

The Effect of Intra-Party Conflict Management Mechanism on Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Awofeso, O. PhD

Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-ife, Nigeria

Obah-Akpowoghaha, N. G.

College of Social and Management Sciences, Department of Political Science, Wesley University Ondo, Ondo State, Nigeria

Ogunmilade, A

School of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Department of office Technology and Management, Federal Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi, Edo State, Nigeria

Abstract

This paper assessed intraparty conflict management mechanisms on democratic consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic with the help of secondary data. It identified the following issues as contending factors in Nigerian formative democracy. Intra-party turbulence arising from imposition of candidates, patron-client politics, lack of frequent party meetings, corruption and so on, have given negative image to Nigerian politicians and the country in general. The few high-ups in the hierarchy determine winners and losers at the expense of their party's cohesion. The political environment ever since 1999 still is very much in a confused state, thus service to the people is thrown to the winds. It is out of the confusion that some of the politicians were catapulted into office and it is the reason their behaviour is so anathematic since their loyalty is automatically owed to those who engineered their ascent. Therefore any attempt to confront Nigerians on good and practical democracy is derided with the popularly cynical rhetorical question – “na democracy we go chop? confirming the above on the lacklustre attitude that Nigeria is still a contested terrain of conflicting identities even after five decades of independence and a still longer period of being one political entity. Possibly some of Nigerian elites think of themselves primarily as Nigerians and place their Nigerian identity above all other identities. But many more are ambivalent about what their primary identity should be. And even more place their Nigerian identity below their local community, nation or ethnic group. However, the piece concluded that due to lack of clear-cut political platform and distinctive ideology, these and among others have made Nigerian political parties to have a far-lesser conflict management mechanism that are been driven by primordial interests. It therefore recommend an overhaul of the Nigerian legal system, a six regional semi-strong government whereby each regions cultivate her local products, manage her natural resources and give 10% to 15% to the central government for the purpose of coordination and this will go a long way in bridging conflict holistically and making the centre less attractive and strong. All other methods of conflict management will be strengthened and will be achievable through the above recommendation.

Keywords: Conflict, Conflict management, Political parties, Intra/inter party conflict

Introduction

Democratic theorists and policy makers generally concur on the critical role that political parties play in providing a link between their membership and elected representatives. In addition, it is incontrovertible that no contemporary democracy has excelled without political parties (Egwu and Ibrahim, 2014). This notwithstanding, political parties across the globe continue to grapple with institutional and structural challenges with the potential to compromise their legitimacy, effective functioning and eventual survival. These challenges include declining membership, poor institutionalisation, weak internal organisation, serious internal conflicts and inferior electoral performance. There is however a wide gap between the existence of formal organisational structures of political parties and actual democratic practice in Nigeria (Ayoade, 2008; Ikelegbe, 2014). This is generally symptomatic of emerging democracies globally, characterised by a variance between the established formal rules stipulated in party documents and the practical reality in the functioning of political organisations. This among other intervening factors contributes to the persistent lack of cohesion and internal unity, discord and disintegration, diminishing popularity and electoral losses among political parties (Jinadu, 2014).

In Nigeria, political parties are characterised by a top-down organisational structure where power and decision making is highly centralised. This leaves little room for deliberative decision making processes involving party membership. This rigid organisational structure is in part inherited from the colonial legacy where colonial administrators and political elites dictated to, and made decisions on behalf of the native populations without consultation (Ibrahim, 2014). Political parties therefore tend to be autocratic or oligarchic in their organisational structures where conformity is preferable to critical debate of issues, and is enforced through

covert and overt pressure, and illegal sanctions including suspension and even expulsion from the party. These practices lead to severe limitations on processes of inclusiveness and transparency while breeding patrimonialism and hence compromising intra-party democracy. (www.africappractice.com)

