



RESURGENCE OF TRADITIONAL MONARCHIES IN NIGERIAN POLITICAL HISTORY: 1960–2024

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Abstract: *This study examines the resurgence of Nigerian monarchies from 1960 to 2024, highlighting their resilience and adaptability amid political marginalization and modernization pressures. Following independence, centralization policies and prolonged military rule sought to reduce the influence of monarchs; however, they retained authority through cultural legitimacy, dispute resolution, and community leadership. Drawing on historical and contemporary scholarship, the paper identifies socio-political drivers such as governance gaps, legitimacy crises, and local arbitration, as well as cultural and economic factors including heritage preservation, identity consolidation, and tourism potential, as key forces behind the reassertion of monarchical relevance. Monarchs have become critical actors in bridging the divide between state institutions and grassroots communities, reinforcing social cohesion while complementing democratic structures. The analysis further demonstrates how monarchies contribute to conflict management, local development initiatives, and the transmission of cultural values across generations. Nevertheless, ambiguities in their roles within modern governance frameworks raise tensions with elected officials and demand clearer legal definitions. The study recommends institutionalized collaboration between governments and traditional rulers, promotion of heritage tourism as an economic asset, integration of monarchs into dispute resolution frameworks, and legal clarity to harmonize their functions with democratic governance. By recognizing and strategically engaging monarchs, Nigeria can strengthen its social fabric, promote inclusive governance, and preserve cultural continuity in an era of rapid political and social transformation.*

Introduction

The history of Nigeria since independence in 1960 has been profoundly shaped by the complex relationship between modern political structures and traditional monarchies. At independence, Nigeria inherited a federal system that attempted to balance democratic governance with indigenous institutions of authority. Monarchies such as the Emirate

Councils in the North and the Yoruba Obaship systems in the West retained ceremonial and advisory roles, reflecting their embeddedness in cultural traditions and communal governance (Heaton, 2024). Yet, the centralization of power under the First Republic created tensions between elected leaders and traditional rulers, foreshadowing decades of contestation over authority and legitimacy.

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During the First Republic (1960–1966), monarchs found themselves navigating between relevance and marginalization. While some participated in advisory councils and wielded local influence, others struggled as regional premiers and federal leaders consolidated state power. Women, too, who had historically been monarchs in parts of Nigeria, faced exclusion from the new political order, as the nationalist elite prioritized male-dominated governance structures (Aloko, 2025). The collapse of the First Republic following the 1966 coup marked a decisive moment, as military rulers sought to weaken traditional authority to consolidate their own centralized regimes.

The military era (1966–1979) represented both continuity and rupture in the monarchic tradition. On one hand, monarchs continued to serve as cultural custodians; on the other, their political roles were severely curtailed. Governors, appointed by successive juntas, usurped land administration, taxation, and dispute resolution that monarchs once controlled (Sule & Sambo, 2024). This reflected a broader African trend in which autocratic presidents and military rulers appropriated monarchical imagery, constructing themselves as presidential monarchs who concentrated power and curtailed competing sources of legitimacy (Awasom, 2024).

By the late 1970s, the transition to the Second Republic briefly opened new spaces for monarchs to assert cultural authority, though

their formal political role remained ambiguous. Political parties, struggling to consolidate, often turned to monarchs for local endorsements and legitimacy. This pattern persisted into subsequent decades, highlighting how monarchies, though weakened, remained indispensable intermediaries between the state and the people (Sule, 2025). Yet, the 1984 return to military rule once again marginalized monarchs, as the regime sought to monopolize authority and suppress alternative voices, both traditional and modern (Aloko, 2025).

The return to democracy in 1999 marked the beginning of a sustained resurgence of monarchies. After decades of authoritarian rule, monarchs re-emerged as credible arbiters of peace, cultural preservation, and moral authority. Their resilience is explained partly by historical continuity and partly by governance failures, as elected governments often failed to deliver on development promises. Communities turned to monarchs for conflict mediation, land disputes, and cultural leadership, thereby restoring their influence in everyday governance (Omotayo & Fakorede, 2025).

In the Fourth Republic, the relationship between monarchs and politicians became more symbiotic. Political dynasties increasingly mirrored the hereditary succession patterns of monarchies, and in many cases, traditional rulers lent symbolic legitimacy to electoral processes (Jimoh, 2024). This convergence of dynastic politics and monarchic authority



underscored the adaptability of Nigerian power structures, where modern institutions coexisted with traditional legitimacy. In this period, monarchs expanded their roles beyond culture into development, tourism, and peacebuilding, reshaping themselves as agents of both tradition and modernity.

