

Understanding the Thrust of the Group Theory and Its Applicability to Contemporary Party Politics in Nigeria

Okereka, Onofere Princewill *PhD*

Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences , Delta State University P.M.M. 1 Abraka

Email: onofereonline@yahoo.com

Abstract

The buildup to the 2015 general elections in Nigeria was characterized by fierce contestations among political parties, polarized by lack of intra and inter party democracy, godfatherism, and ethnicity and religion. This paper examined the thrust of the group theory and its applicability to the party politics in Nigeria; bearing in mind the state of unhealthy and war-like contestations among political parties as groups, in competing against each other for political power. Combining the philosophy of the Group theory with historical method of data collection and analysis, the paper discovered that the Group theory offers a framework of dynamic but healthy competition for acquiring political power; which politicians' share greed, have misunderstood to be politics of "do-or die". The paper among other things, recommend an effective re-orientation of politicians and party members to see groups (Political Parties) as partners in progress whose political competition must be seen as shared interest in pursuit of the general good of the society.

Keywords: Political Party, Group Theory, Party Politics, Societal Dynamics and development.

1.0 Introduction

It is essentially true that Nigeria is a plural society. Thus, it has historically practiced multi-party political system. However, its pre, during and post elections activities in recent times have always been characterized by fierce contestations and violent exchanges between and among groups and registered political parties. Elsewhere in the world, the practice of multi-party politics, although laced with elements of competition, is healthy. This is because, their understanding of group theory is to throw up superior group interests that bear the burden of the critical mass of the people (collected interest of society). In Nigeria, what pervades the political landscape is a violent competition which negates the real essence of individuals forming groups (parties) to conglomerate and garner enough strength to galvanize their interests for the betterment of the society.

The adumbrators of the group theory are not unaware of the weakness as of individuals to garner the enormous resources required for the pursuit of political power, hence advocating the coming together of people to form groups. This philosophy has been misconstrued by Nigerian politicians to see themselves as owners of political parties and hence appears to be dictating the pace in the various parties. Thus, the idea of godfatherism, lack of internal democracy, ethnicity and religion have resonated through the Nigerian political system portraying Nigeria as a laughing stock among committee of democratic nations.

This paper is one of the several attempts by scholars to examine the import of the Groups Theory and its applicability to the study of contemporary political party politics in Nigeria.

Political party as we know today is an agglomeration of group interest. In a democracy, political parties are the lubricant of democracy and without which, democracy based on the western model cannot function (Adele 2001:35). This is essentially because it sustains a democratic society. While democracy rests on the informed and active participation of the people, political party is a viable tool in this regard. This perspective is shared by political scientists. As Anifowoshe (2004:59) remarked.

Democracy exists where the principal leaders of a Political system are selected by competitive elections in

Which the bulk of the populations have the opportunity to participate. As a matter of fact, the condition of the parties in a political system, is the best possible evidence of the Nature of any democratic regime.

Implicit in the above statement is that a party's level of institutionalization, cohesion and social base, determines the extent of its viability and the extent to which it could be said to be performing its functions in a democracy. In other words, viable political parties contribute to democratic growth much as unviable on what constitutes a political party, yet they all resolve around electioneering and the control of Government based on group interest. For instance, political parties has been conceived as an instrument for contesting elections for the purpose of selecting candidates and party(ies) to exercise political power. The definition is in consonance with others who sees political party as an organization, which is principally, absolutely and actively involved, in the electoral process, in a democracy, with the major intent of winning political power to control the Government (Onuoha 2003:137). The import of these definitions is that the major goal of political party is to project group interest through the capturing and controlling of Government powers. Using the group theoretical framework of

analysis, this paper will x-ray contemporary character of political party in Nigeria. Beyond fielding candidates for elections and controlling Governmental apparatuses, political parties also perform other functions which on the one hand set them aside from other organizations such as interest groups and more importantly on the other hand, makes them most critical to democratic development. These include; the task of political recruitment and training, education, socialization, breed consensus, providing alternative world views and political communication among others (Okoosi-Simbine 2004 Aina 2002, Onuoha 2003). It is the extent to which parties are able to discharge these functions that determine the extent of democratic growth in the country. Important in carrying out the above functions is that parties especially in culturally variegated societies such as Nigeria must eschew those intervening variables that are likely to mar programmes and policies of the party such as salience of ethnic, religious or other sectional interests. Where this is not avoided, the tendency is that a party find it considerably difficult in harnessing or mobilizing mass support for democratic growth.