Scholars such as Egwemi and Omodia (2011), seen it from the angle of “Party politics and the challenge of political representation in Nigeria”; for Abimbola and Adesote (2012), view it from the perspective of “Party internal democracy and the challenge of democratic consolidation in Nigeria, 1999-2011”, Eme and Ogbochie (2014), “The legal/constitution basis of political party defection in Nigeria”, etc, still academic research remains underdeveloped in this area especially developing countries, hence, this paper will undergo an investigation to cross-examine the effect of intraparty conflicts management mechanism on democratic consolidation in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic. And to achieve this, the paper would be directed and guided by the hypotheses below: Lack of viable conflicts management mechanism leads to decampment of party members and it hampered democratic consolidation in Nigeria; the existence of a weak opposition party is a function of a long lasting unresolved political conflicts in Nigeria; and the slow pace of Nigerian democracy is a function of a long lasting unresolved political conflicts in Nigeria

However, since the country returned to multiparty governance in 1999, intraparty conflicts have assumed different dimension which has led to political parties decampment arising from lack of viable mechanism of conflict management process, these and among other have been the subject of intense debate in the academia and policy circle; what viable method to be used to handle internal party crises while actors believe so much on zero sum game politics, a concept that has relegated some credible political candidates out of the political system, and which has turned some into perpetual political defectors (Pogason, 2014). Besides, political parties in Nigeria have become deeply involved in all manners of anti-democratic activities such as electoral manipulations during political parties primaries and general elections, thuggery, hooliganism and vandalism during elections, assassination of political opponents, opaque methods of selecting candidates and flag bearers, and the general lack of internal democracy, all these and among other have degenerate into uncontrollable crises and an unending political grievances (Dike, 2003). In other words, the mismanagement of these crises have led to political party prostitution of members popularly known as party cross-carpeting, defections and at the long run party’s alignment. However, when the decampment of members is on the ground of party’s ideology in relation to national project this will enhance and consolidates democratic values but when decampment or party alignment is premised on personal aggrandisement and egoism then the project of democratic consolidation will be an illusion and unattainable goal.

In nutshell, the above antidemocratic variables have excluded the Nigerian people from the political system. However, system survival is a function of the level of socialization of the people vis-à-vis the utilization of acceptable patterns of managing political conflict when it arises such as adherence to party’s norms, conventions and constitution during intraparty decisions that would steer the process leading to democratic stability. Moreover, in a political system, the level of political socialization and the mechanism of conflict management in political parties based on the policy or constitution of the people would serve as a functional regulatory mechanism for consolidating or deepening the values of democracy (Jinadu, 2014; Clean Foundation, 2014). This however, could be said to be a major characteristic of matured political systems which tend to impact positively on consolidating democracy and by implication political and economic development. However, arising from the above preamble, the paper is poised with the following questions and hypotheses: What are the factors responsible for intraparty conflicts in Nigeria?; what are the issues serving as a barrier(s) to Nigerian democracy?; and what are the inputs of political parties towards conflict management in Nigerian political system?. However, the paper is subdivided into sections. The first part contains the introduction; follow by the theoretical framework and conceptual clarification which embodied practical issues on intraparty politics, conflicts and management mechanisms.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Theoretical Framework

Conflict or violence in all human societies is as result of allocation of resources between and among some elites and later instigates violence among the masses. In Nigerian polity, it arises when some group of political actors lost out along the political process due to economy strength, social power and other intrinsic and extrinsic reasons; these and among others have created animosity and unresolved conflicts among Nigerian politicians. Most worrisome is the mechanism adopted in resolving these crises by party’s executives through the neglect of party’s constitution or ethics. Election of most party’s flag-bearer in Nigeria is anchored on monetary reasons and not on credibility (Ayoade, 2008; Ikelegbe, 2014); it is on these grounds the study used the Human Psychological Theory, the Elite Theory and the Political Bargaining Theory as instruments of understanding the cause of conflicts, its management on democratic consolidation in Nigeria’s polity.

