshipful image of a leader, regularly through unquestioning flattery and reward. A cult of personality is just like apotheosis, besides that, it is hooked up by modern-day social engineering techniques, commonly through the nation or in one-party states and dominant-party states. It is regularly visible in totalitarian or authoritarian nations (Sivan, 2015). The term came to prominence in 1956, in Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech at the Cult of personality and its consequences, given at the very last day of the twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union.

The Imperial cult of historical Rome identified emperors and some individuals in their families with the divinely sanctioned authority (auctoritas) of the Roman nation. All through records, monarchs and different heads of nation were often held in giant reverence and imputed first rate-human qualities. Through the precept of the divine right of kings, in medieval Europe as an example, rulers had been said to hold office by the will of God. Ancient Egypt, Imperial Japan, the Inca, the Aztecs, Tibet, Siam (now Thailand), and the Roman Empire are particularly referred to for redefining monarchs as "god-kings" (Mikaberidze, 2011). The unfold of democratic and secular thoughts in Europe and North America in the 18th and 19th centuries made it more difficult for monarchs to maintain this air of mystery. Often, a single leader became associated with this innovative transformation and came to be dealt with as a benevolent guide for the nation without whom the transformation

to a better destiny could not arise. This has been normally the justification for personality cults that arose in totalitarian societies, which include those of Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, and Mao Zedong. The admiration for Mao Zedong has remained sizable in China.

In this respect, Nigeria ranks amongst others with a unique and demonstrable personality cult culture. This personality cult scenario, demonstrated in politics has proven to ignite a state of insecurity in Nigeria especially in the south eastern part with the case of Nnamdi Kanu who is purportedly an idealized political figure of the Igbo.

Aim and Objectives

This paper seeks to research the inglorious roles that personality cult as displayed by political leaders in selected African countries especially in Nigeria has played in stymieing national insecurity. In the case of Nigeria, this will be demonstrated within the case of IPOB development in the south east political zone and the effects of this on the socio-economic development of the state. This paper also seeks to counsel ways that will be used to tame this ugly scenario.

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to do a historical analysis of personality cult and its implications in selected African countries and also to examine the disastrous effect of personality cult in the politics of the Nigerian state which has led to insecurity in the south eastern zone of Nigeria perpetrated by IPOB and to proffer a lasting solution to this ugly scenario by projecting recommendations that can be adopted by the leaders in order to mitigate the level of insecurity crisis in the region.

Hypothesis

The insecurity phenomenon is a consequential effect of leadership failure as demonstrated in personality cult in south east geo-political zone of Nigeria and some selected African countries.

Review of Relevant Literature on Personality Cult (A Historical Perspective)

Across various disciplines, scholars have explored and discussed the concept of personality cult from several hypothetical and research perspectives, including the historical (Dogan 2007, Adebaniwi 2008), political religion (Pinto and Larsen 2006), spiritual ideology (Stout 2003, Partridge 2005, Lynch 2006), and mass media (Speier 1977, Lu and Soboleva 2014). Accordingly, definitions of personality cult vary subtly from scholar to scholar and from one discipline to another. Whereas art historian Anita (2016, p. 50) posits that the 'production of propaganda for the masses is a defining component' of personality cult phenomenon, political scientist Pao-min Chang (cited in Taylor 2006, p. 96) suggests that personality cult refers to 'the artificial elevation of the status and authority of one man (or woman) through the deliberate creation, projection and propagation of a godlike image' (our emphasis). As secularized forms of religious rituals, historian Arpad von Klimo maintains that personality cult is the 'sum of symbolic actions [or inactions] and texts which express and ritualize the particular meanings ascribed to a particular person in order to incorporate an imagined community' (2004, p. 47).

Over the years, personality cults have manifested in nearly all forms of public and popular cultures and fields of human endeavor (Hollander 2010). Our understanding is that the term 'cult' derives from faith-based traditions and other quasi-religious proprietary artefacts or ways of idolisation that may be found in Africa and around the world. Although the nature and leadership of personality cults have shifted from political and religious figures and broadened out to include film and music stars, the attributes of devotees and how they participate in such cults have, notwithstanding, remained largely the same. Within the Nigerian music industries, participation in ritualized behaviors and interactions such as mode of dressing, language of communication, rules of

engagement, and worldview, as well as the generation and acceptance of hype around an idolized persona like Naira Marley, conveys 'faith' in the objectives of the cult, as well as loyalty to the 'personality'.