The emphasis here is that parties are formed not only to promote policies but also to secure group interests. It therefore follows that parties have broad social bases in order to be able to aggregate interests rather than articulation of specific sectional ones. Unfortunately in Nigeria, political parties in Nigeria while pursuing group interest often failed to articulate properly the interest of the society at large. This situation has made party politics to be essentially characterized by ethnicity, political bickering, cross carpeting and a host of other anti democratic practices.

2.0 Objectives of the Study

The major objective of the study is to apply the group theory in explaining party politics in Nigeria. The specific objectives however include the followings:

- i. To highlights the nature of party politics in Nigeria
- ii. To highlights the fundamentals of group theory to understanding party politics in Nigeria
- iii. To recommend appropriate template for a better political party politics in Nigeria.

3.0 Significance of the Study

This paper is significant in the following ways

- i. The paper highlighted the nature of party politics in Nigeria
- ii. The paper brought to the fore the utility or otherwise of the group theory in explaining party politics in Nigeria
- iii. The study will contribute to existing stock of knowledge by helping students and scholars alike to better appreciate the fundamentals of the group theory to contemporary political analysis.

4.0 Government and group politics

Group theories contend that the Government is a mediator in the struggle among groups, and the source of rules and restraints. Truman contends that "Government function to establish and maintain a measure of order in the relationships among groups". They are of the view that Government could be distinguished from other in terms of the mechanics and processes adjustment they provide for the purpose of handling the ongoing struggle of political interest groups. The Government, they argue, is the moderator and the umpire.

Further, the political system does not breakdown in the face of the weight of the ceaseless struggle among groups because:

- a) The conflict, the multiplicity compelling interests on the part of the individuals tends to reduce the intensity of the conflict and facilitates the maintenance of a certain number of dynamic equilibrium.
- b) The factor of unconscious balancing process; that is, new groups invariably emerge to offset any temporary disturbance in the power balance (built-in establishing mechanism).

- c) There are certain widely accepted yet informal criteria which set limits to the conduct of inter-group competition and conflict. That is, “the rules of the game” or what Bentley labels “habit background

5.0 Political party as a Group

As noted earlier, political parties in Nigeria are a product of specific environments, which often influence their structures, functions, and operations. Nonetheless, they are expected as elsewhere, to serve as lubricating agent for sustainable democratic rule. Presently, however, there is, as Anifowoshe (2004:57) noted, a growing public apprehension noted further that the growing apprehension is predicated on the nature and intensity of party competition, which has invariably engendered tremendous bickering, political uncertainties and disorder in many part of the country. The point here is that party politics in Nigeria has not undergone any genuine transformation that is capable of strengthening the democratic project.

Democracy is all about competition, bargaining and compromise. In the liberal context, these are expected to be facilitated by the institution of political party. However, it could be gleaned from Nigeria situations that political parties are usually more into ‘cat and mouse’ game. This is because, both at the level of inter and intra party relations, the rules of the game are often never allowed to play itself out. In the present democratic experience for instance, while the ruling party, People’s Democratic Party (PDP), has renamed weary and critical of any move or opinion expressed by other parties, so also are the non- Government parties reigning accusations on the PDP Government at every available opportunity (Muhammad, 2006:46). Even at the state level, inter party relation have been more confrontational among party faithful leading, at times, to violent conflicts and wanton destruction of lives and properties as witnessed in state such as Anambra, Kwara, Edo, Ekiti, Rivers and Borno (Sambo 2005). The confusion and contradictions of the party activities in Nigeria also plays itself out in the spates and dimensions of intra party squabbles. For instance, among the leading parties (PDP, APC and APGA) there has been dissolution of party executives, suspension of party members for antiparty activities, emergence of parallel executives and deflection of party members among other manifestation of intra party crisis. One of the worst manifestations of such under Nigeria’s Fourth Republic is best exemplified in the Anambra State saga where factions resorted to the use of various means and strategies in their contestation for control of power in the state. The crisis which began to manifest since July 2003 saw a wonton display of anti-democratic tendencies including adoption of the state Governor, destruction of lives and properties and even, using instrumentality of the police (Muhammad, 2006:72). In underscoring the profound confusion that characterized Nigeria’s political terrain, Anifowoshe (2004:57) noted that:

From inception of the restoration of civil rule in the fourth Republic, the political sense has witnessed frequent discords, unresolved political issues, recriminations, threats of impeachment of executives, treacheries, flagrant breach of party rules, carpet-crossings, inter-communal rivalries and resurgence of factional cleavages with parties, which have continued to threaten the functioning democracy in Nigeria.

In other words, courtesy activities of the political parties, Nigeria’s current democratic experience is not only characterized by uncertainties but as well, trapped between democratic growth and regression. All these have continued to dim the hope of sustainable democracy in Nigeria. But it must be stated that the current experience with political parties in Nigeria are not only peculiar to the Fourth Republic as it represent more of carryover from the past republics. This is because both the First and Second Republics in particular were also characterized by series of anti-democratic activities such as inter and intra party squabbles, political bigotry, party indiscipline, cross-carpeting among others were the trend which ultimately led to the collapse of the earlier republics.

Yet another factor working at variance with democratic growth in Nigeria could be located in the weak party structures and lack of internal cohesion. Weak structures of the current political parties no doubt comes from the domineering interest of an individual or group of individuals within the same political parties consequently, the control of party machinery and structures is determined largely by the interest of domineering caucus at any point in time rather than establish rules. Thus, interest of amalgamating parties usually influence trend of relations. In a situation of divergence of interest therefore, conflicts becomes an inevitable occurrence. But a more foundational problem, which inhibits party cohesion, institutionalization and of course, deepening of democracy, lies in the ideological emptiness of the parties. A front line politician, Chukwuemeka Ezeife, underscored the fact by noting that:

From the beginning, we had wanted ideological parties. That opportunity was ruined. We now go for winning, winning only. No one ideology. We are playing survival game. Our preference for the use of ideology to unite

Nigerians and present them with clear democratic choice did not work (Ania 2002:7)

In this context, it is not likely that any party will be able to proffer any alternative worldwide for the electorate, which is essential in the deepening of democratic practice. More importantly, due to lack of clear-cut ideology, many politicians behaves as political bats changing party affiliation in response to the political fortune of their group (Ania 2002:19).

In sum, Nigeria's current democratic experience is caught up in the dilemma of democratic renewal and regression. This flows from series of occurrences which resolves around viability of the current political parties. While it is true political parties are like piston in the engine of democratic practice, the extent to which they acquire value and stability party cohesiveness and development of a coherent political doctrine are vital ingredients that make them viable element in democratic growth and sustenance.

5.0 Behaviour and character of Nigerian political parties in the pursuit of Group interest

Essentially, behavior of political parties of the Nigeria's Fourth Republic is not too fundamentally different from that of earlier Republics. Indeed, the character and pattern of behavior they exhibits owes much to their circumstance of origin and operating environment. Prior to independence, political parties in Nigeria emerged within the context of nationalist struggles for independence. The common desire to put an end to colonial rule and achieve self Government therefore reduced to preponderant tendency of any segmental cleavage (Ikelegbe; 2013:63). The certainty and approach of independence however brought about a total change in the operating contest of the parties. Since new sets of leaders are to emerge from among Nigerians, party activities assumed a new dimension will till date has continued to characterize Nigeria political parties. Two matrices are implicit in this view. First is that, there is an intense and ferocious struggle for power among the political parties. This may be attributed to centrality of political power in the country access to which determines access to each other resource. Consequently, competition becomes so intense that the ruling party will always want to maintain its hold on power just as the other parties in opposition are ready to wrestle power from the ruling party irrespective of what it takes. Perhaps this trends equally, usually inform the pattern of alignment and realignment that takes places between parties in the process of electoral competition such as between the Alliance for Democracy (AD) and the All Peoples' Party (APP) in the 1999 presidential election and AD-PDP accord in the south west during the 2003 general elections. In this same vein, intense inter rivalry also to a large extent account for party's mobilization of forces of identity such as ethnicity, religious and other cleavage issues in order to gain electoral advantage and, other electoral fraud among others.