HUMAN PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY

Ted Robert Gurr explains in *Why Men Rebel* (cited in Richardson 2011) that instead of an absolute standard of deprivation, a gap between expected and achieved welfare creates collective discontent. This theory is sometimes applied to individuals who find their own welfare to be inferior to that of others to whom they compare themselves. "Relative deprivation" is the term... used to denote the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the "ought" and the "is" of collective value satisfaction, and that disposes men to violence." This gap between an individual's expected and achieved welfare results in collective discontent. However, the concept of relative deprivation dates back to ancient Greece. Aristotle articulated the idea that conflict is driven by a *relative* sense or feeling of inequality, rather than an *absolute* measure. According to Gurr (quoted in Aniekwé & Kushie 2011) "For Aristotle the principal cause of conflict is the aspiration for economic or political equality on the part of the common people who lack it, and the aspiration of oligarchs for greater inequality than they have, that is, a discrepancy in both instances between what people have of political and economic goods relative to what they think is justly theirs." According to Walter Garrison Runciman (cited in Richardson 2011) defines the prerequisite of "relative" deprivation as follows (where individual A feels deprived of object X): individual A does not have X; individual A wants to have X; individual A knows of other persons who have X; individual A believes obtaining X is realistic. For Ted Robert Gurr (quoted in Aniekwé and Kushie 2011) further asserted that: "The primary source of the human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration-aggression mechanism... the anger induced by frustration... is a motivating force that disposes men to aggression, irrespective of its instrumentalities." However, Gurr was not the first in his field to propose a link between frustration and aggression. Dollard, Millard, et al. (cited in Aniekwé & Kushie 2011) were the first to propose the theory, postulating that frustration leads men to act aggressively.

THEORY OF DEPRIVATION (AGGRESSION AND FRUSTRATION) IN NIGERIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Nigerian political climate is full of tension and different kind of cold war within and between political parties and other groups. Most times the tension and animosity rise out of who get what, how, when and coupled with the means of achieving these goals. At the beginning of this Fourth Republic in Nigeria, the most notable one happened to be misunderstanding that engulfed the then President (Chief Olusegun Obasanjo) and the Vice President (Atiku Abubakar) that led the vice to decamped to other political party, at this period there were over one hundred decampment saga among the then political parties that existed. The reasons for these political oscillations and defections were premised on non-adherence to party's constitution, automatic party ticket without due process and so on (Dike, 2003). However, the then Jonathan/Sambo Administration has also witnessed unprecedented intraparty conflicts incident, the then serving president (Dr. Goodluck Jonathan) vs formal president (Chief Olusegun Obasanjo), Dr. Goodluck Jonathan vs Rivers State Governor (Mr. Rotimi Amaechi), etc, and other parties such as All Progressive Grand Alliance, there was an issues that also embattled Chris Ngige and Uba, also Governor Fashola his predecessor in the person of Chief Bola Tinubu but there was a quick understanding between both figures, then the Labour Party (LP), the incumbent has totally decamped to People Democratic Party (PDP), his defection led to division of the party and a lot of argument sways the process but there was a quick understanding among members and the defectors (Dike, 2003; Aniekwé & Kushie 2011; Clean Foundation, 2014; Ikelegbe, 2014)

The Elite Theory

However, theories such as Group and Structural Functionalism can also be use but the paper is looking at the actions and inactions of party's members towards selections, elections and their inputs in relations to other parties coupled with the mechanism adopted in resolving conflicts. The Elite as popularized by Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Roberto Michels, Wright Mills among others (Varma, 2006), no doubt obviously elucidates the polity of Nigeria considering the fact that most political parties that exist in the on-going democratic dispensation are built on personal and primordial interests of the few who possess economic and social power. One of the advocates of elitism Pareto believes that society consists of two classes: (1) a higher stratum, the elites, which are divided into governing elite, and a non-governing elite, and (2) a lower stratum, the non-elite (Varma, 2006).

In general "individual interest" is what the elites emphasised. They cling desperately to their new powers and privileges, and become almost irremovable. Once a leader reached the pinnacle of power, nothing could bring him down. If laws are passed to control the dominion of leaders, it is the laws which gradually weaken, and not the leader(s). To preserve itself and to avoid change and stress, it concedes to some welfare programmes and public demands. The masses of the population are on the other hand, unorganized, passive and uninformed and have little influence over public issues. In representative democracies, the masses still have little or no control because elites select the candidates and manipulate the voters through propaganda and economic resources. Election as an instrument of controlling the elites does not limit, confiscate and constraint the elites' supremacy

and power because the elites direct and manipulate both the elections' mechanisms and the society as whole. It is on these grounds this paper takes a critical analysis of intra party conflict management vis-à-vis democratic consolidation in Nigerian polity. The polity has engulfed unresolved crises and animosity which have led to decampment of party's members from one party to the other (Aniekwe & Kushie, 2011; Egwu, 2014). Politicians like Atiku Abubakar, Nuhu Ribadu, Rotimi Amaechi, Olagunsoye Oyelola, etc, serve as a reference point.