The historiography of Nigerian politics also reveals the intersection of monarchism and nationalism. From the Yoruba federative monarchy to northern emirates, these institutions provided templates for federative governance and symbols of continuity amidst political upheaval (Olasupo et al., 2017). Even in moments of democratic experimentation, monarchies reminded Nigerians of precolonial governance models that valued communal accountability, spiritual legitimacy, and hereditary stability. Their endurance speaks to the limitations of purely Western models of governance in addressing Nigeria's socio-political realities.

Furthermore, women's historical participation in monarchism complicates the narrative of exclusion. In precolonial Nigeria, women like Queen Amina of Zazzau and various female Obas and chiefs exercised sovereign authority. Post-independence, however, women's political participation was constrained, mirroring the sidelining of traditional rulers under centralization (Aloko, 2025). The resurgence of monarchies in the 21st century thus raises important questions about inclusivity, as some

monarchs have re-engaged women's groups in cultural preservation and grassroots leadership. Nigeria's sixty-five-year history of independence illustrates the cyclical rise, fall, and reconfiguration of monarchies. While the early postcolonial state sought to suppress traditional authority in favor of centralized governance, contemporary realities have revived monarchs as vital players in peacebuilding and cultural diplomacy. Scholars have noted that political parties, dynasties, and even presidents often adopt monarchic styles of authority, blurring the lines between modern democracy and traditional legitimacy (Awasom, 2024; Jimoh, 2024). This hybridity reflects Nigeria's broader struggle to balance imported governance structures with indigenous institutions.

Monarchies in Nigeria have evolved into hybrid institutions: they are simultaneously cultural symbols, mediators of local disputes, custodians of heritage, and partners in development. Their resilience underscores the enduring power of history in shaping political legitimacy. As scholars argue, the resurgence of monarchs is not a relic of the past but a reconfiguration of authority in response to Nigeria's governance crises and cultural continuity (Heaton, 2024; Omotayo & Fakorede, 2025). Understanding this trajectory requires recognizing monarchies not as obsolete, but as living institutions that continue to shape Nigeria's political and cultural future.

Theoretical Framework

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The study subscribes to the theory of Historical Institutionalism as the focal point in explaining the course of traditional monarchies in Nigeria, between 1960 and 2024. Historical Institutionalism focuses on the way institutions can be maintained through time as they develop to meet the new changes in a political, economic, and social environment. Instead of fading away when stripped of authority formally, organizations like monarchies tend to redefine themselves to ensure that they remain pertinent within new systems of governing themselves. This view holds especially well in the case of Nigeria, in which the constitutional removal of monarchs at independence never disenfranchised them but instead redirected their powers into culture, morality, and development sectors (Heaton, 2024).

The use of the theory of Historical Institutionalism to trace the continuity of monarchies through the central periods in the case of the situation in Nigeria. This encompasses their ceremonial advisory functions in the First Republic, their repression by military governments, and their reemergence in the Fourth Republic as mediators, cultural custodians, and development partners. The events enable the theory to show how the monarchies tried to remain afloat by means of becoming members of the social life with the festivals, the conflict resolutions, and the religious leadership during the times when they were not members of the constitutional

government (Sule & Sambo, 2024). This malleability is their strength as past institutions.

The theory also provides a means to conceptualize monarchies as path institutions. They still have some attachment to the past of pre-colonial and colonial Nigeria, where the presence of native leadership was taken as the manifestation of statehood and genuineness. These structures were not removed by independence; they were pushed into different functions. An example would be that military regimes weakened the political authority of monarchs, but still relied on them to provide grassroots legitimacy and local mediation. That is why historical trends have an impact on political outcomes (Agu & Erameh, 2024). In this way, it is possible to consider monarchies not as fixed objects in Nigeria but as negotiating power in response to changes in the political environment of a Nigerian state through the prism of Historical Institutionalism.

Additionally, insights from Hybrid Governance Theory enhance the analysis by showing how monarchs coexist with the democratic state in modern Nigeria. Hybrid governance focuses on the interaction between formal institutions and traditional authority in contexts where state power is uneven. Monarchs serve as intermediaries in elections, peace building, and local development—roles that elected officials often struggle to fulfill effectively. This coexistence shows how traditional authority

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operates alongside modern governance without directly competing with it (Jimoh, 2024). By merging Historical Institutionalism with Hybrid Governance, this study captures both the historical development and the current significance of monarchies in Nigeria.