Exploring the features of personality cults almost always leads to a notion of political religion in which 'secular ideology becomes a matter of faith and the citizenry a community of believers' (Pisch 2016, p. 50). Thus, in establishing the cult of Naira Marley, the notion and production of propaganda using music, song text, video, and social media messaging for consumption by the masses and his fans in particular is broadly reflective of personality cult processes. Contemporary personality cults are thus conceivable and doable following the capacity to disseminate portrayals of the idolized persona (Pisch 2016), or 'cult-head' and cult products in a way that guarantees widespread acceptance (Lu and Soboleva 2018). The promotion of certain ideologies that elicit public interest, indignation, and controversy has sustained the iconic status of some popular musicians. Stars like America's Prince relied on a mix of sexuality and religious (cross) references to guarantee controversy and larger media coverage (Till, 2019). Similarly, Naira Marley's personality subsists in notions of sexuality and escapism, and other perceived antisocial activities and advocacies that focus on Nigeria: its cultures, norms, values, youth disenfranchisement, politics and economy.

From the plethora of literature that have been reviewed, no study succinctly and effectively captured the role of personality cult in politics and as well as a historical analysis of personality cult in some selected African countries especially in Nigeria which has led to insecurities in the south eastern region. This is the gap which the present study intends to fill.

Conceptual Clarification

Personality Cult

The term 'cult' came to be coupled with the term 'personality' in modern European languages within the first half of the 19th century, although it does not seem to have appeared inside the Russian language till lots later. Political scientist Pao-min Chang (2012) defined the personality cult as 'the artificial elevation of the reputation and authority of one man through the planned introduction, projection and propagation of a godlike picture'. Historian Árpád von Klimó believes that personality cults ought to be considered as secularized forms of spiritual rituals and adds: 'here we define "cult of personality" as a sum of symbolic movements and texts which specific and ritualize the specific meanings ascribed to a particular individual that allows you to incorporate an imagined community.' In a comparable vein, Plamper (2018) defines the generally widespread utilization of personality cult as 'god-like glorification of a contemporary political leader with mass media strategies, and immoderate glorification of this leader. Adrian (2016), defines cult of personality as a "quantitatively exaggerated and qualitatively extravagant public demonstration of praise of the leader".

Politics

Politics is the set of activities related to the governance of a country, state or a place. It involves making decisions that apply to organizations of individuals. It refers to reaching and exercising positions of governance which is organized managed over a human community, especially a state. In cutting-edge geographical regions, humans frequently shape political parties to represent their ideas. Individuals of a party frequently conform to take the same function on many problems and agree to guide the equal modifications to law and the same leaders (Hawley, 2016).

Africa

Africa is the world's second largest and second-most populous continent. At approximately 30.3 million km² (11.7 million square miles) including adjacent islands, it covers 6% of Earth's total surface vicinity and 20% of its land location. With 1.3 billion humans as of 2018, it contains approximately 16% of the human populace. The continent is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea to the north, the Isthmus of Suez and the crimson Sea to the northeast, the Indian Ocean to the southeast and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The continent includes

Madagascar and diverse archipelagos. It comprises of 54 fully recognized sovereign states, nine territories and two de facto independent states with restrained or no recognition. Most of the people of the continent and its nations are in the Northern Hemisphere, with a widespread portion and number of countries inside the Southern Hemisphere (Goldberg, 2015).

Theoretical Framework

Charismatic legitimation theory emerged in the Sixties and propounded by Robert Tucker (1968) as a framework for analyzing the role of personality leadership in growing international locations. The theory fitted in quite nicely with the roles that post-independence leaders who had built huge followership in the struggles for independence were expected to play in nation constructing and economic development. The failure to meet these expectancies and, especially, the development of charismatic legitimation into personality cults and unaccountable authoritarian rule caused essential evaluations of the concept. Historian Jan Plamper (2013) has written that the present day personality cults display 5 personalities that set them differently from their predecessors. The cults are secular and "anchored in popular sovereignty"; their objects are all adult males; they target the entire population, not only the well-to-do or the ruling class; they use mass media; and they exist in such a way that the mass media may be controlled sufficiently to inhibit the introduction of "rival cults".

The theory is exceptionally suitable for this study as this article takes a look at the concept in the light of African and the Nigerian experience and argues that given the character of the country's elite, effective and accountable leadership cannot be left to the choices of leaders irrespective of how exemplary, messianic, heroic, or modern they may seem to be. The paper makes a case for installing the requisite institutional correlates which might be consonant with democracy, rule of law and accountability and capable of restraining the tendencies towards the personalization of political power.