The Political Bargaining Theory/Governmental Political Model

The political bargaining theory is characterised by conflict, compromise and bargaining. The actors involved-- individuals, groups and organisations have interests such which they project or protect when faced with decision making situation. The decision making process is thus complicated and confused by the activities of actors with conflicting and competing interests and solutions. The influence of any actor depends on his or her resources, skills and wealth. The constitution or electoral laws serve as a code of conduct when conflict arises. Each actor invests his or her resources and influences in such a way as to advance his or her interest. Political posts are the outcome of the bargaining and trade-off between the actors. The position itself reflects an outcome that has general support, accommodates several interests and is based on the consensus reached. Since acquired position is as a result of bargaining and compromise among political actors, it becomes vital to examine the influence, resources, values, perceptions, interest and motivation of actors within party politics. Also such knowledge could be critical in predicting which actor may have won the election or decision making bargaining process.

However, this model has its root on the works of G. Allison. This theory has been applied to resolve political issues in advanced countries and countries that experienced fast economy and democratic development. But in recent times such as Nigeria and some African countries, actors prefer zero sum game politics which has disorganize and truncate political parties and by extension democratic erosion. In Nigeria, the neglect of strong political bargaining mechanism has led to series of political assassination arising from unresolved conflicts and animosity between and among actors. For example, at the inception of Nigerian Fourth Republic the President in the person of chief Olusegun Obasajo and his VP (Atiku Abubakar) had a long lasting conflict that led the VP to decamped to another party; also currently the Governor of Rivers State in the person of Rotimi Amaechi also had an unresolved conflicts with the serving President in the person of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan which has led the exodus of eminent Peoples' Democratic Party members to another party, all these are the functions of lack of strong political bargaining mechanism. Most of these actors prefer zero sum game mechanism which has not help the polity of the country (Dele, 2016; Dike, 2003; Aniekwe & Kushie 2011; Ikelegbe, 2014).

Conceptual Clarification and a Brief Literature

Political party: Parties are formal institutions that are formed by men and women, united, for promoting for by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principles and values in which all agreed aim at contesting, winning and controlling governmental machineries. They are group of people that are organized for the purpose of gaining formal representation or winning governmental power by electoral process. Parties are organized bodies with a card carrying membership. This distinguishes them from broader and more diffuse social movements (Norris, 2005). But in Nigeria, formation of political party or joining a party has be defines and structured along primordial and selfish interests against the national interest that happened to be the essence and existence of party formation (Ayoade, 2008; Ikelegbe). This point buttressed the unprecedented defection process that the Fourth Republic has witnessed which has made analysts, electoral observant and policy experts that the Nigerian political parties lack political platform and ideology (quoted in Tell, September 16, 2013:48 cited in Simbine, 2014). This deduction is premised on the fact that political parties in Nigeria lack distinctive method of holding meetings, party's dues collection and the clarity of what the party's constitution embodied and this has led the PDP different pattern of constitution started in 1999, 2006 and 2009 while on the issue of ideology analysts have argued that Nigerian political parties are not issue base like what we see in the European and Western countries. For example, in US the Republican is noted for aggressive foreign policy and strategic matters on industrialisation while the Democratic are for Agricultural and other domestic based policies (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, 2014 cited in Eme and Ogbochie, 2014; Simbine, 2014). These and among others have led to the imposition of candidates by party's bourgeois and which has caused defections of members which caused democratic erosion in Nigeria. Since 1999, the trend has been that party primaries among virtually all political parties in Nigeria are usually predetermined with party godfathers having the final say over finances, when, how and time to hold meetings, selection of flag bearers and party executives (Simbine, 2014)