Historical Evolution of Traditional Monarchies (1960–2024)

At independence in 1960, Nigeria inherited a federal structure that attempted to accommodate its diverse ethnic and cultural composition. Traditional rulers, including the Emirs of the North, the Obas of the Yoruba West, and Igbo chiefs and kings, were acknowledged as custodians of culture and advisors to government. However, their political authority was sharply limited. The First Republic concentrated power in elected officials, reducing monarchs to largely ceremonial roles. Regional governments invited monarchs into advisory councils, but these bodies held no binding power. Nonetheless, monarchs mediated communal disputes, supervised religious festivals, and maintained customary law at the grassroots, providing a vital bridge between modern governance and cultural continuity (Heaton, 2024).

1966–1979: Military Centralization and Monarchic Decline

The January 1966 coup and subsequent counter-coup brought the military into power, fundamentally altering Nigeria's political landscape. Successive military regimes—first

under Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi and later Yakubu Gowon, Murtala Mohammed, and Olusegun Obasanjo—centralized authority, sidelining traditional rulers. Governors and military administrators assumed control over land allocation, taxation, and local administration, responsibilities previously embedded in monarchic institutions. Monarchs resisted where possible, but many were coerced into compliance to avoid conflict with the military elite. By curtailing these powers, the military effectively sought to neutralize monarchs as competing centers of legitimacy (Sule & Sambo, 2024).

1980–1993: Between Cultural Custodianship and Political Marginalization

The brief return to civilian rule in 1979 under the Second Republic, led by President Shehu Shagari, did little to restore monarchs' political influence. Although some politicians sought endorsements from traditional rulers to bolster legitimacy, the Constitution made no provision for them in governance structures. The 1983 coup by General Muhammadu Buhari and the subsequent regime of General Ibrahim Babangida further reduced monarchs' direct authority. Nonetheless, monarchs remained influential at the cultural and religious levels. The Sultan of Sokoto retained spiritual significance for Nigeria's Muslims, while the Ooni of Ife and Alaafin of Oyo continued to serve as cultural icons in Yorubaland. Festivals such



as the Durbar and the Osun-Osogbo festival preserved monarchs' visibility in public life (Agu & Erameh, 2024).

1993–1999: Crisis, Resistance, and Resilience

The annulment of the June 12, 1993 election plunged Nigeria into a political crisis under General Sani Abacha's dictatorship. Monarchs, while weakened, emerged as intermediaries between oppressed citizens and authoritarian power. Some rulers, such as the Emir of Kano, contested government policies quietly, while others sought to preserve their communities by cooperating with the regime. Although traditional rulers lacked formal constitutional power, they were often called upon by the state to mediate conflicts, particularly ethnic and religious clashes. This period demonstrated monarchs' resilience: even when excluded from political decision-making, they retained moral authority in times of instability (Jimoh, 2024).

1999–2010: Resurgence in the Fourth Republic

With the restoration of democracy in 1999 under President Olusegun Obasanjo, monarchies began to reassert themselves as credible actors in governance and community development. Politicians frequently sought royal blessings to enhance their electoral legitimacy, reflecting the enduring power of traditional authority in the popular imagination. Monarchs such as the Oba of Lagos, the Ooni of Ife, and the Emir of Kano became visible in the media, publicly

commenting on national issues and positioning themselves as moral voices above partisan politics. They also mediated communal disputes in the Niger Delta, the Middle Belt, and Northern Nigeria, working alongside civil society and government to preserve peace (Sule, 2025).

2011–2015: Socio-Economic Expansion of Roles

In the early 2010s, monarchs broadened their activities beyond cultural leadership. They engaged in community-driven development projects, supported education and health initiatives, and collaborated with NGOs on social welfare programs. Their involvement in dispute resolution during election seasons proved critical, especially in volatile regions like Jos and Kaduna. The Emir of Kano, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, for instance, combined his economic expertise with traditional authority to influence public policy debates. Monarchs became symbols of cultural preservation while simultaneously adapting to modern expectations of accountability and development leadership (Omotayo & Fakorede, 2025).