Methodology

Data for this study were collected through the use of documentary sources such as text books, journal articles, newspapers and magazines and analyzed by the use of content material analysis. The ex-post-facto research design was also utilized in this study.

Brief Historical Analysis of Personality Cult

Personality cults took place within the Egypt of the Pharaohs, around Alexander the Great, the Roman emperors, the Japanese emperors, Napoleon, Napoleon III and the Russian tsars, in addition to in a number of different imperial systems, fascist governments, and socialist regimes (Morison, 2018). The use of art to publicize and promote the personality of the leader has a similarly lengthy history. As an example, the historic Romans excelled in sculpture and, particularly, the portrait bust, the use of which became limited to patricians. Large numbers of busts of the emperor have been created and dispensed at some stage in the empire to be set up in public places and in private homes. Every Roman citizen is required to burn incense in front of the emperor's bust to illustrate loyalty and allegiance. Caesar Augustus was portrayed in various roles: military commander (imperator); first citizen of Rome; and leader priest. These roles related to his reliable titles and responsibilities and expressed the personality of the ruler in his diverse formalized relationships to his subjects, but were also archetypal.

The area of most particular interest to this study, the political poster, is perhaps most intently paralleled in numismatics. Darius the Great of Persepolis disbursed his picture to the populace throughout across a wide empire by placing it on coin.

The cult of Napoleon became famous in Russia, England, France and Germany in the 19th century and, to a lesser volume, throughout the rest of Europe. In Germany and France portraits of Napoleon could be found in nearly each house. It is especially interesting to note that Russia experienced a cult of Napoleon, in spite of its

fulfillment in forcing Napoleon to retreat from Russian soil within the Patriotic war of 1812. Napoleon's identity as a conquering enemy and his subsequent ignominious flight and abandonment of his ultimate men, seems to have performed little to sully his reputation as a super standard and a splendid emperor. The cult of Napoleon Bonaparte was later used as a car of strength with the aid of his nephew Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III) (Hawley, 2016). One of the maximum difficult cults of a progressive leader prior to Lenin, and perhaps one of the maximum comparable, was that of George Washington, which served in part to legitimate the American Revolution. Washington's cult featured an exemplary (and relatively fabricated) biography, a plethora of historical paintings, monumental statuary and the appearance of portraits in virtually every family home (Carter, 2010).

Personality Cults in Selected African Countries

Egypt

The Egyptian nation practiced a cult of personality around Gamal Abdel Nasser at some point of his rule (Yonah, 2017). It has been alleged that the Egyptian media has created a personality cult around President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi.

Equatorial Guinea

The first president of Equatorial Guinea, Francisco Macías Nguema, became the centre of severe personality cult, perhaps fueled by means of his consumption of copious quantities of bhang and iboga, and he assigned himself titles together with the "Unique Miracle" and "Grand grasp of education, technological know-how, and tradition". The capital, Santa Isabel, had its call changed to Malabo. In 1978, he modified the national motto of the coat of arms of Equatorial Guinea to "there is no other God than Macias Nguema" (Isemberg, 2019). This culture has been continued by Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo who has been accused of building his own personality cult. As evidence of this, in July 2003, the state-operated radio declared that Obiang changed into "the country's god" and that he had "all strength over men and things." It delivered that the president changed into "an everlasting contact with the Almighty" and that he "can determine to kill without anyone calling him to account and without going to hell." He individually made similar remarks in 1993. Macías had also proclaimed himself a god. Obiang has endorsed his cult of personality by means of ensuring that public speeches stop with well-wishing for himself rather than end with well-wishing for the republic (Soucek. 2018).

Lybya

A cult of personality devoted to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi existed in Libya during his rule. His face appeared on a wide variety of objects, including postage stamps, watches, and college satchels. Quotations from The Green Book appeared on a wide variety of places, from street walls to airports or even on pens, and that they have been additionally positioned to pop music for public release (Navaro-Yashin, 2016). Gaddafi claimed that he disliked the personality cult surrounding him, but he tolerated it due to the fact the Libyan humans loved him. Biographers Blundy and Lycett believed that he became "a populist at heart". Throughout Libya, crowds of supporters might turn up to public activities at which he regarded; defined as "spontaneous demonstrations" by means of the government, there are recorded instances of groups being coerced or paid to attend (Dubois, 2016).