Intraparty politics and intraparty conflicts: Intraparty politics involves selection of candidates, leadership contests, regular membership conventions, and internal rules to discipline party members and hold leaders accountable within a political party while intraparty conflicts arises during political party selection/nomination of candidates, leadership contests, regular membership conventions, and internal rules to discipline party members and hold leaders accountable within a political party. Intra-Party Conflict is a conflict within a given political

party. It is the usual natural conflict of human beings to struggle for that limited social value within the group in terms of prestige, wealth, positions even recognitions. Most of these struggles are on selfish grounds, sometimes collective but are carried out through the processes of sycophancy, name-calling, sabotage, sell outs, and other negative behaviours in order to be noticed, settled or destroy the collective gain of the party. Sometimes, they are caused by some element of usurpation, tight handedness, unnecessary rigidity of party lords over members, greed, and some other personal idiosyncrasies of leaders. A close call at the Western Nigeria crisis of 1965 succeeded in reducing the thin god status of Late Pa Awolowo by Akintola, thus producing new party and increased the political awareness of the region ever since, and which no region has been able to match in Nigeria. It generated from intra party conflict to inter party later on.

One of the major problem of intra party conflict is the idea of trying to cast everybody or member into one mould, philosophy or belief. But in the great democratic nation of United States, elements of intra party conflicts abound with the existence of liberal democrats and republicans. It is the contending issues that bring about intra-party dissent in party politics. Inter-Party Conflict, on the other hand is an obvious, expected conflict because of differences in formation, leadership, manifestoes and ideologies competing to control the state in a democratic set up. The differences serve as springboard for individual ambition, factionalism, ethnic and religious bigotry, crisis of confidence and finally the quest for power control. It is the inter party conflict that make democracy possible and thick, thus these variegated groups wearing different ideological colours that come together to form parties. Given the internal dynamics of the parties, and the inherent ideological contradictions, political observers do predict inevitable conflict in party formations. This point expresses the die-hard belief and ideology of the current president, President Muhammadu Buhari right from when he started contesting for the seat of the president which has made him to form and join some parties (ANPP, CPC AND APC) in order for him to secure victory.

Conflict management: This deals with how to control or manage an existing conflict so that it does not escalate, thereby leading to chaos, crisis and war. At this point efforts are made to ensure that constructive conflicts do not degenerate and become destructive, in which case they will be difficult to manage. Conflict and tension during elections have been common in Africa's new democracies-coming into existence in the 1990s during the third wave of democracy. In fact, many new democracies especially those with strong authoritarian legacies or deep ethnic cleavages common in many African countries, find it difficult to manage political opposition within and outside the party. The manner in which these tensions are managed can make the difference between an election that proceeds peacefully versus one that degenerate into violence. For instance, Port Gentil and Libreville Gabon; Northern Ghana; Niger Delta, Nigeria; Lome, Togo; and Kenya have all been scenes for repeated electoral violence. Indeed, the regularity with which electoral violence occurs in many areas suggests that underlying grievances or structural characteristics may be tied to the elections and fuel the violence. In Nigeria, these situations have led to members defecting to other parties and as well as political party apathy. Academic research remains underdeveloped in this area, but a few scholars are begin to focus on grievances over land rights, jobs and ethnic marginalization as a contributing to electoral violence. In reality, these tensions intersect and are frequently manipulated by politicians in Nigerian polity. In the past, successive governments have put in place mechanisms such as NYSC, quota system, federal character, unity school, state creation and convocation of sovereign national conference in order to resolve conflict between and among Nigerians. Within party politics, political parties such as the PDP adopted zoning formulae in sharing political positions; while parties like AD, ACN, LP, ANPP in the past and currently the APGA and APC mostly relied on the caucus decisions or the influential party members sometimes called founders. Outside zoning, Scholars have described this process as imposition that devoid of internal party democracy. Consequently, zoning formulae and the decision of the influential party members in the past on conflict managements have created relative peace within aforementioned political parties. Although, it has also created the atmosphere of carpet crossing and lack of strong and practical ideology, that is, political parties exist just for elites' personal interests. However, the Nigerian legal system has been used effectively by aggrieved party members to resolve party crises. This mechanism proved more effective and satisfactorily to other mechanisms, cases are look into holistically and in a legal manner in different courts in Tribunals, Appeal courts and finally Supreme Court. Decisions of the supreme court in Nigeria has been applauded by Nigerians and it remained the hope of Nigerians, sometimes, the Nigerian legal system has been doubted due to political interference, alleged corrupt practices in the judiciary and lack of funds in the management of the judicial system (Egwu, 2014; Ikelegbe, 2014)