2016–2020: Mediation Amid National Tensions

As Nigeria faced escalating security challenges, including Boko Haram insurgency in the North-East and herder-farmer conflicts across the Middle Belt, monarchs assumed more prominent roles in peacebuilding. Their grassroots legitimacy enabled them to mediate



where government interventions faltered. Monarchs also played significant roles in promoting interfaith dialogue, especially in states where ethnic and religious pluralism created tensions. This period also highlighted monarchs' symbolic role in tourism and heritage preservation, with festivals and royal events drawing national and international attention (Heaton, 2024).

2021–2024: Consolidation and Relevance in a Hybrid System

By the 2020s, monarchies in Nigeria had firmly established themselves as hybrid institutions, blending cultural authority with developmental engagement. Monarchs actively participated in community development, tourism promotion, and international cultural diplomacy. Some served as peacemakers during election disputes, while others facilitated youth empowerment programs. Despite lacking constitutional roles, their relevance lay in soft power—offering continuity, cultural identity, and moral leadership in a rapidly changing political landscape. As Nigerian democracy matured, monarchs were increasingly viewed as partners in governance, not rivals, illustrating the adaptive resilience of traditional authority within modern state structures (Agu & Erameh, 2024).

Socio-Political Drivers

The resurgence of monarchs in Nigeria cannot be separated from socio-political processes that shape governance and community life. In

contexts where state institutions are weak or ineffective, traditional rulers step in to provide stability through dispute resolution, conflict mediation, and local arbitration. This role is supported by the cultural legitimacy monarchs enjoy, which grants them moral authority over their subjects. Scholars have shown that socio-political landscapes often determine how governance gaps are filled, especially in fragile states where trust in formal institutions is low (Grasham & Neville, 2021). Monarchs, therefore, re-emerge as central actors in local administration, bridging the gap between communities and the state. Their involvement does not replace government authority but rather supplements it, particularly in rural areas where state presence is minimal.

Along with the defunding of governance, socio-political exclusion has also enhanced the significance of monarchs. When people or society become marginalized they seek the help of traditional authorities since they are approachable and familiar with the culture. Burgess et al. (2025) note that the perception of seeking other support systems of societies depends on interrelated forms of exclusion. Ethnic minorities and rural people often feel disregarded in Nigeria, thus monarchs provide them with an opportunity to be noticed and included. Such a role reinforces relationships within communities as it allows marginalized groups to feel represented and part of the community. In that case, kings can perform the



role of intermediaries between politically alienated individuals and the political organizations, which proves their efficiency in modern politics.

It is also the power of monarchs to express interrelational citizenship in the form of cultural and spiritual traditions. Firmanto et al. (2023) define faith-based citizenship to be the kind of citizenship that enhances peacebuilding and social coherence within the more intricate socio-political realms. Nigerian kings and queens, being the custodians of tradition and religion, apply their religious power to ensure peace among people and make people accept civic responsibilities. This religious authority gives them increased social and political power, but also earns their respect as a mediator during a crisis. Their moral authority may exceed the partisan politics that are connected with corruption and distrust. In this way, the kings serve as political stabilizers and spiritual roots of society.

Another sign that socio-political factors affect the power of kings is the problem of resource conflicts in Nigeria. Ubochioma et al. (2022) reveal that the factors behind the conflicts over renewable resources in southeast Nigeria are migration, environmental degradation, and unclear land tenure. In numerous instances, the custodian monarchs of territory and culture step in to regulate land usage and prevent circumstances in which confrontations can occur.

They especially hold traditional power in a rural economy and farming and land ownership are central to the lives of people. When kings become brokers between the lands and the seas, the stress can be removed and social peace ensured. The socio-political framings also define how communities react to external problems such as climate change, urbanization, and displacement. David et al. (2021) say that, in most situations, maladaptive responses are founded more on the socio-political framework than the environment itself. Cultural and political stabilizers, the Kings in Nigeria frustrate maldevelopment by providing traditional solutions and by organizing popular reaction at the organizational level. When there is a flood or a drought, the royalty organizes local knowledge and joint labor to realign. That explains why the already established authority structures continue to fulfill their role as a socio-political buffer during times of unpredictability. They are relevant because they can make sense of contemporary crises in terms of cultural structures.