He became typically late to public events, and he might now and again no longer display up at all. Although he had a "gift for oratory", he became taken into consideration a negative orator by way of biographers Blundy and Lycett. Biographer Daniel Kawczynski mentioned that Gaddafi was well-known for his "prolonged, wandering" speeches, which commonly involved criticizing Israel and the U.S (Philip, 2015).

Togo

President of the Togolese Republic Gnassingbé Eyadéma had a personality cult of substantial proportions, together with, but no longer limited to, an entourage of one thousand dancing girls who sang and danced in favor of him; school children begin their day by making a song of his praises; images which adored him were

found in shops, which adorned most shops; a bronze statue inside the capital town, Lomé; \$20 wristwatches together with his portrait, which disappeared and re-appeared each fifteen seconds; and even a comic book that depicted him as a superhero with powers of invulnerability and superhuman energy. In addition, the date of a failed try on Eyadéma's existence was yearly commemorated as "the feast of Victory Over Forces of Evil" (Reese, 2015). Eyadéma modified his first name from Étienne to Gnassingbé to note the date of the 1974 aircraft crash of which he became claimed to be the most effective survivor.

Personality Cult in Nigeria: The Case of Nnamdi Kanu

As already mentioned, the term 'cult' derives from the spiritual sphere, but it's far critical to note that in the ancient world, the point of differentiation among non-secular and secular spheres that characterizes many western democracies nowadays did not exist (Chetan, 2017). The leader cult and its manifestation through ritual can have a unifying impact on a society, stressing social, political and moral concord. That is evidenced in Biafra/Nnamdi Kanu (the self-proclaimed leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra, who is agitating for the secession of southeast Nigeria from the rest of the country) with Kanu's supporters.

Trying to have a sensible communication with Kanu's supporters about the man and their Biafran pipedream is a workout in futility. They appear to believe that they are exempted from the requirement to make sense and that they have all been consumed by the cult of personality that Kanu has been cultivating on account that he has been arrested by Nigerian security agents in October 2015 and again in 2021. Following his release on bail in 2015, there had been endless images of grown males and females bowing at his feet, crowds following him anywhere he goes and just mere words like "leader" of a separatist movement is now no longer adequate or sufficient to describe Kanu for his followers. He is now their "supreme leader", their "savior" and possibly Moses and Christ rolled into one as he has been likened to Christ: "I recall whilst Christ got here, not each person saw him as savior". This was in response to "non-believers" like yours truly (Bilias, 2017).

Nigeria's failed state situations, Kanu's detention and subsequent nollywood-style antics on release, the false claims about the divinity of Biafra, and the suppression of dissent have all contributed to the present day phenomenon of fanatical followership that the Nigerian government are clueless about a way to address personality cult. As a result of personality cult in the figure of Nnamdi Kanu, the state of violence in Nigeria's south-east and the authorities incapacity to correctly guard human existence and assets is taking a toll on nearly all components of life, this has also affected the socio-economic development of the region as workers no longer feel safe to go to work, offices are closed during working hours, workers do not go to work on Mondays as it has been declared a compulsory "sit at home", traders and business men and women no longer feel safe and secured to go to markets, this has inadvertently affected the economic and social development in the region (Udo, 2022). The violence additionally negatively impacts the livelihoods of the poor, who ply their exchange within the casual economic system (Lawal, 2021). Imo State which is the heartland of the south-east, has its hospitality-pushed as her economic system is declining at a very alarming rate. Violence is inflicting organizations within the 5 states to shut or relocate outside the zone. This has led to an outrageous growth of unemployment and the lack of internally-generated revenues accrued for state governments. An openly militarized reaction to violence has now no longer resolved Nigeria's safety challenges. The use of pressure might also additionally cause the arrest and killing of criminals and prevent their logistics and enablers, but this however won't get rid of the underlying drivers of violence. These encompass generalized emotions of alienation, unemployment, perceived political marginalization, and repressive responses by the state forces (Ogboru, 2021). A holistic technique that prioritizes strategic dialogue for eradicating anxiety is needed.