Democracy and Democratic consolidation: is the institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individual acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. It is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people that makes provision for every group in a state while democratic consolidation is the process by which a new democracy matures, such that it is unlikely to revert to authoritarianism. It also assumes two things, the first being that there is already in existence a state of democracy characterized by all democratic features via periodic election, security of life and property, fundamental human rights and freedom, constitutional stability as a fulcrum of society and governmental stability and also

opportunities for equality, justice and fair play. On the other hand, it assumes that there is a need to consolidate the base of the existing democracy. This implies making firmer, more solid and more resilient the base of the existing democracy.

However, democratic consolidation Nigeria has been weakened and manipulated by primordial, ethno-regional, egoistic, patron-client, nomadic, etc., politics right from independence. The Nigerian Fourth Republic ushered in more hope and a bigger dream for Nigerians after many years of dark rule by the Nigerian military. It was a period that human right violation and other animalistic display was the order of the day. The killing of Ken Saro wiwa, Dele Giwa, M.K.O Abiola, etc., serve as a reference point. Consequently, the Fourth Republic has not given Nigerians the more expectations and desire after sixteen years of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) rule within the presidency and other states. In general, political parties have been engrossed with the interests of some certain members that claimed to be the founders and financiers of some certain candidates. This system of party politics in Nigeria has scuttled democracy. Evidently, the cases of Senator Ahmed Makarfi and Senator Ali Modu Sheriff within People Democratic Party (PDP) serve as a reference point. Also similar incidences can be deduce from the ruling All Progressive Congress (APC) in respect of the Ondo state election and other decisions within the party whereby the APC national leader in the person of Asiwaju Bola Tinubu and his group nominated a candidate in the person of Dr. Olusegun Abraham who happened to be his godson and chief John Odigie-Oyegun (National Chairman of APC) and his group nominated a candidate in the person of Chief Rotimi Akeredolu (SAN) (Aziken and Ajyi, 2016; Oketola, et.al, 2016; ICIR, 2016).

Consequently, these crises have led to disaffection and disenchantment within the aforementioned political parties members in the past; there have been different calls by some ethnic nationalists premised on succession, resource control, marginalization, gender equality by civil societies and other international bodies towards electoral sanctity and transparency (ICIR, 2016). The APC and PDP internal party crises have led to different conceptions on what both parties represent, while their activities have breed suspicious and fear among minority group in the country, this has led to the call for sovereign national conference, gender equality, resource control and rise of different ethnic militia in the country in the past and it has aggressively re-echoed in the on-going Buhari's administration (Awolowo, 1968; Oketola, et.al, 2016; ICIR, 2016)

Concluding Remarks

Extrapolating from the above argument by various scholars on this piece, patron-client mechanism; monetized system; incumbency and blackmail have been used as a tool for furthering elite's interest as well as a mechanism for instigating conflicts between and among party members. This act has created carpet crossing among party members, lack of political ideology and weak opposition. Consequently, zoning formulae, decision by party big wigs and the Nigerian legal system have been used to curtail party crises. However, the process has enriched the few against the majority of Nigerians. These issues have caused a serious challenge to democratic consolidation and national integration in the country leading to a call for restructuring and succession Nigerians. Studies and theorists have linked these issues on 1914 amalgamation and colonialism, corruption, leadership failure, etc., however, among other prevailing variables straining democracy, conflict management devices and national integration, the paper therefore recommend the overhauling of the Nigerian legal system, a six regional semi-strong government whereby each regions cultivate her local products, manage her natural resources and give 10% to 15% to the central government for the purpose of coordination and this will go a long way in bridging conflict holistically and making the centre less attractive and strong. All other methods of conflict management will be strengthened and will be achievable through the above recommendation.