With regard to second matrix, there is within each party an intense struggle for relevance, regional hegemony and exertion of overbearing influence on party structures and machineries among party members. This tendency has been the bane of party politics sine Nigeria's independence in 1960 (Okoosi-Simbine, 2005; Tyoden, 2002. Interestingly, the present Fourth republic is not an exemption and several occurrences points in this directions. For instance, the tactical refusal to register some known members of the PDP including vice president Atiku Abubakar, at various wards during the party's recently concluded membership registration exercise and, the decision of some stalwarts of the PDP (including the former chairman, Audu Ogbé) to float new political associations. Movements for the Defence of Democracy (MDD), with the intention of registering movement for the Restoration for the Democracy (MRD), with the intention of registering them as political parties. Others include, personality clash between Jerry Useni and Don Etiebet with the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP) and Bisi Akande versus Mojisola Akinfeuswa in the AD.

What must be noted at this point is that, while the need to capture power by all means and personal idiosyncrasies of party stalwarts underlie parties' behaviour in Nigeria, the situation has nonetheless be compounded by a self-serving and pathological perception of politics and democratic practice by politicians. In this case, politics is seen a means of amassing wealth and power of personal advantage. Under such a scenario, 'playing by the rules becomes uncomfortable restraint' as the average politician responds only to his social, political and economic impulses. (Abutudu, 2013:16)The internal characteristic and power configuration of the political parties have manifested in huge organizational weaknesses and internal conflicts. The parties have particularly been plagued by suspensions and expulsions of party members, cross carpeting particularly prior to elections and deep divisions and factions that have manifested sometimes in violent clashes (Ikelegbe, 2013:18). Intra party violent conflicts have been particularly heightened during election periods because of the imposition of flavoured and dubious consensus candidates, and swapping of nominated candidates by party chieftains. The absence of equalitarian platform and the subversion of the will of the ordinary party members and delegates in party primaries, have grieved several party leaders and members and underlined numerous defections and cross-carpeting (Ikelegbe, 2013:18-19). More empirically, parties in the polity are able to effectively perform these

functions is a matter of the degree of party and party system institutionalization (Muhammed 2006:52). Smaller parties often exist alongside their founders, funders or some public figure; hence they built around personalities. For instance, the personality of Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu is central to the formation and sustenance of All Peoples Grand Alliance (APGA). Bola Ahmed Tinubu to Action Congress (AC), as a well as its successor Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Orijin Uzor Kalu to progressive people party (PPA), and MUhammadu Buhari to congress for Progressive Change (CPC). Even the PDP for a long time was woven around the personality of Obasanjo who determined and controlled a lot of activities in the party. With Tinubu and Buhari as the characters on the board of the All Progressive Congress (APC), it is not difficult to come to the conclusion that the party represents another group interest that is eagerly seeking to capture political power.

6.0 Applicability of the group theoretical framework in explaining the workings of political parties and Government in Nigeria.

The fundamentals of group theory hold that the interaction of groups are the basis of political life. In the opinion of Bently (1908:22), the leading proponent of the group activity determined legislation, administration and adjudication. In his words, institution do not provides the best framework for explaining how society function. He argued that politics is a group affair and each group is competing against each other for power. He also added that group theory helps one to understand the pattern of process involving mass of activities and not a collection of individuals. Thus, since the group emerge from frequent interaction among its individual members which is directed by their share interest, it provides the best framework for understanding how political parties and other association of groups functions to promote and protect their interest.