Table 1: Attacks on Police Stations in South East Nigeria, February–April 2021

STATE	DATE	POLICE STATION	NUMBER OF POLICEMEN KILLED	POLICE STATION BURNT	WEAPONS STOLEN
ABIA	February 1, 2021	Omoba Police Station in Isiala Ngwa South LGA	1	✗	✓
	February 23, 2021	Abayi Divisional Police Headquarters, Osisioma Ngwa LGA	2	✗	✓
	March 22, 2021	Abiriba Police Division in Ohafia LGA	3	✗	✓
	April 19, 2021	Uzuakeli Police Station, Bende LGA	-	✓	✗
	May 9, 2021	Mike Okiro Police Divisional Headquarters, Umuahia North LGA	-	✓	✗
	May 12, 2021	Police Divisional Headquarters, Bende LGA	-	✓	✗
Police Station at Ozubulu, Ekwusigo LGA		-	✗	✗	
ANAMBRA	March 18, 2021	Police checkpoint at Neni, Anaocha LGA	1	✗	✓
	March 19, 2021	Ekwulobia Police Station, Nanka, Orumba North LGA	1	✗	✗
	March 21, 2021	Mgbakwu Police Outpost, Awka North LGA	-	✗	✓
	April 19, 2021	Zonal Police Headquarters, Ukpok town, Dunukofia LGA	-	PART	✗
EBONYI	January 8, 2021	Onueke Police Station in Ezza South LGA	3	✗	✗
	February 4, 2021	Police Divisional Headquarters in Isu, Onicha LGA	3	✓	✓
	March 1, 2021	Iboko Divisional Police Station in Izzi LGA	-	✓	✗
ENUGU	April 21, 2021	Police Headquarters in Adani, Uzo-Uwani LGA	2	✓	✗
IMO	February 5, 2021	Umulowo Police Division in Obowo LGA	2	✗	✗
	February 25, 2021	Aboh Mbaise Divisional Police Headquarters, Aboh Mbaise LGA	-	✓	✓
	March 9, 2021	Police Station in Ihitte-Uboma LGA	-	✓	✗
	March 20, 2021	Divisional Police Station in Umuelemai in Isiala Mbano LGA	-	PART	✗
	April 5, 2021	Imo Police Headquarters	-	✗	✗
	April 6, 2021	Area Divisional Police Headquarters, Ehime Mbano LGA	-	✗	✗
	April 7, 2021	Mbieri Police Station in Mbatoli LGA	-	✓	✗

YES
 NO
 PART
 Part of the Police station was burnt

Source: Fabian (2022)

From the table above, Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo are the five eastern states that have experienced insecurities emanating from IPOB as a result of personality cult in the figure of Nnamdi Kanu within the realm of politics as an agitation for a separatist and self-government of the south eastern states. This as a result has led to series of destruction and loss of lives, properties and burning of police stations within the region. The adverse effect of this has led to a compulsory sit-at home in the south eastern states due to detention of Nnamdi Kanu, the personality cult figure by the Federal Government. The high rate of insecurity has caused marketers and business owners to flee their businesses, shops and business areas are closed down which has led to a low level of socio-economic growth within the region (Adebanwu, 2021).

Conclusion

While inspecting the cult of personality from a historic perspective, beginning with the ancient world and exploring ancient tendencies in Europe up to modern instances, it is apparent that the simple functions of charismatic leadership, and the cults of personality manufactured around charismatic leaders, show extra similarities with each other than differences, irrespective of geography or epoch. This is rarely unexpected, because charismatic leaders and the situations that create them have existed throughout societies through time, and the troubles faced with the aid of those leaders and their states are remarkably consistent. In spite of the reality that the very nature of political propaganda is such that it promotes each of those leaders as uniquely talented and blessed, or at least as considered one of a rare breed, in lots of respects their public personalities are nearly interchangeable, with their personality cults sharing numerous key genres, symbols and literary characteristics.

Recommendation

From the fore-going of the study, the paper therefore recommends the following:

1. The dignitaries representing the personality cult of nations should be assessed depending on their dignity and patriotic elements.
2. Spiritual leaders who have a personality cult figure should respect their God to enable them to pronounce the truth as well as proffer better solutions and also endeavor that they are not used as instruments against the state by the opposition parties to make prophetic utterances that may cause havoc.
3. Men of dignity and integrity should be selected to occupy such spaces so as not to be used as machineries by the opposition parties as this will prevent the extortion and looting of the masses and government out of covetous behaviors.
4. The nation should also strive to install principled individuals so as to lead the nation to greater heights.
5. There ought to be a non-violent talk among the federal authorities and the actors of IPOB. Such talk ought to contain the federal and nation governments, IPOB representatives, traditional rulers, women's organizations, youngsters groups, protection forces and civil society organizations.