References

- Abimbola, J.O and Adesote, S. A. (2012). "Party Internal Democracy and the Challenge of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria", *Journal of Social Science and Policy Review*. www.cenresinpub.org
- Aniekwe, C.C. and Kushie, J. (2011). Electoral Violence Situational Analysis: Identifying Hot-Spots in the 2011 General Elections in Nigeria National Association for Peaceful Elections in Nigeria (NAPEN). <http://www.ifes.org/Content/Projects/Applied-Research-Center/Cross-Cutting/Election-Violence-Education-and-Resolution.aspx>
- Aiyede, R.E (2008) "The Role of INEC, ICPC and EFCC in Combating Political Corruption" in Victor A. O. Adetula (eds) *Money and Politics in Nigeria*. Abuja, Petra Digital Press. pp. 39-52
- Awolowo, O. (1968), *The Peoples Republic*. Ibadan, Oxford University Press.
- Ayoade, J.A (2008) "Godfather Politics in Nigeria" in Victor A. O. Adetula (eds) *Money and Politics in Nigeria*, Abuja, Petra Digital Press. pp. 85-96
- Bokoe, D. (2010). Treened in Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan African
- Clean Foundation. (2014). *Security Threat Assessment: Towards 2015 Elections*. Retrieved Noverber 15, 2014, from www.africappractice.com.
- Dike, V. (2003) "Nigeria and the Politics of Unreason: Assassinations, Decampments, and Moneybags"

- Dele, A. (2016). Nigeria's Federalism and State Reorganization and Restructuring: Attempts At National Integration Through Fragmentation. *International Journal of Academic Research and Reflection*. Progressive Academic Publishing, UK . Vol. 4, No. 2, 2016. www.idpublications.org. Accessed March 2, 2017
- Egwu, S. (2014). Internal Democracy in Nigerian Political Parties. In Olu Obafemi, Sam Egwu, Okechukwu Ibeanu & Jibrin Ibrahim (Eds), *Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria* (pp. 371-398). National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, Nigeria.
- Egwu, S. and Ibrahim, J. (2014). Need for Policy Perspectives and a Reform Agenda. In Olu Obafemi, Sam Egwu, Okechukwu Ibeanu & Jibrin Ibrahim (Eds), *Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria* (pp. 314-339). National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, Nigeria.
- Eme, O. I. and Ogbochie, A. (2014). "The Legal/Constitution Basis of Political Party Defection in Nigeria", *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review Vol. 3, No.11*
- Jinadu, A. (2014). Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria. In Olu Obafemi, Sam Egwu, Okechukwu Ibeanu & Jibrin Ibrahim (Eds), *Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria* (pp. 19-41). National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, Nigeria.
- Ibrahim, J. (2014). Engaging Political Parties for Democratic Development. In Olu Obafemi, Sam Egwu, Okechukwu Ibeanu & Jibrin Ibrahim (Eds), *Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria* (pp 1-10). National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, Nigeria.
- International Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIR) (2016), Promoting Good Governance. [Www.Icinigeria.Org/On-Election](http://www.Icinigeria.Org/On-Election): Access 13 Feb.,2017
- Ikelegbe, A. (2014). Political Parties and Violence. In Olu Obafemi, Sam Egwu, Okechukwu Ibeanu & Jibrin Ibrahim (Eds), *Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria* (pp. 314-339). National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, Nigeria.
- Ime A. John, Aminu Z. Mohammed, Andrew D. Pinto, Celestine A. Nkanta (2007) "Gun Violence in Nigeria: A Focus on Ethno-Religious Conflict in Kano" *Journal of Public Health Policy*, Vol. 28, No. 4.
- Norris, P (2005) "Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspective" U.S.A. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.
- Pogoson, A.I. (2014). Women, Political Parties and Exclusion in Nigeria: 1999-2012. In Olu Obafemi, Sam Egwu, Okechukwu Ibeanu & Jibrin Ibrahim (Eds), *Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria* (pp. 237-264). National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, Nigeria.
- Richardson, C. (2011). "Relative Deprivation Theory in Terrorism: A Study of Higher Education and Unemployment as Predictors of Terrorism".<http://www.RelativeDeprivationTheory.TerrorismPredictorsofTerrorism.aspx>
- Varma, S.P. (2006) *Modern Political Theory*, New Delhi:Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd, pp 143-173. www.africappractice.com. Retrieved and accessed on Jan. 26, 2015
- www.nigerianbestforum.com/politics. Retrieved and accessed on May 9, 2011