Finally, there is a new socio-political form of engagement between kings and business or political powers. Sun et al. (2024) think that socio-political contexts are increasingly influential upon the relationship of institutions to stakeholders. The ability of the Nigerian monarchs to mobilize loyalty and cultural credibility has seen them being significant actors in developmental projects, political



mobilization as well as corporate social responsibility programmes. This communication means that the traditional rulers did not live in the past, but they are living beings of the socio-political economies of the present time. By balancing culture with contemporary governance requirements, monarchs maintain power as they adjust to new power systems. Monarchies are thus a reaction to the lack of governance as well as an outcome of changing socio-political conditions.

Cultural and Economic Drivers

Culture has been a catalyst for sustainable development since time immemorial and monarchs are at the center of bridging heritage with economic vitality. Verina et al. (2021) highlight the importance of cultural heritage in the context of the creation of social capital, as well as the economic outcome that the creative sector brings. Tourism and investment in Nigeria through royalties, traditional ceremonies, and cultural events facilitate the growth of local economies. The monarchs play the role of custodians of these traditions, they keep them going, but also use them to develop further. Their cultural powers put them in an advantageous position to maintain their identity as well as earn money. In this regard, the rise of monarchies economically cannot be separated from their cultural functions.

Tourism is of particular interest to monarchies. Wondirad et al. (2021) unveil the cultural heritage restoration within the framework of

culinary tourism in Ethiopia and its further stimulation of socio-economic growth. Similarly, it is through cultural festivals that Nigerian kings transform their cultures into economic hubs since they are considered visitors, both local and foreign. Hospitality, trade, and sponsorship Fests such as the Ojude Oba in Ijebu-Ode or the Ofala festival in Onitsha are also major sources of income. Cultural forces of kings are revived by the events and in the process they also contribute towards providing economic opportunities to craftsmen, merchants, and local industries. Cultural heritage can thus be a tool of economic empowerment in this manner.

The other aspect focusing on the circular economy is the contribution of the cultural orientation to sustainable consumption. According to Morais et al. (2021), cultural drivers affect consumer behavior and lead to sustainable activity and involvement in the economy. The cultural kings are the kings of Nigeria who promote local arts, environmentally friendly activities that combine environmental and economic needs.

As monarchs, they reinforce the customary activity of weaving, pottery, or even farming which on the one hand can rescue culture; on the other, can contribute to the green economy. Local industries assist them in developing markets in traditional goods and create cultural identity through shopping. Such a symbiosis



renders monarchs better placed to propel culture and economy.

Monarchies also boost their economic activities through creativity. Cerisola and Panzera (2021) argue that cultural vibrancy and creative economies are the reason why regional development exists at all. To boost creativity, the rulers of Nigeria encourage arts, music, and festivals in their region, which contribute to other sectors such as the film industry, fashion industry, and tourism industry. In this economy of creativity, monarchs are the mediators of cultural arrogance and economic growth. Intervention helps them to transform the cultural practice in such a way that they can be turned into business advantages that are in the middle ground between modernization and heritage. Culture will not die because as long as the monarchs initiate creativity by promoting cultural expression, there will be a vibrant culture.

The popular culture of the world and the culture of rulers mix up in confusing ways. National identity determines the response to the global culture by societies as Cleveland et al. (2022) demonstrate. In Nigeria, the kings resist the ethnification and nationalization of the nation and the homogenization of the world to ensure that the local culture remains unique. However, they are still geared towards globalization and align their cultural festivals with the global tourism industry. This allows monarchs to defend cultural sovereignty and have access to

world markets simultaneously. In balancing the local and the global, the monarchs strengthen their economic and cultural legitimacy.

Post-industrial tourism further augments the cultural and economic functions of monarchs. As noted in Kuzior et al. (2021), tourism acts as a stimulus for social, cultural, and economic advancement. Eco-tourism is made possible by the monarchs' stewardship of heritage sites, which include palaces, sacred groves, and other traditional landmarks. These cultural places not only promote revenue, but also revenue generation helps reinforce environmental awareness and action. Thus, monarchs become protectors of the natural heritage, linking identity to geo-economic and environmental sustainability. This shows how comprehensive development models that bridge culture, economy, and environment, place monarchs at the center.

Governance and Institutional Drivers

The Nigerian state has long recognized the enduring role of monarchs in governance. Although the 1999 Constitution does not grant traditional rulers formal political authority, it acknowledges their cultural and advisory roles in governance. This recognition allows monarchs to collaborate with local councils, community development associations, and NGOs on matters of development. Whyte and Olivier (2023) highlight how institutional reforms depend on context-specific political imperatives, and in Nigeria, this includes the



embeddedness of monarchs in governance systems. Their legitimacy helps ensure policy acceptance at the grassroots level. Thus, monarchs complement rather than compete with state structures.