References

- Adebanwi, W. (2008). The cult of Awo: the political life of a dead leader. *The journal of modern African studies*, 46 (3), 335–360. doi:10.1017/S0022278X08003339
- Amir, T. (2010). *The Persian Night: Iran Under the Khomeinist Revolution*. Encounter Press.
- Arshin, A. (2014). *A Critical Introduction to personality Cult*. Cambridge University Press.
- Barry, R. (2015). *The Middle East: A Guide to Politics, Economics, Society and Culture*. Routledge.
- Biliyas, O., George A and Brob, N. (2017). *African History: Retrospect and Prospect*. New York Free Press.
- Bryant, C.D. and Craig, F.J. (2012). The complexity of debynt lifestyles. *Debynt behavior*, 33 (7), 525–549. doi:10.1080/01639625.2011.636694
- Carter, V and Findle, O. (2010). *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History of Personality Cult in Africa*. Yale University Press
- Chetan, B. (2017). *Liberation and Purity: Race, New Religious Movements and the Ethics of Postmodernity*. Taylor & Francis.
- Cullinane, M. (2018). *Nigeria and the dynamics of Personality Cults*. LSU Press.
- Curtis, M. (2016). *The Danger of the Cult of Personality in Politics*. Longman press.
- Dogan, M. (2007). Comparing two charismatic leaders: Ataturk and de Gaulle. *Comparative sociology*, 6, 75–84. doi:10.1163/156913307X187405
- Dubois, L. (2016). *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History*. London Press.
- Ejike, M. (2018). *Nigeria and politics in Africa*. University of Michigan Worldmark Press.
- Goldberg, J. (2015). *Cult Personality Corrupting Conservatism*. London Press
- Hawley, J. (2016). *The Nature of African Politics*. Yale University Press.

- Hollander, P. (2010). Michael Jackson, the celebrity cult, and popular culture. *Culture and society*, 47, 147–152.
- Isemberg, N and Burstein, A. (2019) *The Problem of Democracy: The Cult of Personality*. Penguin.
- Lu, X. and Soboleva, E. (2014). *Personality cults in modern politics: cases from Russia and China*. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, Center for Global Politics, CGP Working Paper Series, 01/2014. Available from: <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-441460> (Accessed 5th December 2022).
- Lynch, G. (2006). The role of popular music in the construction of alternative spiritual identities and ideologies. *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, 45 (4), 481–488. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5906.2006.00322.
- Michael, C. (2017). *Homeland Security: Assessing the First Five Years*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mikaberidze, A. (2011). *Conflict and Conquest in the Islamic World: A Historical Encyclopedia*. UKM Publishers
- Morrison, M., Terry, J., Conaway, K and Wayne, A. (2018). *Nigeria and Politics*. Adams Media Press.
- Navaro-Yashin, Y. (2016). *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Africa*. Princeton University Press.
- Philip. P. (2015). *Anatomy of a Nightmare*. Henry Holt and Company.
- Pisch, A. (2016). The phenomenon of the personality cult: a historical perspective. In: A. Pisch, ed. *The personality cult of Stalin in Soviet posters, 1929–1953: archetypes, inventions, and fabrications*. Acton, Australia: ANU Press, 49–86.
- Reese, E and Robert, S. (2016). *Africa and personality Cult*. Routledge.
- Sivan, A., Emmanuel, M., Friedman, J and Menachem, E. (2015). *Religious Radicalism and Politics in the Middle East*. State University of New York Press.
- Soucek, S. (2018). *A History of Personality Cult in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Speier, H. (1977). The truth in hell: Maurice Jolly on modern despotism. *Polity*, 10 (1), 18–32. doi:10.2307/3234235.
- Taylor, J. (2006). The production of the Chiang Kai-shek personality cult, 1929–1975. *The China quarterly*, 185, 96–110. doi:10.1017/S0305741006000063.
- Till, R. (2010). *Pop cult: religion and popular music*. New York: Continuum.
- Till, R. (2010). Pop stars and idolatry: an investigation of the worship of popular music icons, and the music and cult of Prince. *Journal of beliefs & values: studies in religion & education*, 31 (1), 69–80. doi:10.1080/13617671003666761.
- Tobiah, U. (2019). *Secularism and Muslim Democracy*. Cambridge University Press
- Udo, D. (2022). Leadership failure and insecurity in Nigeria: A case of the IPOB Phenomenon in south east geographical zone, 2020-2022. *Open Journals of Social Sciences and Humanities*. 2(3) 123-345.
- Yonah, A. (2017). *Personality Cult in Africa*. London Press