Flowing from the above therefore, the group theoretical framework for understanding the intricacies that characterized political parties activities in their quest to acquire political power is critical. As should be noted, political party as an aggregate of group interest are vital organizations in a democracy, and democracy involves the aggregation of group interest based on the acquisition of power for the authoritative allocation of value. As activities involving varied groups, political parties function within certain parameters that involve high level of institutionalization, a located level of candidate nomination, high level of working a internal party offices and the presence of formal rules objectives, which is the acquisition of power (Ayoade, 2006:48). However, under a multi party democracy, there are differentt political parties or groups jostling for power, since powers can only in most cases be acquired by only one political party, the situation often throws up intense party rivalries of democratic process are yet to stand firm. The situation described the nature of party politics in Nigeria. As the group theory postulates, interactions of groups are the basis of political life. This means that political parties are often in constant interaction within themselves, across party line and the state generally. This form of interaction is often not called since the major interest of the various groups is the acquisition and control of state for personal or common interest.

Unfortunately in Nigeria, the interactions which form the basis of the group activities has been characterized by a various form of anti democratic behaviours such as, assaainations, lawlessness, illegalities, rigging, oppression, manipulation, marginalization and violence. Other factors, include: monetary inducement, godfatherism, incumbency factor, religious bigotry, ethnic division amongst others. Ideally, a party is suppose to provide a means by which the interest of the people and groups can be aggregated and properly promoted under a democratic process however, due to a plethora of reasons that is no doubt strongly related to personal interest, or a domineering tendencies by top party hierarchy, party indiscipline, inter-party relations, internal party democracy and processes, violence, political thuggery, membership defection have become to other of the day (Abutudu, 2013: 11). Consequently, instead of the actions of political parties representing group interest, parties have found it extremely difficult for political party to truly represent and promote the interest of the majority of the people.

However, (Onuoha 2003:13), notes that apart from the internal problems confronting party politics in Nigeria, the activities of political parties falls within the fundamentals of the group theory. In his words, the fundamentals of the group theory is to help us understand how political parties functions and for what purpose they function. He observed the groups such as political parties, civil society organizations, labour unions were instrumental under military-brokered democratic transitions process. In his opinion, were there no group like the above, it would be difficult to understand and transmit the position of the citizens. He went further to aver that the existence of political parties, helps ones to understand the purpose of Governance in the society.

(Janda, 2003:29) added that the group theory further gives insight into the dynamics of group relationship especially in a political party. In his words, the group theory helps researchers to come to terms with the nature and character of the internal characteristics and power configurations of the political parties. From the group theoretical framework, one has been able to understand the factors responsible for the huge organizational weaknesses and internal conflicts that often characterized political parties activities in Nigeria. In Nigeria, the political parties have particularly been plague by suspensions and expulsions of party members, cross carpeting particularly prior to elections and deep divisions and faction that have manifested sometimes in violent clashes

(Ikelegbe, 2013:18). Intra party violent conflicts have been particularly heightened during election periods because in the pursuit of group interest, the imposition of favored and dubious consensus candidates, and the swapping of nominated candidates by party chieftains have become the order of the day. The absence of equalitarian platform and subversion of the will of ordinary party members and delegates in primaries, have grieved several party leaders and members and underlined numerous defections and cross-carpeting (Ikelegbe, 2013:18-19).

7.0 Criticism of the Applicability of the Group Theory Party Politics In Nigeria

Ayoade (2008:62), contends that while the group theory gives us insight into how groups function especially within a political party, it failed to address critically individual interest. In his words, the group theory helps to understand group activities only when such groups have strong internal cohesion. When parties generally lack institutionalization, they showcase a low level of organization and become even more available to be hijacked by a few party leaders who dictate to the majority. According to Omotala (2009:612), it is incontrovertible that the more adoption of the party pluralism will not automatically advance the cause of democracy without the institutionalization of concrete parameters to promote and sustain strong political culture and due to process in theory and practice. The frequent changes being experienced in the leadership of PDP is a pointer to serious and unmanageable disagreements and crisis of leadership and legitimacy and an a fault line in institutionalization that makes the group theory to be loosely adaptable to understanding political party as a group in Nigeria. For example, between May 1999 and 2015, the PDP changed his national chairman, Bamanga Mahmud Tukur and Adamu Muazu. An obvious fact is that none of the changes was succession orderly, open, free, independent and reflective of the actual wishes of the majority of the party faithfuls, rather, each (with the exception probably from the pioneer Chairman), was predicated by the endorsement, whims and caprices of a given section of the party led often times by the incumbent President (Adejumobi 2002:36-53).