The role of monarchs in resolving conflicts is also beneficial to institutional governance. With customary courts under their watch, and by restricting the use of formal courts through mediation monarchs exert fewer demands on formal judicial systems. According to Subedi et al. (2022), socio-political and regulatory drivers are the core of the management of land and agricultural disputes by institutions. In Nigeria, monarchs bring these drivers to reality through fair arbitration based on cultural norms. Not just does this complementary role in the judiciary reduce the workload of the state but also the confidence in justice within the community increases. Therefore, there is no way monarchs can be eliminated by institutional governance at the local level.

Another aspect through which monarchs improve governance is through development partnerships. As Carayannis and Morawska-Jancelewicz (2022) point out, universities and other institutions are increasingly using social, cultural, and economic missions to solve local issues. With its established connections within the communities, monarchs serve as the guiding forces towards development initiatives, whether it be education or health. Their support to NGOs and international donors is usually in a bid to

make initiatives acceptable at the grassroots level. This indicates that monarchs are institutionalized in a culture beyond culture into sustainable development. Partnerships between tradition and modernity, then, are the basis of their role in governance.

Migration also points to the relevance of kings to governance. Czaika and Reinprecht (2022) depict how the drivers of migration (those based on economics, education, and culture) intersect with governance matters. In Nigeria, monarchs are involved in the incorporation of migrants into a host society especially in urban areas where conflict can occur. Based on hospitality norms in a culture and regulating rights to settlement, monarchs prevent conflict and encourage inclusiveness. The role makes them more institutionally relevant as the institutions of the state do not always react adequately to the migration challenges. The role of the monarchs is therefore to act as managers of social integration in the grassroots.

The governance roles of monarchs can also be highlighted in the context of national security dynamics. The legitimacy and communication form the state security (Radchenko et al., 2023). The legitimacy of the monarch in Nigeria allows him to act as a stabilizing element in an unstable region and to serve as a source of intelligence, to foster peace, as well as to deter insurgency. The government often uses monarchs to promote and enlist the local support of policies in regions where the legitimacy of the state is weak. This



combination of conventional power and state security reveals that the monarchs remain a major component of the governance structure in Nigeria. Such functions complement the ceremonial functions of governance that are more strategic in nature.

Last but not least, the re-emergence of monarchies echoes other governance issues that are exemplary of the socio-political legitimacy decay. The socio-political environment describes the implementation of some policies and institutions (Pascaris et al., 2023). The monarchs in Nigeria confer legitimacy to the effective functioning of state institutions at the local levels. They have high compliance and low resistance, through their support in land governance, electoral mobilization, and public health campaigns. That is a synergy in operation and justifies why monarchs continue to have significant power, in addition to the constitutional powers. Their resurgence then, is a reaction to the reality of governance in Nigeria.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The reestablishment of Nigerian monarchies in the states during 1960-2024 by their remarkable institutional stability, and adaptability to the dynamic political landscape. Though centralization and decades of military governance after independence tried to marginalize traditional rulers, monarchs have still managed to regain societal political significance by acting as custodians of culture, negotiators of social feuds, and supporters of

local development programs. Their existence proves that monarchies should not be viewed as entities of the past, but rather as surviving players of governance whose power is based on legitimacy, history, and cultural continuity. To the contrary, instead of fighting against the modern institutions of democracy, the monarchs are a complement to the state as they fill in the gaps of trust, government, and social cohesion. The two-fold role does imply that they can adapt to the changing times without losing the original role of transmitters of tradition and givers of order.

With such findings, there are certain recommendations to help boost the positive involvement of monarchs in Nigeria. One, institutionalization of formal cooperation among governments and traditional institutions should make monarchs allies in mobilization at the grassroots, conflict resolutions as well as policy acceptance. Second, the potential economic policy should promote the royal festivals and culture not just to maintain the native identity, but also to stimulate the development and investment in the area. Third, monarchs must be incorporated in a community-based dispute resolution system in a way that does not burden the formal courts but which remains equitable, just, and inclusive. Fourth, the explicit law structures should be designed to determine where, and to what extent, the monarchs are permitted to intervene without contradiction with elected rulers, and in



a way that will enhance and not suppress the democratic leadership. Finally, it is not a nostalgic step to name and engage monarchs but it is a means of making all people part of the

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