It is not surprising therefore that election results, whether at the intra-party level or at the level of general elections are always disputed by those who are declared losers.

Instead of a political party existing to promote group interest, as enunciated in the group theory, the hijack of political parties by godfathers has virtually choked off the party system as channel for the aggregation of 'Group Interests'. The preferences expressed by the party typically turn out to be the personal interests of the Godfather. The sustainability of the control of the political niche by the Godfather cannot be left to the uncertainty being subjected to the preferences of the voters in the free and fair election. The desperation has typically led to explicit, crude criminalization of the electoral process (Abutudu, 2013:12). Therefore, because Godfathers have significant influence of the internal workings of political parties, in other words, because they are modulators and the epicenter of political in-fighting and struggle for power and perquisites of office, they are one causative factor in understanding political; 'Nomadism' (Ujo, 2013:17). Political 'Nomadism' represents the deflection(s) or arbitrary movements of politicians from one political party to another, or their formation is completely new party, after dumping their original party of membership. What makes the defection Nomadic? This is because first, they turn political parties into gazing grounds and second the rates of defection is high, arbitrary and sometimes inexplicable. These Defections are often on grounds of lack of internal democracy in the party, Godfatherism, high handedness and usurpation of power and abuse of position (Ujo, 2013:22). The phenomenon of political niche is not only choking and blocking the political parties as platforms of representation. It is also turning national institutions located within the geographical spaces of particular political parties as zones of godfather influence and control (Abutudu, 2013:14). The influence of Godfather have continued to shape and reshape the nature of internal democracy within political parties and this continues to play a significant rule in understanding the crisis in political parties in Nigeria.

8.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

The application of the group theory has been applied to explaining party politics in Nigeria. The group theory sees interactions of groups as the basis of political life and rejected statist abstraction. In other words, group activities determine legislation, administration and adjudication. The group theory rejects the institutional approach in the analysis of activities. Furthermore, the group theory sees politics as a group affair and each group is competing against each other for power. In all, the group emerges from frequent interactions among its individual members which is directed by their shared interest. The interest leads to organization of the group. It concludes that political party is an aggregation of group interest in other to seek and acquire power for the authoritative allocation of values. The group theory as applied to Party Politics in Nigeria, while helping us to understand how groups function in the society, however failed to properly situate the interest of individuals who makes up the groups. As was established in the paper, the phenomenon of Godfatherism defines the tenets of the group theory. This is because the incidents of Godfatherism that is plaguing the Nigeria politics is constructed on the belief that certain individuals (not group) possess considerable means to unilaterally determine to get party ticket to run for an election and who wins in an electoral contest. Godfather politics typically subvert group

interest by ensuring that results are declared even when there is no evidence that voting actually took place. It typically plays electoral politics with little or no evidence for the established rules of conduct governing the process, and does not display any sense of moral restraint in its appreciation of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in a democratic political order where the group holds supreme.

9.0 Recommendations

Among other things the paper recommends the following;

- i. Politicians should see the notion of group politics as a democratic tenet that provides a framework for mass participation rather than the current war like approach to winning elections.
- ii. Government should introduce reforms that will make public office less lucrative and less attractive to politicians whose interest is to primitively accumulate wealth for themselves instead of developing the society.
- iii. Politicians should see themselves as group members that must compete with the spirit of collective ownership of the society, such that whoever wins, keep power for the generality of the society.
- iv. Nigerian Political Parties should ensure that they practice internal democracy; which will in turn resonates through Intra and Inter-Party competition. Thus, will present opposition party members not as secular enemies but partners in progress. And superiority of ideology becomes the object of analysis that will make the difference.
- v. That after elections, members of all Political Parties must rally around the winner and put general development in the front burner. This is the only way that politics will generate the expected development, which is the substance of the group theory in the analysis of any Political System.

References

- Abutudu, M. (2013). *Political Parties and Elections in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*, being a paper presented at National Conference on Political Parties and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria, organized by the National Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies (NISS), Kuru, in collaboration with Democracy and Governance Development Project (DGD) II of UNDP, 26-28 June, 2013.
- Adele, B.J. (2001), *Political Parties and Democracy in Nigeria Lagos*. Ijede Commercial Enterprises.
- Ania, A.D. (2002). *Party Politics in Nigeria's Under Obasanjo Administration*. Monograph Series No. 1 Department of Political Science and Sociology, Babcock University, Ilisha Remo, Nigeria.
- Anifowose, R. (2004), *'Political Parties and party System in the Fourth Republic of Nigeria: Issue. Problems and prospects'* Remi (eds) Issues in Nigeria's 1999 General Elections. Lagos, Nigeria: John West Publications Limited and Rebonik Publications Ltd.
- Ayoade J. A. A. (2006). *Godfather Politics and Corruption in Nigeria*, Published by IFES 78-87.
- Bently, A. (1908). *The Group as an Actor of the State*, Colorado, Colorado Springs
- Ikelegbe, A. (1995) *Political Parties, Elections and Interest Groups in Nigeria* in R.F. Ola (ed), *Nigerian Political System; Inputs, Outputs and Environmental*, Benin-City: Department of Political Science, University of Benin.
- Ikelegbe, A. (2013) *Politics and Governance in Nigeria: Perspectives, Issues and Cases*. Benin-City, Centre for Population and Environmental Developmental (CPED).
- Janda, K. (2003), *'Comparative Political Parties: Research and Theory'* in Finifter, Ada W. (ed). *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Washington DC: American Political Science Association, pp. 163-191.
- Janda, K. (2006), *Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey*. New York: The Free Press.
- Mbah, M. C. C (2006), *'Political Theory and Methodology'*. Nigeria. Rex Charles & Patrick Ltd.
- Okoosi-Simbine, A.T. (2004). *The impact of more parties on the Democratic Project in Saliu*, Hassan A. (ed.) *Nigeria under Democratic rule (1999-2003)*. Vol. 1, Ibadan: UPL, pp. 85-102
- Okoosi-Simbine, A.T. (2005). *Political Vagrancy and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria' in Momoh, A. and Onu, G. (eds), Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria*. Nigeria Political Science Association, pp. 17-33.
- Omotola, J.S. (2009) *Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology*; Journal of Alternative Perspective in the Social Sciences Vol. 1 No. 3.
- Onouha, B. (2003). *Political Parties and Elections: A critical Review of Party Manifestoes'* in, New Era Foundation with Support from Ford foundation, *The Grassroots and Political Change in Nigeria*. Lagos: Joe-Tolabu Association, pp. 137-152.
- Sambo, Z. O. (2005), *'Political conflicts and Urban Violence in Ilorin'* in Saliu, H.A. (ed.) *Nigeria Under Democratic Rule (1999-2003)* Vol. II, Ibadan: UPL.
- Tyoden, S.G. (2002), *'inter and Intra Party Relations: Towards A More Stable Party System in Nigeria'* The Constitution a Journal of Constitutional Development. Vol. 3 No.1 September Pp, -23.
- Ujo, A.A. (2013) *Understanding Political Parties in Nigeria*. Kaduna Nigeria, Klamidas Publishers.

The IISTE is a pioneer in the Open-Access hosting service and academic event management. The aim of the firm is Accelerating Global Knowledge Sharing.

More information about the firm can be found on the homepage:

<http://www.iiste.org>

CALL FOR JOURNAL PAPERS

There are more than 30 peer-reviewed academic journals hosted under the hosting platform.

Prospective authors of journals can find the submission instruction on the following page: <http://www.iiste.org/journals/> All the journals articles are available online to the readers all over the world without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself. Paper version of the journals is also available upon request of readers and authors.

MORE RESOURCES

Book publication information: <http://www.iiste.org/book/>

Academic conference: <http://www.iiste.org/conference/upcoming-conferences-call-for-paper/>

IISTE Knowledge Sharing Partners

EBSCO, Index Copernicus, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, JournalTOCS, PKP Open Archives Harvester, Bielefeld Academic Search Engine, Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB, Open J-Gate, OCLC WorldCat, Universe Digital Library, NewJour, Google Scholar

